

THE COINAGE OF
THE WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS
FROM SELEUCUS I TO ANTIOCHUS III

BY

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PREFACE

The present volume proposes to discuss the coin issues of the first Seleucid kings, Seleucus I to Antiochus III, produced at the many mints situated in the districts stretching westward from northern Mesopotamia, through Syria and Asia Minor, to the Hellespont. The study is intended as a companion to the recently published *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints—Seleucus I to Antiochus III* which, as its title indicates, comprised the coin issues of these same kings produced in their eastern mints stretching from Babylonia to Central Asia and the borders of India.

The bed-rock upon which the definitive attribution of large numbers of bronze coins in the last named work was based, was the record of their usual provenances and especially the results of the American excavations at Seleucia and of the French excavations at Susa. For the present volume a similar service has been rendered by the American expeditions which have excavated the important Hellenistic sites of Dura-Europus, Antioch, Tarsus and Sardes. These particular excavations have been exceptionally fruitful in Seleucid bronze coins, and thus provide a firm foundation for the confident attribution of hundreds of varieties to their original mints. Other excavators have either been less fortunate (from the Seleucid standpoint) in their discoveries, or have up to the present neglected to publish their material. Of very considerable assistance also have been lists of coins existing in various private and public collections of Syria, backed by many years' experience of the usual provenance of coins seen in both the local and the international coin markets.

The present work cannot hope to offer a final settlement of all the many problems which beset the student in an attempt to arrange the early Seleucid issues of the western mints. Certain important sites have never been explored (i. e., Apamea, Laodicea, Carrhae, Edessa, Nisibis—to mention but a few), while, because of their great extent, such sites as Antioch and Sardes have as yet been only partially excavated. It is certain that many varieties of gold, silver and bronze coins remain still to be discovered. In proof of this statement it may be pointed out that between the appearance of the first volume, towards the end of 1938, and now, the summer of 1940, more than fifty additional varieties have been brought to the author's attention. The correct attribution of Seleucid gold and silver coins to their western mints is a problem largely apart from that of the bronze pieces, and is seldom much aided by excavations of ancient sites. Instances where fortunate excavators have found a hoard of silver coins are rare. Even then little real advantage has been gained, as silver coins, unlike the bronze, frequently travel far from their original place of issue and a hoard is as likely to contain issues of distant mints as it does of ones nearer home. Furthermore, in our study of the eastern mints we have found their bronze coins to have been usually signed by the same

magistrates in charge of the silver issues, thus providing valuable corroborative evidence. For the western mints we are not always so fortunate. It frequently happened that large issues of royal bronze coins were produced under the supervision of their own officials. The results of excavations may determine the true origin of these bronze pieces but help little with regard to the silver. It also happened that a considerable amount of royal silver was produced in some of the flourishing Greek cities of western Asia Minor, cities which under the Seleucids enjoyed a certain amount of local autonomy expressed in the right granted them to coin their own issues of bronze or divisional silver pieces. These bear autonomous types, were issued under the supervision of local magistrates, and these officials seldom appear to have signed the royal money brought out in the same city. Thus we have again been deprived of the valuable assistance of these bronze coins of known origin. Hence, the silver issues have had to be arranged and attributed largely on their own merits, a not always simple matter and leaving rather too much to conjecture or to the subjective evaluation of style and fabric. Fortunately, the issues of certain of the larger political and economic centres, such as Antioch, Laodicea, Tyre, Sardes, Phocaea, Aegae, Cyme, Myrina, Alexandria Troas, etc., are by their very size and continuity, or by the true mint-marks with which they were provided, comparatively easy of segregation and attribution. They serve, further, to shed some light on the more intermittent issues of neighboring mints. Even so, however, there remain many apparently ephemeral issues whose assignment to a particular mint is still highly conjectural or impossible of determination. The discovery of new but associated varieties, or their presence in some enlightening hoard, may in the future render it possible to attribute even these. Meanwhile, it has been the author's endeavor at least to break up into manageable sections the enormous and hitherto rather amorphous mass of early Seleucid issues, and to assign the most important of these groups to such mints as the evidence now available would seem to render reasonably certain.

Such success as may have been attained is largely due to the great kindness and invaluable assistance of scholars and museum curators, the world over. It is a pleasure to offer one's grateful thanks, even if it be impossible to express adequately the full measure of indebtedness due the splendid and generous cooperation of these many benefactors.

M. Henri Seyrig, the able director of the *Service des Antiquités* in Syria, has placed the author again and again under the greatest obligations by sending records of newly discovered hoards, and by preparing lists, photographs and casts of Seleucid coins in his own cabinet, in the collections of Messrs. Poche at Aleppo and Cuinat at Beyrouth, of the American University of Beyrouth, and of the government collections in Beyrouth and Jerusalem. Much of the assurance with which we are able to assign certain varieties to Syrian mints is entirely due to M. Seyrig's indefatigable and generous cooperation.

Most appreciative thanks are hereby extended to Dr. Robert H. McDowell and Mrs. E. B. Stevens for making so readily available the coins from the excava-

tions of Seleucia on the Tigris, for permission to describe unpublished varieties and for the many casts made of these coins; to Prof. Albert R. Bellinger for access to the coins from Dura-Europus and for placing at the writer's disposal for study the Adib collection of coins from Antioch; to Miss Hetty Goldman and Miss Dorothy Cox for permission to study the coins from the Tarsus excavations and the collection of the Adana Museum, as well as for the many casts and weights of these coins which were furnished; to Dr. F. M. Heichelheim for collating the Seleucid coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, with the *Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* and for sending casts and weights of the varieties not described therein; to Mrs. Pearson and Mrs. Frederick O. Waage for access to the great number of coins found in the excavations of Antioch, and for permission to make casts and full use of unpublished varieties.

Very considerable burdens have been imposed upon the curators of large public collections in Europe. Deep gratitude is expressed to those whose names follow for their unfailing kindness and for the trouble taken to select and forward great numbers of casts: Miss Anne Robertson, Curator of the Hunterian Collection, Glasgow; Dr. J. Leigle of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin; Dr. Walter Hävernick of the Gotha collection; Dr. Dworschak of the Vienna collection; M. Jean Babelon of the Paris collection; Dr. M. A. Evelein of The Hague; Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Mr. E. S. G. Robinson has given unstinted time and effort in selecting and having casts made of innumerable coins in the British Museum and in the Newnham Davis Collection of the University of Aberdeen; while Dr. Georg Galster not only sent many casts of coins from the Copenhagen collection but also, on his own initiative, casts of Seleucid coins in the Thorvaldsen Museum and in the private cabinet of Mr. Paul Proschowsky in Hellerup. Other curators the author desires especially to thank for casts sent are: Comm. Amedeo Maiuri of Naples; Dr. Aziz Ogan and Dr. Clemens Bosch of Istanbul; Dr. Max Bernhart of Munich; M. Victor Tournour of Brussels; Mr. Henry A. Greene and Miss Miriam A. Banks of Providence, R. I.; Dr. Lacey D. Caskey and Miss Grace W. Nelson of Boston.

Sir Charles Oman kindly sent casts of, and information concerning, interesting Seleucid coins in his cabinet, while Mr. Edmund Zygman of this city most generously allowed full use to be made of his fine collection.

Numismatic dealers have also been most helpful in many ways, including Dr. Jacob Hirsch, the late Mr. Moritz Wormser, Mr. Wayte Raymond, and Stack Brothers of this city. Mr. Herbert A. Cahn of the Münzhandlung Basel and the well-known English firm of Messrs. Spink and Son have gone out of their way to place at the writer's disposal for selection or study certain important collections of Seleucid coins in their possession.

It is especially to be regretted that no reply was ever received to repeated letters sent to the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, which contains an important series of Seleucid coins. In recent years interesting Seleucid additions have almost certainly been made to this series, which was first described, many years ago, by

W. v. Voigt in *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*, Vol. XIII, 1911. Unfortunately, a request for certain additional but important varieties at Istanbul, although forwarded at the end of March, 1939, apparently failed to reach Dr. Aziz Ogan until after the outbreak of the European war, by which time the Istanbul collection had been hidden away in a place of safety.

Finally, for many improvements of the text through careful reading and good advice, Mrs. Newell, Mr. Sydney P. Noe as editor, and the members of his staff are heartily thanked.

Before closing, a brief word of explanation should be given with regard to the order in which the western Seleucid mints have been arranged. After a chapter (I) devoted to the numerous additions to the coins described in *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* received since the publication of that work, we start (Chapter II) with issues brought out by Seleucus I and his successors at the city-fortresses of Carrhae, Edessa, Nisibis and Dura-Europus. These are mints situated in the provinces of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, the earliest districts to have been added to the empire's original nucleus comprising the various satrapies in Iraq and Iran. Then follow (Chapter III) the coinages of the four great cities, Seleucia Pieria, Antioch on the Orontes, Apamea and Laodicea ad Mare, founded by Seleucus I in the district of Seleucis and Pieria, a district destined soon to become the heart of the vast empire which he had established. Thence, in Chapter IV, we proceed southwards to the cities of Coele-Syria, which included Phoenicia and Palestine. Turning now to Asia Minor, we commence (Chapter V) with issues brought out in Cilicia, followed (Chapter VI) by certain early series of doubtful origin but probably to be assigned to various, as yet, unidentified mints in Seleucid Cappadocia or northern Syria. Proceeding westwards to the thickly populated regions of Asia Minor proper, we first describe (Chapter VII) the extensive issues brought out at the great Seleucid residential and administrative centre of the west, Sardes. After touching on other issues assignable to the Lydian district, we turn (Chapter VIII) to the coastal regions—to Caria in the south, thence working northwards along the coast we reach in turn the lesser Seleucid mints which operated from time to time in the flourishing Greek cities of Magnesia on the Maeander, Ephesus, Smyrna and Phocaea. Chapter IX is devoted to the complex of cities in Aeolis and south-western Mysia (Aegae, Cyme, Myrina, and Pergamum), while Chapter X covers the important Seleucid issues of the various cities in the Hellespontine district, commencing in the north with Lampsacus, proceeding southwards to Abydus, Ilium, Alexandria Troas, Sigeum, Scepsis, and ending with the issues of Lysimachia on the European side of the Hellespont. Finally, in Chapter XI will be found the many issues of uncertain origin which still remain after the bulk of the western Seleucid coinages have been assigned to the mints which had apparently produced them.

It may be desirable to extend a cautionary warning to those glancing at the coin-plates and their captions. It should be remembered that the portrait heads

on coins assigned to Antiochus II or to Antiochus Hierax do not in every case bear the portraits of these rulers. These particular kings very often placed upon their own coins the likenesses of their immediate progenitors. Thus the portrait of the deceased Antiochus I is frequent upon the issues of his son Antiochus II; while Hierax made extensive use both of the portrait of his own father Antiochus II, as also of a highly idealized head of his grandfather Antiochus I.

Throughout the work, for brevity's sake, the first volume, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints*, is referred to by the initials E. S. M.; the present volume by the initials, W. S. M. The coins of the western Seleucid mints catalogued in this work begin with No. 766, thereby starting off at the point where our preceding description of known varieties from the eastern mints had come to an end.

The recent publication in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. LIX, 1939, pp. 321-2, of a kindly review of the E. S. M. by W. W. Tarn, makes it possible to incorporate in Chapter I a few remarks with regard to some of the reviewer's most interesting suggestions.

In an appendix will be found a brief study by Prof. A. R. Bellinger and the present writer, discussing some coins of Antiochus found at Dura-Europus and assignable to a temporary mint established in that fortress city.

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CHAPTER I

ADDENDA TO *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints*

The receipt of numerous casts from various private and public collections not previously approached, together with new gleanings from the international coin market during 1939, have provided some additional varieties not contained in our preceding volume.¹ A visit to Detroit for the purpose of studying at first hand the great mass of coins secured by the University of Michigan in its excavations of the site of Seleucia on the Tigris (1927/8 to 1931/2), has also furnished a few varieties not previously listed. The cleaning of further specimens, as well as a thorough recleaning of the old, has recently been undertaken by Dr. McDowell and his associates, and many of the coins have been rendered more legible. This has eliminated a few but has added others to the descriptions taken from Dr. McDowell's *Coins from Seleucia*, upon which so much of Chapter I in the E. S. M. was based.

SELEUCIA ON THE TIGRIS

SELEUCUS I

SERIES I, c. 305-300 B. C.

GROUPS A TO E

Further examples of the tetradrachms, E. S. M., Nos. 3, 4, 5, 12, 14, 19, 22, 23, and 27, have appeared upon the coin market, or are now known to be preserved in the public collections at Cambridge and Gotha, and in the private collections of Herr Proschowsky (Hellerup, Denmark) and M. Poche (Aleppo, Syria). In support of the statement made on p. 17 of the E. S. M., not a single new obverse die is to be recorded, although additional reverse dies have appeared for Nos. 3, 4, 5, 14, 19, 23, and 27. In the Hague collection, however, there exists an entirely new variety of the Alexander type tetradrachm of Seleucus. Its style and fabric seem to point clearly to Seleucia on the Tigris as its place of issue. Its description is as follows:

28A. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., similar in style to Nos. 27-28. Inscription and Zeus Nicephorus, as on Nos. 27-28. In l. field, ΔΙ. Beneath throne, ☉.

A31a—P97a. The Hague, No. 6859, gr. 15.65. PLATE I, 1.

The magistrate's letters ΔΙ, as well as the style itself, link this new variety closely with No. 28.

¹ *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, Numismatic Studies No. I, New York, 1938. This work will henceforth be referred to under the initials: E. S. M.

As regards the accompanying bronze coins, interestingly enough, three further specimens of E. S. M., No. 6, two of No. 7, and two of No. 17 are in the Poche collection, an assemblage of coins gathered together over a number of years from the districts surrounding Aleppo. Similarly, three specimens of No. 6 and one of No. 15 turned up in the 1937 and 1938 excavations of the Syrian Antioch, while some corresponding examples are in the Adib Collection from Antioch. Apparently when the soldiers of Seleucus, in 301-300 B. C., occupied the Syrian possessions of Antigonos after the decisive battle of Ipsus, they brought with them as small change from Babylonia many of the copper coins which had recently been coined at the mint of Seleucia on the Tigris.

The proposed assignment of specimens ϵ and f to No. 8 (or, alternately, to No. 108A)² is an error. When personally inspected at Detroit, these two badly preserved coins proved to be examples of No. 108 and 501, respectively. As if in compensation, three further specimens of No. 8 turned up in the general collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

SERIES II, c. 300-280 B. C.

GROUP E

43A. STATER.

Same die as that of No. 43.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the l. Victory to l. as on No. 43. In l. inner field (exactly as on No. 43), ΑΡ above ✠ . In lower r. inner field, ✠ .

Brussels, gr. 8.575. PLATE I, 2.

The identity of the obverse die and the two monograms in the inner left field would seem to associate this new stater with No. 43 of the E. S. M. The arrangement of the inscription, however, is like that found on the stater No. 47 (Group F), while the remaining traces of the right hand monogram suggest the form W , a monogram that occurs on No. 52 of Group G.

GROUP I

66A. DRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus r.

Athena to r. in quadriga of elephants. Beneath her shield, $\Delta \odot$.

Copenhagen, gr. 3.85. PLATE I, 3.

GROUP K

70A. DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. Beneath Athena's shield, A . To r. of the shield, \odot .

Newell, gr. 2.74 (corroded). PLATE I, 4.

² E. S. M., pp. 14 and 34-35.

GROUP L

78A. DRACHM.

Same die as No. 73

Behind Athena, ☉. To r. of anchor, Α.

Newell, gr. 3.95. PLATE I, 5.

GROUP M

81. TETRADRACHM.

A70—P150A. Newell, gr. 16.62. PLATE I, 6.

The present example of the obverse die A70 shows it to be in a much less worn and damaged state (notice, for instance, the absence of any break in front of the fore-head) than when it was later re-used for No. 114 (E. S. M., Pl. xi, 13).

GROUP N

98A. HEMIDRACHM.

From the same die as No. 98.

Athena in *biga* of elephants to r., as on No. 98. Beneath shield, ☉. In front of elephants, Α.

Newell, gr. 1.86.

This hemidrachm, varying from No. 98 both in the position of the *theta* and in the form of the accompanying monogram (Α instead of Α), is yet struck from the same obverse die. The existence of this variety, because of the special form of the monogram, now definitely confirms the association of the Alexandrine-type obol No. 99 with the quadriga- and biga-type issues of Group N. Unfortunately, the new specimen was received too late for inclusion on our plates.

GROUPS L-N

99A. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. The edge is more nearly straight than bevelled.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath humped bull butting to r. Above, K. In the exergue, ☉.

London, gr. 14.07. PLATE I, 7.

99B. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding. The edges vary from straight to bevelled.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same letters.

α) London, gr. 6.59; β-δ) Excavations of Seleucia (from among the coins recently cleaned), gr. 5.946, 5.38, 4.25; ε) Newell, gr. 6.18. PLATE I, 8.

This little group of new varieties is closely connected by types and by its characteristically Seleucian style and fabric with published issues (Nos. 105-9) of Seleucia on the Tigris. Three of its actual specimens are now known to have been found in the excavation of that site. The varieties of the type already published are associated with the Seleucian silver, Group O (Nos. 100-104), by the symbol PENTALPHA and the accompanying letter *theta*, which they all bear. They were

followed, soon after, by another issue of bronze coins (Nos. 117-9) with a new obverse type. The bronze coins Nos. 105-9 and 117-9 were apparently contemporaneous with all the final gold and silver issues of Seleucia, Groups O to T, inclusive. Hence, the only place remaining for our new varieties is in conjunction with the immediately preceding silver issues comprising Groups L to N. All of these also bear the magistrate's letter *theta*, just as do Nos. 99A-B.

GROUP O

No. 108A is to be deleted from the catalogue of the E. S. M. The two specimens from Seleucia (upon which its description was based) have since been recleaned and can now be recognized as examples of Nos. 108 and 501, respectively.

A specimen of No. 109, from the coins discovered at Dura, is reproduced on PLATE I, 9. The two specimens from Seleucia,³ assigned to this number, have now been recleaned and prove to be examples of Nos. 502 and 928, respectively.

GROUP Q

In the E. S. M., p. 49, it was stated that although obviously struck at Seleucia on the Tigris, no specimen of the bronze coins Nos. 117-119 had as yet been found in the excavations of that city. This statement can be corrected because of the recleaning to which the Seleucia coins have since been subjected. Several of the specimens described by Dr. McDowell on p. 7, No. 11 of his work, are now seen to have the Medusa and not the Apollo head on their obverses. Hence, they are representatives of Nos. 117-119, and not of Nos. 105-109.

GROUP S

The stater described in the E. S. M. under No. 121A turned up in Bourgey's Sale, Coll. G, Dec. 5th, 1932, No. 260, where it was illustrated on Pl. x of that catalogue.

GROUP T

133A. HEMIDRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned to l.
In l. field, ANCHOR. In the exergue, ΑΘ.

American Numismatic Society, gr. 1.69. PLATE I, 10.

The left-hand monogram recurs again in the first issue at Seleucia on the Tigris under Antiochus I (cf. Nos. 134-136).

ANTIOCHUS I

SERIES I-II, 280-274 B. C.

It may be recorded that a specimen of the bronze 'double,' No. 146, in the General Collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is stated to have been

³ *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 7, No. 11, grs. 0.97 and 0.68.

"found at the site of Babylon." It is here possible to illustrate, PLATE I, 11, the bronze 'unit' No. 147 from a coin in the Naples collection. Specimen μ of the tetradrachm No. 149 has recently entered the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, occurs the following variety of the tetradrachm No. 155:

155A. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I, of identical style with E. S. M., Pl. xiv, 8.

Similar to No. 155 except that only one monogram, Δ , is present.

Oxford, gr. 17.22. PLATE I, 12.

As No. 13 of PLATE I is reproduced an example of the bronze 'unit' No. 156, found in the excavations of Dura-Europus. In this case the right-hand monogram has been simplified to the form Ω . The two specimens ε and ζ of No. 156⁴ should be described separately under the additional number 156A. Their inspection at Detroit shows them to be not badly corroded 'units' (as previously surmised), but actually 'halves.'

SERIES III, c. 267-261 B. C.

Dr. Tarn's reluctance,^{4a} based on historical grounds, to placing Antiochus I's introduction of the victory types on his Seleucian bronze issues as early as 272 B. C., is helpful in establishing our proposed dating of Series III at not earlier than *circa* 267 B. C.

The Seleucia specimen α of the bronze 'unit' No. 164, by recleaning, is now seen to have the three-quarters facing bust of Zeus (not Apollo⁵) on the obverse, and the figure of Apollo standing to right before a tripod (not a Nike to right crowning a trophy!) on the reverse. In other words, it represents another example of E. S. M. No. 251 and of *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 13, No. 27—and so was coined under Antiochus III, not Antiochus I. A further fine specimen (gr. 4.1154) of the bronze 'unit' No. 168, and another of the bronze 'double' No. 174, have turned up among the newly cleaned coins from Seleucia.

The following variation in the positions of the monograms should also be noted:

174A. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Helmeted head of Athena to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edges.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ANTIOXOY on the l. Apollo standing to l. In outer l. field, $\bar{\alpha}$. In outer r. field, Ω .

Excavations of Dura-Europus (in later times the reverse of this specimen was furnished with a circle of drill holes), gr. 6.06. PLATE I, 14.

⁴ Cf., also, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 10, No. 18, grs. 1.10 and 0.90.

^{4a} *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. LIX, 1939, pp. 321-2.

⁵ Cf. *Coins from Seleucia*, pp. 10-11, No. 20, gr. 3.25.

ANTIOCHUS II

SERIES I-III, 261-246 B. C.

A study of the coins found at Seleucia shows that the bronze 'unit' No. 185 (cf. PLATE II, 13-15) must now be removed from the issues assigned^{5a} to Antiochus II and placed among those of Antiochus III.

The description of the reverse type of Nos. 195 to 197 should be modified in so far as the right hand of Apollo on this variety *always* rests upon his lap. The belief (E. S. M., p. 72) that his right hand sometimes hangs at his side was based on a statement to that effect made by Dr. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 11, No. 22. But since recleaning the particular coins which led to Dr. McDowell's statement, it is seen that they are all examples of E. S. M., No. 246. In other words, it may now be stated that on Nos. 195-197 Apollo's right hand rests in his lap, while on No. 246 it hangs by his side. No. 198 should be deleted. The recleaning of the Seleucia coins reveals that what Dr. McDowell described⁶ as a bust of Athena facing three-quarters *right* is either the bust of Artemis (hence, E. S. M., No. 246), or an Athena bust facing three-quarters *left* (hence, E. S. M., Nos. 195-197).

A fine specimen of the bronze 'double,' No. 195, weighing gr. 5.25, has been found at Seleucia.

A larger denomination to accompany the 'unit' No. 199 may be described as follows:

199A. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate bust of Apollo facing three-quarters to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Tripod with pendant fillets. In inner r. field, ☐.

Excavations of Dura-Europus, gr. 6.885. PLATE I, 15.

Only one specimen of *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 11, No. 21, gr. 1.73, represents the variety No. 199. The remainder are all of Antiochus III, E. S. M., type No. 250. E. S. M., No. 200, should be deleted from the list of the issues of Seleucia on the Tigris. It represents an issue of Sardes.⁷

Opportunity is taken to reproduce on PLATE I, 16 (obverse) and 17 (reverse), not only the curious coin described in the E. S. M., p. 266, No. 760, but also a similar specimen (unfortunately, likewise in very poor condition) which was recently found among the newly cleaned coins from Seleucia (gr. 5.946). It must still remain uncertain whether the coin should be assigned to Antiochus II or III. A much better preserved specimen may decide.

SELEUCUS II

Several additional varieties of the Seleucian issues of Seleucus II have recently appeared.

^{5a} See below, p. 21, No. 239B.

⁶ *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 12, No. 23.


⁷ See below, No. 1384.

SERIES I, c. 244-240 B. C.

201A. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r., similar to that on No. 201, but the diadem-ends hang loosely.

Newell, gr. 16.94. PLATE I, 18.



ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the l. Apollo standing l. beside tripod. In inner l. field, . No monogram on r.

In the description of E. S. M., No. 201, due to its mediocre preservation, the diadem-ends were erroneously stated to be fluttering. A comparison of the piece with 201A reveals the fact that on both coins the diadem-ends hang loosely.

A well-preserved specimen of the accompanying bronze 'unit' No. 203, from the excavations of Seleucia, is illustrated, PLATE I, 20. Alongside of this variety was also issued the following 'half,' possessing different types but the same two monograms.

203A. BRONZE HALF.

Helmeted bust of Athena facing three-quarters l. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the l. Nike standing to l., holds wreath in her outstretched r. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field, .

α-β) Seleucia, p. 7, No. 12 (there the obverse has been wrongly described, as it presents an Athena, not an Apollo head. The obverse pictured on Pl. ii, 12 as belonging to this coin, is really the obverse of No. 13), gr. 2.40. PLATE I, 19; γ) London (Gardner, p. 107, No. 45α), gr. 2.24.



The types of Nos. 202-203, which so obviously commemorate the great successes of the young Seleucus II over the invading forces of Ptolemy III in Mesopotamia and Syria, are thus seen to have been augmented by the unequivocal significance of the Athena bust and the Nike figure on No. 203A. This Athena bust is a very close reproduction of the obverse type on preceding coins⁸ of Antiochus II.

SERIES II, c. 240-230 B. C.

Another specimen of the tetradrachm No. 204 is in the Copenhagen collection. A drachm is also now known to have accompanied the issue, and may be described as follows:

204A. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r. wearing a crested Attic helmet.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the l. Nike standing to l., holds palm in l. and wreath in outstretched r. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field, .

α) Paris (not in Babelon's catalogue); β) Jameson Coll., No. 1679, gr. 4.00, Pl. lxxxiv; γ) Beyrouth. PLATE I, 21.

α-γ are struck from a single obverse die.

⁸ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xvi, 17-18.

Likewise a bronze 'unit,' provided with a different reverse type, apparently accompanied the bronze 'double' No. 206:

206A. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate, draped bust of Apollo facing three-quarters l., exactly as on the 'double.'

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the l. Horse's head to r. To the r. of its neck, ⌘. Beneath, ⌘.

Excavations of Seleucia, gr. 3.253. PLATE I, 22.

Of the bronze 'double' No. 207, an additional example, gr. 5.677, has turned up among the newly cleaned specimens from Seleucia, while yet another, gr. 6.33, has recently entered the writer's collection, PLATE I, 23.

To be added to our lists are the following coins:

207A. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Busts of the Dioscuri, wearing laurel-wreathed caps. The farther Dioscurus is seen in profile, the nearer is facing three-quarters to l. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the l. Nike faces to l., holding palm in l. hand, and with her r. places a wreath on a trophy before her. At the foot of the trophy, a bull's head r. In centre field, ⌘. In outer l. field, ⌘.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 46, Pl. ii, 1. This coin is bronze, not silver as stated), gr. 7.90; β) Berlin (Beger Coll.), gr. 6.59. PLATE II, 1 (obverse); γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 7.44. PLATE II, 2 (reverse); δ) Cambridge (Leake, *Numismatica Hellenica*, Kings, p. 22, 17), gr. 7.45. PLATE II, 3.

207B. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α) *Seleucia*, p. 5, No. 6, gr. 3.64; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 47, worn), gr. 2.70; γ) Newell (worn), gr. 2.90; δ) London (Gardner, p. 6, No. 57, Pl. ii, 11), gr. 3.43. PLATE II, 4.

207C. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

α-β) *Seleucia*, p. 5, No. 6, gr. 1.17, and one recently cleaned; γ) Newell, gr. 1.54. PLATE II, 5.

Although previously well known, these coins had not been included in the E. S. M. because the writer had unfortunately been misled by the similarity of their obverse type to certain coins from northern Mesopotamia.⁹ Their style and fabric are typically Seleucian and no less than three specimens have actually been found in the excavations of Seleucia on the Tigris. The discovery of the example in the Leake Collection (our No. 207A, δ), which alone of all available specimens

⁹ See below, Nos. 806-11. PLATE VII, 6-13.

clearly shows¹⁰ the monogram $\Sigma\Phi$ in the outer left field, finally settles the matter. The coins in question must have been struck at Seleucia.

The apparent location of Nos. 207A-C in the sequence of issues at Seleucia, suggests that the presence of the Dioscuri busts on these coins may perhaps be connected with Seleucus II's ambitious and all but successful attempt to recover the eastern provinces. To the Greeks the Dioscuri were, *par excellence* the Θεοὶ σωτῆρες, the Saviours. In the present case, the laurel wreaths entwining their caps are conspicuous. The coupling of their busts with the type of Nike crowning a trophy seems most significant. Furthermore, the object between the base of the trophy and the feet of Nike, which has sometimes been erroneously described as a boar's head,¹¹ is actually the head of a bull.¹² The association of the bull with Seleucus I is well known,¹³ while probably for that reason his great grandson and namesake, Seleucus II, consciously revived the bull type on many of his own issues.¹⁴ The presence and actual position of the bull's head on our particular coins may have been intended to suggest that by his victories Seleucus II was to recover the eastern provinces, the conquests of the first Seleucus. It has also been stated¹⁵ that Seleucus II assembled his forces at Babylon (i. e., Seleucia on the Tigris). To the inhabitants of Seleucia the expedition was surely of peculiar import. For it will be remembered that the successful revolt of Bactria was quickly emulated by certain nomad tribes living to the east of the Caspian, and soon followed by their over-running of the neighboring provinces of Hyrcania and Parthia. The great trade route running from the west via Ecbatana, through the Caspian Gates to Hecatompylos, Artacoana, and thence into Bactria, Central Asia and India was thus almost completely blocked. Such a great centre for eastern trade as Seleucia on the Tigris, must have felt the disaster severely. Hopes in the metropolis probably ran high when it learned of the king's intention to recover the lost provinces, thereby restoring the flow of caravans and trade between the east and the west. It may well have been that Nos. 207A-C, with their highly significant types, were struck at this time.

SERIES III, c. 230-226 B. C.

The receipt of further casts from the London, Berlin, and Beyrouth collections has made it possible to find the hitherto missing silver issues which once accompanied the bronze coins Nos. 211-214.

¹⁰ Most kindly confirmed by Dr. Heichelheim.

¹¹ Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. xxx, cvii, 8; McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 5, No. 6.

¹² As shown clearly on any well preserved specimen of this group.

¹³ Cf. E. S. M., p. 19. The bull, in one form or another, was one of the most common reverse types on the issues of Seleucus I.

¹⁴ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 4, 5, 6 and the present work, PLATE XXXV, 12-19.

¹⁵ Cf., for instance, Bouché-Leclercq, Vol. I, p. 108.

210A. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the l. Apollo standing to l. beside his tripod. In outer l. field, ☉. In outer r. field, ♀.

London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 8), gr. 16.93. PLATE II, 6.

210B. DRACHM.

Similar to 210A.

Similar to the preceding, and with the same two monograms.

Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 917, Pl. 32, gr. 4.10. PLATE II, 7.

210C. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to 210A.

Similar to the preceding, but with the monogram ☉ only.

α) American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.3; β) Newell (Stack's Sale, Aug. 1940, No. 122, Pl. iii), gr. 17.07; γ) Berlin, gr. 17.03. PLATE II, 8.

That these silver coins are not only contemporary with Nos. 211–214, but also coined in the same mint, may be recognized in the fact that the king's portraits on both categories of coins are absolutely identical.¹⁶ We find recurring on both, the same peculiar type of flying diadem-ends, while the king's locks of hair are similarly arranged in curious and exceptionally thick masses. The right-hand monogram appears also on the immediately preceding bronze coins, Nos. 208 and 209.

SELEUCUS III

Specimen α of the tetradrachm No. 215 is now in the General Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, while a fine example of No. 217 is in the Beyrouth Museum. The accompanying bronze coins are still very rare, but a specimen of No. 219 (gr. 4.23) is in the British Museum and Mr. Seyrig states that he purchased another example of No. 218 in Baghdad.

ANTIOCHUS III



SERIES I, c. 223–221 B. C.

As previously surmised, E. S. M., p. 84, No. 223, β–γ, the monogram in the outer left hand field on the Seleucia specimens has the usual form \mathfrak{F} l. Recently the larger denomination to accompany the 'unit' No. 224 has been found.

¹⁶ Compare Plate II, 6–8 with two of the bronze coins from Seleucia, PLATE II, 9–10 and other similar pieces pictured in E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 12–13.


224A. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.
Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the r., ANTIOXOY on the l. Apollo Citharoedus standing to r. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field, .

Zygman Collection, gr. 6.30. PLATE II, 11.



SERIES II, c. 220-215 B. C.

On PLATE II, 12, is reproduced the tetradrachm E. S. M., No. 236 = Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, No. 350. The plate reference in Babelon for the obverse (all that is reproduced) should read: fig. 5. The exergual monogram, though badly worn, appears to be —the exact form in the lower portion being a little uncertain, as there the monogram mingles with the beaded circle.

To this, or possibly to the succeeding Series, should be assigned the following bronze 'units.'

239B. BRONZE UNIT.


Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.
Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer r. field,  (sometimes .

α-γ) *Seleucia*, pp. 13-14, No. 28, gr. 2.93; 2.90; 2.65; 2.61; 2.09; 2.01. PLATE II, 13-15;
δ) Newell, gr. 2.69 (pictured in E. S. M., Pl. xlii, 8).

The specimen from Seleucia weighing gr. 3.10¹⁷ turns out to be a very badly corroded example of Nos. 960-2 below. No. 239B represents the type which in E. S. M. was described under No. 185 and erroneously given to Antiochus II, in conformity with Dr. McDowell's assignment. The style and fabric are now seen to be later; the portrait is obviously that of Antiochus III and should be compared with his features as found on the accompanying tetradrachms of Series II and III.



SERIES III, c. 215-210 B. C.

Specimen α of No. 241, from the Bunbury Coll., is now in the British Museum. The form of the exergual monogram is seen to be . Another specimen in Copenhagen weighs gr. 17.07.

The following bronze varieties should be added to the coins listed under Series III:

243A. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Apollo to r., hair done in a knot and bound with laurel. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Nike standing to l., holds palm in l., and with a wreath in her outstretched r. she crowns the king's name. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field,  (?).

¹⁷ *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 14, No. 28.

α - γ) *Seleucia*, p. 16, No. 34, Pl. ii, gr. 8.21 (recleaned, gr. 7.75); gr. 7.84; to which should be added a third but very poor specimen from coins recently cleaned. PLATE II, 16.

This variety bears types identical with those found on a rare 'quadruple' of the Antioch mint, No. 1075 (PLATE XXVIII, 12), from which the Babylonian pieces are distinguishable by their weight, their monograms, and the bevelled edges of their flans. The occasion celebrated by the two issues, obviously contemporaneous, was doubtless the destruction of the rebel, Achaeus, and the reincorporation of his kingdom with the Seleucid territories.

244A. BRONZE UNIT.

Bust of Artemis, as on No. 244.

Apollo to r. with lyre, as on No. 244. In outer r. field, PA . In outer l. field, A .

London, gr. 2.61. PLATE II, 17.

The writer's surmise¹⁸ that *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 9, No. 17 was actually the type described under No. 245, turns out to be correct. There Dr. McDowell had inadvertently described the head on the obverse as three-quarters facing to left. It faces to the right. Similarly most, if not all of the specimens of *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 12, No. 23 bear the head of Artemis, not Athena, and represent type No. 246 of E. S. M. Recleaning of the Seleucia specimens reveal the torch, in most cases. Another example from the recently cleaned coins, weighing gr. 4.30, may be added. A further specimen of the bronze 'unit' No. 247 has recently come from Baghdad.

SERIES IV, c. 209-205 B. C.

Of the specimens from Seleucia, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 11, No. 21, all but one (weighing gr. 1.73—an example of E. S. M., No. 199) represent type No. 250.

To this series should be added the following new type, also from Seleucia:

250A. BRONZE UNIT.

Heads of Apollo and Artemis jugate to r., that of Apollo is in three-quarters view, that of Artemis is strictly in profile. Bevelled edge.

BAΣIAEQΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Tall tripod with *holmos* as on No. 250. No monogram discernible.

Seleucia, gr. 3.36. PLATE II, 18.

SERIES VI, c. 203-187 B. C.

An example of No. 257 in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (gr. 3.98, PLATE II, 20), together with a new specimen (gr. 2.96, PLATE II, 19) from Seleucia, reveal that what both Dr. McDowell and the writer mistook for a male figure standing to right, is in actuality a herm. On the previously known specimens only the upper portion of the reverse type was visible (E. S. M., Pl. xx, 10). The type is now made clear and constitutes a herm facing to the right, the human portion of which is a male figure wrapped in a mantle and wearing a *causia*. The implication

¹⁸ E. S. M., p. 90, No. 245.

which the types of this coin were intended to convey, may have been the widening of the empire's borders by Antiochus III and the restoration of commerce. So important to cities like Seleucia and Susa were such achievements of Antiochus the Great that the latter mint copied these types on one of its own issues (E. S. M., No. 405, Pl. xxxi, 8).

SUSA

SELEUCUS I

SERIES II, c. 300-298 B. C.

Further examples of the hemidrachm No. 305 and the tetradrachm No. 307 are to be seen in the Copenhagen collection, the tetradrachm being from the same obverse and reverse dies as the two examples listed in the E. S. M.

SERIES III, c. 298-280 B. C.

GROUP E

Through the ever-ready kindness of M. Seyrig, the cast of an important new variety of the elephant-biga tetradrachms of Susa, coming from a recent hoard found near Latakia in Syria, has been received. Its description is as follows:

325A. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. From the same die as No. 324.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Athena in a *biga* of elephants to r. Above shield, ANCHOR to l. In front of the elephants, ☉ and BEE.

Latakia (May 1940) Hoard. The cast was unfortunately received too late for inclusion on the plates.

In this new variety we now possess unequivocal evidence that Group E did actually follow Group D and was coined at Susa. The obverse die is the same as that previously used for No. 324. On the reverse, Athena is still in her *biga* of elephants, as on Nos. 324 and 326. Above her shield is the ANCHOR to left, as on No. 324, but not to the right as on No. 326 and all the succeeding tetradrachms. The magistrates' monogram and symbol are ☉ and BEE. The BEE is here completely preserved, as is not the case with the only known example of No. 327. Thus, the obverse die, the BEE, and the direction of the ANCHOR connect our new coin with the issues of Group D, while the monogram places it in Group E, doubtless at the very commencement of the new issue.

GROUP G

A specimen (gr. 4.737. PLATE II, 21) of the bronze 'unit' No. 336 has now been found among the recently cleaned coins from Seleucia, and enables us to dis-

tinguish the form of the monogram beneath the elephant's head on the reverse. Although somewhat damaged by corrosion, the monogram is almost certainly Φ . This raises more problems than it settles. No similar monogram is to be found among the other published issues of Susa. The comparatively poor style and the thick, dumpy fabric of the known specimens of this coin render it highly improbable that it was ever an issue of Seleucia on the Tigris, in spite of the discovery of the present example on that particular site. On the other hand, the shape of the monogram reminds one of a certain monogram (whose form varies between Φ and Φ) found on the silver coins Nos. 422-425 from the mint at Persepolis-Istakhr. But of that mint no Seleucid bronze coins have as yet been published. Nevertheless, the monogram now to be seen suggests the possibility that No. 336 may actually represent a bronze coinage brought out under Seleucus I at the capital of the province of Persis, i. e., at Persepolis.

ANTIOCHUS I

345A. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 345.

Similar to No. 345. In l. field, Θ . Beneath the throne, Ξ .

American University, Beyrouth, gr. 15.9. PLATE LXXXV, 7.

SELEUCUS II

368A. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 368.

Similar to No. 368. In l. field, Ξ . Beneath throne, Φ .

American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.3. PLATE LXXXV, 8.

The casts of Nos. 345A and 368A were, with his accustomed helpfulness, sent by M. Henri Seyrig from Beyrouth. Due to the obstructions and delays caused by the present conflict, they arrived after the first sixteen plates had been completed. Hence, the reproductions have had to be relegated to the final plate of the present work. The two tetradrachms are typical of their kind. The obverses are from dies already known, but their reverses each present a magistrate's monogram new to our lists covering the Susian issues.

SELEUCUS III

A fine example of the tetradrachm No. 377 is in Brussels, PLATE II, 22, struck from dies not hitherto recorded.

ANTIOCHUS III

SERIES II, c. 212-204 B. C.

Many additional examples of this large coinage have put in an appearance. In Gotha and Copenhagen are two specimens (grs. 16.59 and 16.97, respectively) of

No. 393, both from the obverse die A2 but from entirely new reverse dies. In the Fitzwilliam and Beyrouth Museums are two examples of No. 396, from different reverse dies but both struck from the obverse die A2, whose employment in the production of No. 396 has not been recorded. A specimen of No. 401 (dies A7—P25, gr. 17.18) is in Mr. Zygmant's collection, while another example of No. 402 (obverse die A8) is in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

To Series II should be added the following new varieties:

403A. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r. ANTIOXOY on l.
Circle of dots. Seated Apollo to l. In outer l. field, ☽.
In outer r. field, ♀.

London (Dunne's Mesopotamian Hoard, Noe, No. 681), ♂, gr. 17.13. PLATE II, 23.

403B. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field,
♂ above ROSE. In outer r. field, N (?).

The Hague, No. 6975, gr. 16.30. PLATE II, 24.

In style these new varieties represent the transitional stage between the preceding Nos. 401–3 and the succeeding No. 404. It is interesting to note that on 403A there recurs the same peculiar type of portraiture which was in use for a short time at Nisibis, PLATE XI, 3–7, 10. Although the head at Susa is a little longer and narrower than at Nisibis, the latter's coins must surely have served as models for this issue of Susa. Similarly, this last coin may have been followed by Nos. 1682–3, PLATE LXXXIII, 3–5, described below among the pieces of as yet uncertain mintage.

Because of the newly discovered variety No. 206A, PLATE I, 22, from Seleucia, we now see whence the die-cutter of the Susian coin No. 412A (E. S. M., Pl. xxxi, 19) must have drawn his inspiration. Similarly, we now know that the Susian coin No. 405 (E. S. M., Pl. xxxi, 8) was copied from the Seleucian issue No. 257 (E. S. M., Pl. xx, 9–10, and W. S. M., PLATE II, 19–20). This further demonstrates the extent to which the mint at Susa drew upon the issues of her sister mints for the patterns of her own bronze coinages.

PERSEPOLIS—ISTAKHR

SELEUCUS I

Additional examples of the Persepolitan silver issues have also come to light. These include two examples of the drachm No. 414, one now in the author's collection (♂, gr. 4.14), the other in Brussels (gr. 3.525). In addition, we have an example of the tetradrachm No. 417 in Copenhagen (gr. 16.69), of the hemidrachm No. 419 in the author's collection (♂, gr. 1.41) and of the obol No. 423 in Copenhagen

(gr. 0.53). The splendidly preserved tetradrachm, similar to No. 420, in Brussels may be an unusually well executed ancient forgery (*fourrée* ?), as it is said to weigh only gr. 14.72. In style it is every whit as good as the official issues.

The following new variety may also be recorded:

421A. TETRADRACHM.

Helmeted head of Seleucus I to r. Circle
of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Nike standing to r., crowning a trophy.
Between, Σ I.

Copenhagen, gr. 16.72. PLATE II, 25.

Finally, it may be stated that the example β (from the Late Collector, Benson and Rogers collections) of No. 426 has recently entered the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

ECBATANA

In his review of the E. S. M., Dr. Tarn prefers Rhaga to Ecbatana as the probable seat of the Median mint represented by Nos. 428 to 656. This is of course possible; and in E. S. M., pp. 253-4, it was suggested that perhaps some of the Ecbatana issues might have been coined at Rhaga. Tarn bases his opinion on four points: 1) his statement that Rhaga "was graecised" while in the case of Ecbatana "no Greek settlement there is known before Antiochus IV"; 2) there is "no evidence that Ecbatana was the administrative centre of Seleucid Media"; 3) the Nisaeen fields "were nowhere near the Zagros, but lay well to the north-east of Ecbatana"; 4) Isidore's statement that Rhaga was "the greatest city in Media."

Dr. Tarn agrees that the feeding horse symbol must refer to the Nisaeen fields and that therefore the coins which bear this symbol were certainly coined in the province of Media. The actual location of the Nisaeen fields has been for long disputed by modern historians and geographers. The usually trustworthy Arrian implies that Alexander sought the famous horses on his march from Opis to Ecbatana, and hence the fields could not have lain to the north or north-east of Ecbatana. Some scholars have thrown doubt on this passage because other ancient sources place the fields in the neighborhood of Rhaga and the Caspian Gates. Be that as it may, it does not invalidate the symbol as certainly indicating a Median mint for our coins; and, if so, they could have been coined at Ecbatana as well as at Rhaga. Certainly they must have been coined in the administrative, and probably also in the economic, centre of the province. Which of the two suggested cities was the more 'graecised' at the moment, hardly matters. Persepolis could hardly have been much more 'graecised' than Ecbatana, yet an active mint under Seleucus I was located here. Sources more or less contemporary with the Achaemenids, with Alexander, and with his immediate successors make much more of Ecbatana than they do of Rhaga. We know that Ecbatana was the administrative centre of Media under the Persians. Following his practically invariable rule in such matters,

Alexander surely continued it as such. We may not actually *know* of a Greek settlement at Ecbatana before Antiochus IV, but Hamadan has not been excavated to anywhere near the same extent as Babylon, Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa, or Persepolis. Isidore is a late writer, and his statement that Rhaga was the greatest city in Media may be good only for Parthian times; certainly we have no evidence that it was so in Greek times.

A large proportion of the coins assigned to Ecbatana has come from the regions in and around Hamadan, including Azerbaijan, and in these cases the coins were almost certainly *found* there. In sharp contrast to this, the American excavations of Rayy produced only two Seleucid coins (Nos. 531f and 637β) of our mint, although the excavators may not have actually touched the main Seleucid settlement. Many of Imhoof-Blumer's coins of the Ecbatana Mint were secured by him from Baghdad, and these are more likely to have been brought there from Hamadan, than from further to the east. A great many of our coins are stated in our catalogue to have come from Teheran, but this fact does not actually possess the importance attached to it by Dr. Tarn. They may or may not have been found in the districts around that city. Teheran is the capital of Persia, and naturally attracts coins from all over Iran, for here reside the wealthier European business men and here are located the embassies of foreign countries. The fact that most British coins are to be purchased in London, and Gallic coins in Paris, does not mean that these coins were actually found in or near those cities but that the coin markets are there. The same is more or less true of Teheran.

Thus, on the whole, it seems to the present writer that Ecbatana is still the safer designation for our mint, although he would be the last to object, in the present state of our knowledge, to Tarn's suggestion that the mint "be called Ecbatana or Rhaga."


Additions to our lists of the Seleucid issues of Ecbatana are fairly important.

SELEUCUS I

SERIES III, c. 293-280 B. C.

480A. DIDRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the r. Zeus Aetophorus enthroned to l. In l. field,  above horizontal ANCHOR above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l. Beneath throne, ΣΩ.

Brussels, gr. 7.38. PLATE III, 1.

The didrachm, a denomination so exceedingly rare at other Seleucid mints but generally present in the various groups produced at Ecbatana under Seleucus I, is now known also to have been coined for Group A of Series III. This seems to be its last appearance at Ecbatana. It is curious, but hardly significant, that our didrachm lacks the royal title—just as had all the preceding didrachms. In con-

trast, its companion tetradrachms, drachms and hemidrachms of Series III, Group A (Nos. 480-3), all display the royal title accompanying the name of Seleucus.

The following examples of known varieties also exist: a specimen of No. 480 in Gotha (gr. 16.61), one of No. 487 in the Beyrouth Museum, one of No. 500 in Brussels (gr. 16.52). In the Mario Ratto Sale No. 11, Paris, May 1935, there occurred the following two tetradrachms: No. 49, Pl. ii, gr. 17.00, similar to our No. 493, and No. 50, Pl. ii, 51, gr. 16.85, from the same dies as our No. 498.

507A. DRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus Aetophorus seated to l. In l. field, inverted ANCHOR above ∟. Beneath throne, Α.

London, ←, gr. 3.87. PLATE III, 2.

This represents a further addition to the somewhat enigmatic Group E, all of whose coins are characterized by the presence of the monogram Α, the absence of the monogram Ξ, and by erratic die-positions.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

541A. STATER.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. In upper l. field, Ξ. In lower inner l. field, ⊕ above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l.

Cambridge, Leake Coll. (*Numismatica Hellenica*, Kings, Suppl., p. 4), ↘, gr. 8.59. PLATE III, 3.

541B. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r.

Similar to the preceding. In upper l. field, Ξ. In lower l. field, Α above forepart of FEEDING HORSE to l.

Coll. Poche, Aleppo. PLATE III, 4.

The occurrence at this juncture of a gold stater in the Ecbatana series is interesting. Is it an indication that steps were being taken to compensate the Seleucid empire for the loss of the mint at Bactra, a mint which had held first place among Seleucid mints in the coining of gold?

SELEUCUS II

SERIES I

547A. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r., wearing a crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Apollo standing to l., leaning on his bow.
In outer r. field, ♣. In outer l. field, ⚡.

Copenhagen, gr. 4.10. PLATE III, 5.

547B. DRACHM.

Head of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet to r. Circle of dots.

Similar to the preceding. In outer r. field, ☉. In outer l. field, ⚡.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 3.965. PLATE III, 6.

We now see that Ecbatana, like her sister mints of Seleucia on the Tigris, Antioch, Apamea, and others, also produced a series of drachms adorned with the head of Athena on the obverse. In the present case, the goddess varies the use of the Attic with the Corinthian type of helmet. At each of the other mints she appears to have favored but one style. Although on Nos. 547A and 547B the symbols, forepart of a FEEDING HORSE or HORSE'S HEAD—customary in this reign for the silver issues of Ecbatana—are lacking, the monogram ⚡ still assures the attribution of these two coins to the Median mint.

SERIES II

556A. DRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. on bow and holding arrow in outstretched r. In outer r. field, ⚡. In upper inner l. field, ⚡. In outer l. field, HORSE'S HEAD.

Newell, ♂, gr. 3.89. PLATE III, 7.

Under Series II the coining of drachms is now known to have continued, as the monograms of No. 556A are identical with those found on the tetradrachm No. 556. But its obverse type henceforth conforms to that of the tetradrachm, while for the reverse, the seated Apollo of the preceding issue of tetradrachms (Nos. 545-7) was adopted. The die-cutter apparently felt that on the drachm there was too little room for the usual symbol of the Ecbatana mint: the forepart of a FEEDING HORSE. Instead, he adopted, for the first time, the HORSE'S HEAD, which in the next (Series III) and all succeeding issues down into the reign of Demetrius I, became the standard symbol of the Ecbatana mint.

For the sake of completeness, the gold stater No. 761, now known to be an issue of the Ecbatana mint but not illustrated in the E. S. M., is here reproduced, PLATE III, 8. The proof of this assertion may be seen in comparing the stater

with the recently discovered drachm No. 556 A, PLATE III, 7. Their obverses turn out to have been struck from one and the same die! Hence, the gold stater is revealed as part and parcel of Series II, suggested in E. S. M., pp. 198-9, as having been brought out in preparation for the Parthian campaign of Seleucus II. The presence of the gold stater in this issue further supports the proposed dating.



ANTIOCHUS III

SERIES I, c. 220-215 B. C.

GROUP B

579A. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.

Inscription and seated Apollo as on No. 579. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field,  above HORSE'S HEAD to l.

Newell, ϵ , gr. 16.97. PLATE III, 9.


From the same obverse die as No. 579. The monogram on the right is a variant of those previously published.

SERIES II c. 215-209 B. C.


To accompany the known tetradrachms, hemidrachms and obols (E. S. M., Nos. 588-590) of this issue, comes the following drachm:

588A. DRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.
Diadem-ends hang straight.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer l. field,  above HORSE'S HEAD to l. In the exergue, ΔΙΟ.

London (India Office), ϵ , gr. 4.04. PLATE III, 10.

The official ΔΙΟ may well be the same person whose initials ΔΙ, or monogram , are so conspicuous on the coins of the succeeding Series III. In that case, we happily secure an added tie between Series II and III, and also a very definite confirmation for the assignment of the silver coins Nos. 604-609 to the Ecbatana mint.

SERIES III c. 209-205 B. C.

Further examples of No. 605 are in Copenhagen (gr. 16.18) and Cambridge (from the Trist Sale, No. 194).

SERIES IV c. 205-200 B. C.

Specimen α of No. 628 is now in Copenhagen. Further examples of No. 631 are in Gotha (gr. 3.63), Copenhagen (gr. 4.14), Brussels (gr. 4.06) and the Fitz-

william Museum (from the O'Hagan Sale, No. 657). More important is the following new variety:

631A. DRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY below
elephant standing to r. In upper field, MP .
In the exergue, E .

α) Copenhagen, gr. 4.03. PLATE III, 11; β) Brussels, gr. 4.18. PLATE III, 12.

The similarity in style and fabric between No. 631A and Nos. 626–631, coupled with the presence on 631A of the characteristic monogram E (previously unknown after its last appearance in Series I, Group B of Seleucus II), assures us that these elephant coins were indeed coined at Ecbatana.

To substantiate still further the assignment of certain bronze coins to Ecbatana, M. Seyrig has kindly informed the writer that he recently purchased examples of Nos. 554, 619 and 622 in Teheran.

SERIES V, c. 200–187 B. C.

638A. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.
Circle of dots.

Inscription and seated Apollo as on No.
638. In outer l. field, AP above HORSE'S
HEAD above \times .

The Hague, No. 6973, gr. 16.90. PLATE III, 13.

From the same obverse die as No. 638, the present tetradrachm varies in having a letter (\times) immediately beneath the mint mark on the reverse die.

BACTRA

In his review of the E. S. M., Dr. Tarn somewhat tentatively puts forth the suggestion that the coins of 'Indian' weight, Nos. 664–75, might not have been struck at Bactra but at Alexandria-Kapisa in the Paropamisadae. On purely numismatic grounds these particular coins cannot well be torn away from the remaining Bactrian issues, Nos. 657–63 and 676 ff., and assigned to a mint across the mountains in what is now Afghanistan. They constitute the obvious stylistic transition between the two groups. On the one hand, they are connected with Nos. 657–63 by the continued use of the monogram R and by certain recurrences of the old style (e. g., compare E. S. M., Pl. I, 13 with Pl. I, 6), and on the other hand, with Nos. 676 ff. by the continuation on the latter of characteristic monograms like A or B .

In 1918 the numismatic collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, received the Tremlett Bequest which "comprises about 1500 specimens representing the coinages of India from the fourth century B. C. onwards, and the coinages of

the Hellenic kingdoms of Syria, Bactria, and Parthia in the third century B. C."¹⁹ A list of the Seleucid coins, all of eastern mintage, was most kindly supplied by Dr. F. M. Heichelheim.

SELEUCUS I

SERIES I, before c. 285 B. C.

A new variety of the tetradrachm No. 661, this time possessing no monogram at all, is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

661A. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Zeus r., very similar in style to No. 661.

Athena in a quadriga of elephants, as on No. 661. No monogram visible.

Oxford, ↓, gr. 16.35. PLATE III, 14.

Another example of the drachm No. 658, apparently from the same pair of dies, is in the Tremlett Bequest; while the following variety of No. 662 is in Copenhagen:

662A. DRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two lines in the exergue. Athena in *biga* of elephants to r. Behind Athena, portions of a monogram (⊗ ?). To r. of elephants, ⊙.

Copenhagen, gr. 3.91. PLATE III, 15.

SERIES II, c. 285-280 B. C.

An example of No. 665 is in Copenhagen, together with the following new variety:

668A. HEMIDRACHM.

Head of Zeus to r., as before.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in two lines in the exergue. Athena in *biga* of elephants to r. Above elephants, ⊗. Beneath elephants, ▯.

Copenhagen, gr. 1.69. PLATE III, 16.

ANTIOCHUS I

SERIES I, c. 280-268 B. C.

A further specimen of the drachm No. 679 is in Copenhagen (gr. 4.10); of No. 688 in the Zygman Collection (↓, gr. 4.03); of No. 689 in the Tremlett Bequest;

¹⁹ *Seventieth Annual Report of the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate, for the year 1918*, p. 2.

of No. 690, one in the Tremlett Bequest and two in the Zygman Collection (↓, gr. 3.80; ↑, gr. 4.15).

SERIES II, c. 268–261 B. C.

A further example of No. 695 is in Brussels (gr. 8.52), and of Nos. 697 and 698 in the Tremlett Bequest, which also contains the following new variety:

697A. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle BAΣIAEΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. upon *omphalos*. In inner l. field, O.

Cambridge, Tremlett Bequest. PLATE III, 17.

Finally, there is a specimen of No. 701 in the General Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum, and of No. 704 in Copenhagen (gr. 8.56). The Ashmolean Museum possesses a drachm which constitutes a companion piece to the gold stater No. 704:

704A. DRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Seated Apollo as on No. 704. In l. field, beneath Apollo's right hand, Δ.

Oxford, ↓, gr. 3.37. PLATE III, 18.

ANTIOCHUS II

SERIES I, c. 261–256 B. C.

Of the stater No. 709, further examples are in the Tremlett Bequest, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (↘, gr. 8.44), and in Brussels (gr. 8.46), while specimen ζ has recently been acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

SERIES III, c. 255–246 B. C.

A specimen of No. 717 is now in Copenhagen (gr. 16.52), while another (↘, gr. 16.32), acquired from R. B. Whitehead and now in the author's collection, was by an oversight not included in the E. S. M. lists.

HECATOMPYLUS OR ARTACOANA

A few varieties may also be added to the known issues of this somewhat enigmatic mint.

ANTIOCHUS I

280–261 B. C.

727A. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. From BAΣIAEΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer l. field, B A. In the exergue, Λ or Δ.

Naples, No. 8723. PLATE III, 19.

728A. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, A ♂ (sideways). In the exergue, ⌚.

Proschowsky, Hellerup, Denmark, gr. 17.08. PLATE III, 20.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

731A. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 731.

Similar to No. 731. In outer r. field, ✕. In outer l. field, ⌚ above ⌚. In the exergue, ⌚.

Tortose (Antaradus) Hoard of May 1940. The cast was unfortunately received too late for inclusion on the plates.

731B. DRACHM.

Head of Antiochus to r. Same die as No. 732.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer r. field, ✕. In outer l. field, uncertain monogram above Apollo's arrow, ⌚ below. In the exergue, ⌚.

Coll. Poche, Aleppo. PLATE III, 21.

An additional example in Oxford (↖, gr. 4.30, PLATE III, 22) of the drachm No. 732 suggests that the form of the monogram in the outer right field (indistinct or off flan on all previously known specimens) was something like ⌚.

SELEUCUS II

246-226 B. C.

740A. DRACHM.

Diademed head to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΣ (sic !) on l. Apollo standing to l. beside his tripod. In outer l. field, ⌚.

Paris (Babelon, No. 263), gr. 4.15. PLATE III, 23.

In addition, an example of No. 735 is in Beyrouth, while the specimen catalogued in the E. S. M. under No. 744 appeared later in the Baranowsky Sale IV, 1931, No. 753, Pl. xxvi.

Dr. Tarn's interesting remarks on the choice between Hecatompylus or Artacoana as the mint of Nos. 727-745, increases the probabilities for the former. One of his reasons, however, i. e., the striking similarity in technique and appearance between the earliest or 'beardless' type of Parthian coins and the latest issues of our mint, must not be pushed too far. The latest Seleucid coins, namely those of Seleucus II, cannot be later than 226 B. C., at the latest. The date for the

Parthian coins in question can hardly be placed before *circa* 200 B. C., at the very earliest; while most, if not all, of them were probably coined in the early years of Mithradates I (171–138 B. C.). Although they are like the Seleucid coins in their general character and in the technique of their production, it does not necessarily follow that they were coined in the same mint, as Dr. Tarn implies.

UNCERTAIN MINTS

The proposed assignment of the hemidrachm No. 754 to the eastern portion of the Seleucid dominions is definitely supported by the find-spot of the following tetradrachm, unfortunately overlooked in the preparation of the E. S. M.

754A. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two parallel lines on the r. Zeus seated to l., holds eagle in outstretched r. and rests l. upon sceptre. In l. field, ✕. Beneath throne, Π.

Collected in Seistan by Mr. Tate and described by E. J. Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. 36, 1904, p. 674, No. 3, and illustrated on the accompanying plate. Gr. 14.58 (much damaged by corrosion and subsequent cleaning).

Mr. Tate states (*loc. cit.*, pp. 663 and 668) that this coin, together with other pieces of Greek, Bactrian, Parthian and Sassanian types, was picked up by the Baluchi inhabitants of "the edge of the deserted track, on the eastern verge of the flood area of the Helmand." He states further that "the coins with effigies come from the ruins which extend from Sār-o-Tār, in the south, past Chakānsur and up to the ruins known as Post-i-Gau and Chāpu, embracing the ancient sites at Kadah and Khana-i-Gaur, and Erindās, these localities being situated to the east of Chakānsur," i. e., to the east of the Helmand River in Afghan Seistan. This district formed part of the ancient province of Drangiana, of which Alexandria-Prophthasia was once the capital. A possible attribution to that mint of Nos. 747–8 has been tentatively suggested.²⁰ Nos. 754 and 754A may be further issues of that important outpost of Seleucid power in eastern Iran.

Several more examples of the curious tetradrachm No. 755 may be recorded: δ) Prof. Sir Charles Oman, ↑, gr. 14.26 (secured from the Punjab); ε) Sydenham Collection, ↑, gr. 15.65; ς) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Tremlett Bequest, ↑, gr. 17.43; ζ) London (from Chanda Mall), gr. 15.55. Thus, three further specimens are now definitely known to have come from the far eastern districts of the Greek world. Hence, it may be assumed that their original mint was probably located somewhere in eastern Iran or in Afghanistan. To be noted is the extraordinarily wide variation in weight displayed by these coins. But weights such as gr. 16.62 (β) and gr. 17.43 (ς) would seem to indicate, nevertheless, that the intention

²⁰ E. S. M., pp. 260–1.

had been to follow the Attic system. Though the dies were obviously not fixed, there seems to have been a conscious effort to keep them in a generally upright position.

Accompanying the above tetradrachms was also an issue of hemidrachms.

755A. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to No. 755.

Similar to No. 755. In l. field, Σ . It is uncertain if there is a monogram beneath the throne, as this portion of the design is off flan.

Oxford, ↓, gr. 2.05. PLATE III, 24.

CHAPTER II

MESOPOTAMIA AND PARAPOTAMIA

1) MESOPOTAMIA

In ancient times northern Mesopotamia was much more important economically and politically, more thickly inhabited and better cultivated than its present half-deserted state would lead one to believe. Busy highways traversed it,¹ while flourishing towns and villages were strung along these roads like pearls on a necklace. Logically, perhaps, the important Seleucid coinages of this district should have been included in our previous study of the eastern mints of the Seleucid empire. But situated as the province was, athwart the highways running between east and west, its coinages partake of the nature of both regions and, like the district in which they originated, constitute a sort of tie between the eastern and western issues and so serve as a convenient introduction to the study of the latter.

It is not yet certain that northern Mesopotamia actually belonged from the beginning to the empire which Seleucus I carved out for himself in the years immediately following the battle of Gaza (312 B. C.).² Seleucus, in consequence of that great victory, borrowed a thousand men from his friend and patron, Ptolemy I of Egypt, and with this little force and a handful of personal friends, made his bold dash through the midst of an enemy's country to distant Babylon. He stopped at Carrhae only long enough to persuade some of the Macedonian veterans, who had been settled there as colonists, to join his banner. Arriving before Babylon in the summer of 312 B. C., he successfully ousted the garrison of his implacable enemy, Antigonus, and recovered the great metropolis. His former subjects rallied enthusiastically to his cause and thus, by means of a more adequate army and his own brilliant leadership, Seleucus was able to defeat Nicanor, satrap of Media and of the Upper Provinces and a loyal henchman of Antigonus. He now pressed his success, and advancing into Media met his antagonist for the second time, utterly defeating him in a pitched battle in which Nicanor lost his life. One after the other, the provinces of Media, Susa, Persis, and Bactria acknowledged, perhaps more or less willingly, the new ruler of Babylon.

Just when Seleucus found the opportunity also to acquire northern Mesopotamia from the lieutenants of Antigonus, we do not know. A treaty of peace was signed in 311 B. C. which freed Seleucus to consolidate his hard won empire. But our ancient sources make no mention of northern Mesopotamia. In any case, the district would be of equal importance to Antigonus or to Seleucus—whichever one

¹ Cf. René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, pp. 477-501. Incidentally, the ancient name of Carrhae, Harran in Assyrian, possesses the basic meaning of 'road' or 'way.'

² Beloch, IV², i, pp. 133-4, note 1, believes that by the peace of 311 B. C., Antigonus retained northern Mesopotamia, all to the east of it being ceded to Seleucus.

may have been left in possession of it. To the former it would constitute an outlying bulwark against further attacks of his ambitious, aggressive, and able adversary. Seleucus, on the other hand, by fortifying its strategic points could ward off, or at least delay, other lightning-like thrusts against his capital, Babylon—such as the young Demetrius had so boldly carried out early in 311 B. C.³ We chance to possess literary notices⁴ that one Nicanor 'founded' the strategically located towns of Mesopotamian Antioch (either Nisibis or Edessa, or both) and Dura. This Nicanor has been recognized by some⁵ as the above-mentioned satrap of Media and a follower of Antigonus; by others,⁶ as perhaps a general of Seleucus or even Seleucus, himself.⁷ An active mint in one of the larger towns in northern Mesopotamia would have been of prime importance for its defense, whoever at this moment may have been its over-lord. The issues of such a mint will now be described.

A. CARRHAE

Carrhae (Greek Κάρραι) had long been one of the most important cities in northern Mesopotamia. It was the Biblical Haran, noted⁸ as the residence of Abraham and the burial place of his father, Terah. The city is first mentioned⁹ in a cuneiform tablet of the fourteenth century B. C. (probably under the Mittannian King, Tushratta), and thereafter frequently named in Assyrian tablets as the goal of numerous military expeditions under Adad Nirari I, Shalmaneser I, Tiglath Pileser I and Sargon II. The Old Testament (II Kings, 19, 12) speaks of the city as belonging to Senacherib, while from certain other tablets we know that in 685 and 649 B. C. it was the residence of an Assyrian governor. A tablet of Assurbanipal mentions two oracles secured by himself and his father, Essarhaddon, from the far famed temple of the moon-god Sin, the Baal of Haran. An inscription of Assurbanipal tells of the building of a great temple to Sin, while another inscription of Nabonidus describes his rebuilding of this temple, destroyed fifty-four years previously by the Medes. In fact, at this period and well into Seleucid times, Carrhae was obviously of much greater importance than the neighboring Edessa.¹⁰

To Carrhae, then, the writer has long attributed the following group of gold and silver coins of the Alexander type, dated by their style to about the last decade of the fourth century B. C. The belief that they originated in northern Mesopotamia is predicated upon three observations: a) in style, the coins are seen partially to resemble the known issues of Babylonia, Susiana and Media on the one hand,

³ Diodorus XIX, 100.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 117; Isidorus of Charax, *Mansiones Parthicae*.

⁵ Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen*, etc., p. 88; Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 7, note 3.

⁶ A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 216ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, X, 1938, pp. 102-3; Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europus*, p. xviii ff.

⁷ As Seleucus bore the title Nicator, this might easily in course of time have become changed to Nicanor.

⁸ Genesis 11, 31-32; 12, 4-5.

⁹ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa X, p. 2011.

¹⁰ Urhoi, the modern Urfa.

partially those of Cilicia, Syria and the Phoenician coast on the other; b) there seems to exist no room for such a numerous group of coins among the late fourth century issues of any of the active mints situated in the districts just mentioned; c) northern Mesopotamia is the sole remaining important district in the middle east to which Alexandrine coins have not been assigned and the absence of which would seem inexplicable. Granting that the following coins may reasonably be assigned to northern Mesopotamia, there must still be a decision as to which of its three principal cities (Carrhae, Edessa, Nisibis) the coins in question should be attributed.

Here the important point seems to be that, although undoubtedly existing from pre-Greek times, neither Edessa nor Nisibis are known to have been actually colonized by Greeks until Seleucus I (or Nicanor) refounded them about 302 B. C.¹¹ The earliest specimens of our coins appear, by their style, to precede this date by several years and, significantly, they all still bear the name of Alexander. If the issue had been commenced by Seleucus in 302 B. C. (or even as early as 306-305 B. C., provided he held northern Mesopotamia as early as that, which is doubtful), there is no reason why the coins should not have borne his name, as was the case with all of his western coinages from that time on. Any Alexandrine coinage at Edessa or Nisibis before 302 B. C. is unthinkable. For no purely native city of the east, not previously possessed of the right of coinage¹² or established as one of their own administrative centres¹³ by the conquering Greeks, seems to have been allowed to issue money under Alexander or his immediate successors. Carrhae, on the other hand, we know had already been settled by Macedonian veterans at least as early as 312 B. C.,¹⁴ for in that year Seleucus had secured many as adherents to his cause when he passed through the city on his famous dash to Babylon.¹⁵ As Carrhae was not only thus definitely a Macedonian colony well before the time at which our coins were struck, but was also the most important city in the north, between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, there is every reason to believe that the following pieces were issued here. A further bit of evidence, pointing to Carrhae as their probable mint, will be mentioned after the coins themselves have been described.

Because these issues are at first in the name of Alexander—and so not certainly *Seleucid*—they have been furnished with special numbers in italics. The reference following the denomination is to Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Copenhagen, 1855. In the case of the silver tetradrachms, obverse or anvil dies are numbered A1, etc., reverse or punch dies, P1, etc.; while obverse and reverse dies of the gold staters are given simple letters, A and a, respectively.

¹¹ The date for Edessa is given by Eusebius, *Chron.*, a. Abr. 1715 = 302 B. C. See also Syncellus, p. 520; Cedrenus I, p. 292. Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*, p. 104, gives reasons for dating the foundation of Nisibis to about the same year.

¹² Such as Aradus, Byblus, Sidon, possibly even Ake.

¹³ Such as Damascus, Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana.

¹⁴ Tscherikower, *loc. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁵ Diodorus XIX, 91.

Under ANTIGONUS (?)

1. TETRADRACHM (Müller 510).
 Youthful head of Heracles to r. Circle of dots. AAEEANΔPOY on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l. In l. field, BEE above ☞. Beneath throne, Ⓢ.
- Mechitaristen Convent, Vienna. Not possible to secure a cast.
2. TETRADRACHM (Müller 843).
 Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, but without symbol.
- A1—P1. α) Newell, gr. 17.14; β) Newell, gr. 16.61. PLATE IV, 1.
 P2. Newell, gr. 16.80.
3. STATER.
 Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent. AAEEANΔPOY on r. Nike to l., holding wreath in outstretched r. In l. field, Ⓢ above CRESCENT above ⊙E.
- A—a. Newell, gr. 8.44. PLATE IV, 2.
4. TETRADRACHM (Müller 268).
 Similar to No. 2, but enclosed in a plain circle. Similar to No. 2. In l. field, CRESCENT above ⊙E. Beneath throne, Ⓢ.
- A2—P3. Newell, gr. 17.03. PLATE IV, 3.
 P4. Newell (Angora Hoard), gr. 16.67. PLATE IV, 4.
 P5. Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.06. The obverse die now shows signs of wear and damage.
5. TETRADRACHM.
 From the same die, which is now much damaged and, in spots, repaired or recut. Similar to the preceding, but with CRESCENT above ⊙EO. Beneath throne, Ⓢ.
- A2—P6. Vienna (29794). PLATE IV, 5.
 P7. Newell, gr. 16.78.
6. STATER.
 Same die as No. 3. Similar to No. 3. In l. field, Ⓢ above CRESCENT above ☞.
- A—b. Leningrad (Anadol Hoard), gr. 8.60. PLATE IV, 6.
 c. Newell, gr. 8.62.
7. TETRADRACHM (Müller 270).
 Similar to No. 5. Similar to No. 5. In l. field, CRESCENT above ☞. Beneath throne, Ⓢ. On some dies the CRESCENT was later erased.
- A3—P8. α) Sir Ronald Storrs Collection. PLATE IV, 7; β) Paris; γ) Berlin (CRESCENT erased). PLATE IV, 8.
 P9. Newell (from Turkestan), gr. 17.06.
 P10. α) Newell, gr. 16.81; β) Athens (Crescent erased).
 A4—P11. Newell, gr. 16.91. PLATE IV, 9.

8. STATER (Müller 265-6).
Similar to No. 6.

Similar to No. 6. In l. field, ☉ above
CRESCENT above ΔI.

B—d. Paris. PLATE IV, 10.

9. TETRADRACHM (Müller 267).
Similar to No. 7.

Similar to No. 7. In l. field, CRESCENT
above ΔI. Beneath throne, ☉.

- A5—P12. Berlin, gr. 16.685. PLATE IV, 11.
P13. α) Saroglou Collection, Athens; β) Paris.
A6—P14. Sir Ronald Storrs Collection. PLATE IV, 12.
P15. Hollschek Collection, Vienna, gr. 16.91.
A7—P16. Munich, gr. 16.48.
A8—P17. α) Newell, gr. 16.90; β) Newell, gr. 16.23; γ) Athens (Kiouleler Hoards). PLATE IV, 13.
A9—P18. Vienna (29795).
P19. Newell, gr. 17.08. PLATE IV, 14.

10. DRACHM.
Similar to No. 9.

Similar to No. 9, with the same symbol and
monograms.

Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. II, p. 60, No. 3485. Pl. 131, 2), gr. 4.10. PLATE IV, 15.

11. TETRADRACHM (Müller 269).
Similar to No. 9.

Similar to No. 9. In l. field, CRESCENT
above Α. Beneath throne, ☉.

- A10—P20. α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 16.775; β) American Numismatic Society, gr. 17.06.
PLATE IV, 16.
A11—P21. Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. II, No. 2133, Pl. 82, gr. 16.91.

12. STATER (Müller 1552).
Similar to No. 8.

Similar to No. 8. In l. field, MO above
FISH to l. above ☉.

C—e. α) Paris; β) Newell, gr. 8.53. PLATE IV, 17.

13. TETRADRACHM (Müller 1551).
Similar to No. 11.

Similar to No. 11. In l. field, MO above
FISH to l. Beneath throne, Μ.

- A12—P22. Newell (Prowe Coll., Egger Sale XL, May 1912, No. 738, Pl. xiv), gr. 17.12. PLATE IV, 18.
P23. Athens (Kiouleler Hoards).
A13—P24. Newell, gr. 16.75.

14. DRACHM.
Similar to No. 13.

Similar to No. 13, with the same symbol
and monograms.

Newell (Armenak Hoard), gr. 4.12. PLATE IV, 19.

Examples of the preceding coins have turned up in the following hoards: No. 4

in the Angora Hoard,¹⁶ No. 6 in that of Anadol,¹⁷ No. 9 in that of Salonica,¹⁸ No. 14 in that of Armenak,¹⁹ Nos. 9 and 13 in the Kiouleler Hoards.²⁰ Single specimens have reached us from Egypt and Syria, while another was brought back by Col. Sir H. Trotter from Turkestan. Thus is attested a rather remarkable dispersion, but one quite compatible with an origin in a mint centrally located on a most important highway linking east and west. Only the Angora hoard is of any immediate interest to us here, because of its burial date. The specimen from this deposit shows by its worn condition a comparatively lengthy circulation. As the hoard was in the ground by about 295 B. C., we can be assured that the coin in question must have been struck some ten years previously, at least. On the other hand, not one of the several unusually large Alexander hoards from eastern lands (Abu Hommos, Noe 5; Afun Kara Hissar, Noe 20; Demanhur, Noe 324; Saïda, Noe 884) which are known to have been buried between *c.* 320 and *c.* 310 B. C., contained even a single example of the coins described under Nos. 1–14. That would place the group as a whole in the last decade of the fourth century B. C.—as its style also indicates.

The issue was supervised by two chief magistrates: Ⓐ and Μ (Ⓐ on the gold), the former signing all but three of the known varieties. Their assistants were Ⓔ, ⓪E (or ⓪EO), Ⓜ, ΔI, Α, and MO. This considerable number of officials (and others may be discovered in the future) suggest a duration of eight or more years for the coinage. The monograms or initials are accompanied by three changing symbols: BEE, CRESCENT and FISH. The second of these appears on all but five of the known varieties. It probably was not personal to any one of the magistrates. Not only is the CRESCENT placed just above the initials or monograms of no less than four different individuals, but even in the case of Ⓐ (whose monogram appears on so many of our coins) we possess two varieties which either have no symbol at all (No. 2), or display a BEE (No. 1) instead of the CRESCENT. Hence, the three symbols in question were probably used as distinguishing marks for separate *series* of issues, and so may well possess local connotations. Granting that Carrhae is the most likely place of mintage for our coins, the CRESCENT immediately suggests the great moon-god Sin, Ba'al-Harran, *the* god of Harran or Carrhae, for whose cult Carrhae was famous throughout antiquity.²¹ The crescent is a regular reverse type of the Roman coins of Carrhae.²² It is frequently accompanied by one or two stars, to indicate the other members of the triad, i. e., the sun-god Shamash and Venus-Ishtar.²³ On Nos. 12–14 the FISH, a most unusual symbol to be found at an

¹⁶ Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 78, Hoard No. 51, buried *circa* 295 B. C.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 46, buried towards the middle of the 3rd century B. C.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 896, buried between 287 and 280 B. C.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 67, buried about 280 B. C.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Nos. 563 and 564, buried between 285 and 275 B. C., possibly at the time of the Gallic invasions of 279 B. C.

²¹ Pauly-Wissowa X, pp. 2012–2013, 2018–2021; Hill, *British Museum Catalogue, Arabia, etc.*, p. lxxxviii.

²² Hill, *loc. cit.*, Pls. xii and xiii.

²³ Hill, *loc. cit.*, p. xcii.

inland city, may similarly symbolize Ishtar-Astarte, the *Dea Syria*, whose Syrian temples were almost invariably associated with a sacred fish-pond.²⁴ Again, Allotte de la Fu  e²⁵ has voiced the possibility that the BEE was in some way connected with Artemis at Susa. If there, then perhaps also with her counterpart, Venus-Ishtar, at Carrhae.

Nos. 1-14 are struck from irregularly placed dies. In style and fabric, they lead directly into the following issues of Seleucus.

SELEUCUS I

SERIES I, c. 302-290 B. C.

766. STATER.

Very similar to No. 12, PLATE IV, 17.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r.
Nike to l. as on No. 12. In lower l. field, Α.

D—f. Naville Sale IV, June 1922, No. 965, gr. 8.62, Pl. xxxiv. PLATE V, 1.

767. STATER.

Similar. Die E is of the 'Macedonian' type.

Similar to the preceding, but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
is placed above the Nike. In l. field, Α.

D—g. α) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1414, gr. 8.50, Pl. 49; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 2 =
de Luynes Coll., Vol. IV, No. 3259, Pl. cxviii), gr. 8.55.

E—h. Berlin, gr. 8.53. PLATE V, 2.

768. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. Plain circle
around, as on previous tetradrachms.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the
exergue. Zeus enthroned to l. In l. field, an
ΑΧ. Beneath throne, Α.

A14—P25. The Hague. PLATE V, 3.

769. BRONZE UNIT.

Horned and bridled head of horse to r.
Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below
butting bull to l. On r., Α.

London ↑, gr. 3.99. PLATE V, 4.

770. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 768.

Similar to No. 768. In l. field, CRESCENT
above ☉. Beneath throne, ΑΙΟ.

A15—P26. Newell, gr. 16.80. PLATE V, 5.

P27. Poche Coll., Aleppo.

771. DRACHM.

Similar to No. 770.

Similar to No. 770, and with the same
symbol and monogram in the field. Be-
neath throne, ΑΙ.

Newell, gr. 4.13. PLATE V, 6.

²⁴ So, for instance, at her famous temple in Hierapolis-Bambyce. Cf. Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 45-47.

²⁵ *Mission en Perse*, Vol. XXV, 1934, pp. 9-10.

772. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 770, but the die has in the meanwhile become damaged and has been largely re-cut.

Similar to No. 770. In l. field, ☉ above an AX. Beneath throne, ☉.

A15 (2nd)—P28. Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.155. PLATE V, 7.

773. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar to No. 771.

Similar to No. 770. In l. field, ☉ above an AX. Beneath throne, ☉.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 771, Pl. 21, gr. 2.05. PLATE V, 8.

774. STATER.

Similar to No. 766.

Similar to No. 766. In l. field, filleted BUCRANIUM above ☉. In r. field, ☉.

Seen and noted in the Commerce, 1921. Unfortunately, no cast was secured.

775. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as Nos. 770 and 772.

Similar to Nos. 770 and 772. In l. field, filleted BUCRANIUM above ☉. Beneath throne, ☉.

A15 (2nd)—P29. α) Paris (Babelon, No. 9 = de Luynes, Vol. IV, No. 3261, Pl. cxviii), gr. 16.10; β) Saroglou Collection, Athens. PLATE V, 9.

776. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 775.

Similar to No. 775. In l. field, WREATH above ☉. Beneath throne, AY.

A15 (2nd)—P30. Newell, gr. 16.94. PLATE V, 10.

A16—P30. Newell, gr. 17.11. PLATE V, 11.

P31. α) Vienna, gr. 16.87; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 768, Pl. 26, gr. 17.08; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.90. PLATE V, 12.

777. TETRADRACHM.

From the recut die.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Zeus enthroned to l., as before. No monogram or symbol.

A15 (3rd)—P32. α) Newell, gr. 16.95; β) Berlin, gr. 16.915. PLATE V, 13.

P33. Newell (Armenak Hoard), gr. 16.99. PLATE V, 14.

SERIES II, c. 290–280 B. C.

778. STATER.

Head of Athena to r. as on No. 766.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., Nike as on No. 766. In lower l. field, head of DOG l., wearing collar. In lower r. field, ΗΡ.

F—i. Copenhagen (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 749, Pl. 25), gr. 8.51. PLATE V, 15.

779. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles r., as before.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. In l. field, head of DOG l., wearing collar. Beneath throne, ΗΡ.

- A17—P34. α) Milan; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.85; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 755, Pl. 25 (= *Zeitschr. für Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 89, No. 1, Pl. iv), gr. 17.02. PLATE V, 16.
P35. Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1415, gr. 17.10, Pl. 49.

780. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 779.

Similar to No. 779. In l. field, ☼. Beneath throne, PA.

- A18—P36. α) Poche Collection, Aleppo; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 19), gr. 15.72. PLATE V, 17.

781. DRACHM.

Similar to No. 780.

Similar to No. 780. In l. field, ☼. Beneath throne, ☼.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 22), gr. 4.15; β) Berlin, gr. 4.215; γ) Newell (Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1060, Pl. 36), gr. 4.31. PLATE V, 18.

α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies, while γ is from the same obverse but another reverse die.

782. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to No. 780, except that the outstretched r. of Zeus now holds a Nike instead of the eagle. In l. field, ⬆ (re-cut over earlier monogram). Beneath throne, ☼.

- A19—P37. Vienna, gr. 17.08. PLATE V, 19.

SERIES I

When Carrhae came under the jurisdiction of Seleucus,²⁶ its coinage continued as before, but in his name. Not only do the types remain the same but even the former die-cutters were evidently still at work. Thus, for instance, the obverse dies of the two staters PLATE IV, 17 and PLATE V, 1, as likewise the obverse dies of the tetradrachms PLATE IV, 16, 18 and PLATE V, 3, bear every indication of having been cut by the same hands. The initials ΔIO and ΔI, on Nos. 770–1 respectively, doubtless belong to the same individual who had previously signed Nos. 8–10. The significant CRESCENT symbol again appears on some of our coins. Alongside this, new symbols also occur, such as AX, BUCRANIUM, WREATH. The AX appears on no less than three varieties (Nos. 768, 772–3) and may, perhaps, be associated with the Syrian form of Ishtar, for on coins of Laodicea²⁷ the goddess also holds an ax in her right hand. The BUCRANIUM could be associated with Seleucus himself, but as on our coins it is adorned with a fillet, it may have more to do with the moon-god Sin. Later, the bull's head is used as a symbol of local significance on the tetradrachms struck by Caracalla, Macrinus, and Diadumenian at Carrhae.²⁸

²⁶ Here assumed to have taken place in or around 302 B. C. Nearer than that we can scarcely come, with the slight evidence at our disposal.

²⁷ Hill, *loc. cit.*, pp. lxxxviii–lxxxix; Wroth, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Galatia*, etc., Pl. xxxi, 5.

²⁸ Bellinger, *The Sixth, Seventh and Tenth Dura Hoards*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 69, p. 23, No. 19, Pl. ii; p. 28, Nos. 46–7, Pl. iii. Bellinger, *The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus*, Numismatic Studies III, pp. 58–9, Pls. xii, 8–9, 13–15 and xiii, 4. H. Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes*, 1st Series, pp. 66–7.

Under Seleucus the coinage of Carrhae appears to have been scantier, as well as more intermittent, than had previously been the case. One obverse die (A15) evidently continued in use for a long time, going through at least one and possibly two stages of recutting (cf. PLATE V, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14). Eventually, in No. 777, it has become almost unrecognizable as the die which had been first employed in the production of No. 770. Associated with its final stage, at the end of Series I, come new reverse dies (PLATE V, 13, 14) which in their details are utterly different from anything that had preceded. Letters, monogram and symbol in the field are lacking; the royal title has been moved from the exergue to the left-hand field; the throne no longer possesses a back and the form of its legs has been completely altered. The foot-stool has also disappeared and an exergual line takes its place.

Included in Series I is a coinage of bronze 'units' (No. 769, PLATE V, 4) whose types are similar to certain issues of the capital, Seleucia on the Tigris. The horned and bridled horse's head reminds one of the Seleucian issue Nos. 45-46 (E. S. M., Pl. vii, 8-9) assigned to the year *circa* 296-5 B. C. The butting bull of the reverse may have its prototype in Nos. 6-8 of the same mint (E. S. M., Pl. iii, 1-5), coined about 305-4 B. C. This same type of bull, however, later became a regular feature on the bronze issues of Seleucus and was used at Seleucia on the Tigris (Nos. 105-109, 117-119), Susa (No. 341), Ecbatana (Nos. 501-502), Antioch (Nos. 924-928, PLATE XVII, 10-22), Magnesia on the Maeander (No. 1469, PLATE LXII, 6), Sardes (No. 1357, PLATE LIII, 14) and other mints. The monogram \mathcal{R} , occurring on our coin No. 769, associates it closely with the staters and tetradrachm Nos. 766-8 which bear the same monogram. Because of their style, these coins must have followed immediately after the Alexandrine issues Nos. 12-14. If Nos. 766-9 were coined upon the acquisition of Carrhae by Seleucus, supposedly about 302 B. C., then our bronze coin probably represents the first use of the horned horse's head as a complete type.²⁹ If it be insisted that the type was copied from the above mentioned bronze coins of Seleucia, then we shall have to suppose that it was not until after *circa* 295 B. C. that the name of Seleucus replaced the name of Alexander on the issues of Carrhae. This is indeed paralleled by the issues of Ecbatana, where it was not until after about 293 B. C. that the name of Alexander gradually gave way to that of Seleucus. In that case, Nos. 1-14 must certainly have been issues of Seleucus rather than of Antigonos. For the final solution of this problem, we must await the discovery of hoards which not only contain examples of these coins, but which also can be closely dated.

SERIES II



With the commencement of Series II (Nos. 778-9, PLATE V, 15-16), the style of the silver coinage reverts temporarily to what it had been in the earlier issues of Series I. The throne's back and the foot-stool reappear, while the exergual line

²⁹ The horse's head had occurred as an accessory symbol at Susa shortly after 310 B. C. (E. S. M. Nos. 284-9, 297), at Ecbatana about 303 B. C. (E. S. M. Nos. 457-462). As a type the horned horse's head also appears on the drachms of uncertain mintage Nos. 751-3, but their date is as uncertain as their mintage.

vanishes, its place being taken by the royal title. A detail of the accompanying stater, however, proclaims the later date of the two coins in question. For on the gold coin the royal title is entirely omitted, exactly as had first taken place on the corresponding staters at Seleucia on the Tigris in its Series II, Group K (assigned to the years 290-289 B. C.), and continuing so until the end of the reign.³⁰ As regards the curious symbol marking this issue, namely the 'head of DOG to l. wearing collar,' its thoroughly Greek character seems evident. Perhaps it represents the hunting companion of Artemis, the Greek counterpart of Ishtar.

With Nos. 780-1 (PLATE V, 17-18), the details again change slightly through the disappearance of the foot-stool on both tetradrachm and drachm, coupled with the reappearance of the exergual line on the tetradrachm. Finally, on No. 782 (PLATE V, 19), that, too, all but vanishes, leaving merely a short, thin stroke to indicate a support for the feet of Zeus. The general style and fabric throughout Series II, however, remain more or less the same as in Series I.

On No. 782 the die-cutters finally succumbed to the practice which by now had become almost universal in the mints of Babylonia and the west. Nike at long last replaces the eagle in the outstretched right hand of Zeus. Perhaps the mint of Carrhae, in the last days of Seleucus' reign, thus commemorated his great victory over Lysimachus at Corupedium.

No. 782 is also interesting because of the fact that the † has evidently been recut over a preceding monogram, faint traces of which remain, suggesting something like . Very probably these traces indicate , the principal monogram found on Nos. 780-1.


Throughout Series I and II, as had also been the case with Nos. 1-14, the obverse and reverse dies were not adjusted to any one position.

ANTIOCHUS I

280-261 B. C.

SERIES I, c. 280-279 B. C.

783. TETRADRACHM.



Head of young Heracles to r. Same die as No. 782. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY (inverted) in the exergue. Zeus, holding Nike on his outstretched r., seated to l. on throne. In l. field, .

A19—P38. Paris (Babelon, No. 105, Pl. iv, 4), gr. 16.80. PLATE VI, 1.

SERIES II, after 279 B. C.

GROUP A

784. STATER.

Diademed head of Seleucus I to r., with bull's horns. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Horned and bridled horse's head to r. In r. field, . In the exergue, .

³⁰ E. S. M., Nos. 68, 110, 121A.

α) London (Gardner, p. 3, No. 24, Pl. 1, 6), gr. 8.55. PLATE VI, 2; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 54, Pl. ii, 8), gr. 8.60. PLATE VI, 3.

785. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r. Circle of dots.

Similar to No. 784, and with the same monograms.

London (from the Punjab), ↓, gr. 16.18. PLATE VI, 4.

786. STATER.

Similar to No. 784.

Similar to No. 784. To r., Π above Α. In the exergue, Α.

Turin (Lavy Coll., p. 239, No. 2528, Fig. xxxi; Fabretti, No. 4532), gr. 8.33.

787. DRACHM.

Similar to No. 784.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ANTIOXOY in the exergue. Similar to the preceding. To r., Α above Θ.

α) Delmonte Sale, Brussels, Nov. 1933, No. 173, Pl. iii; β) Paris. PLATE VI, 5.

788. DRACHM.

Similar to No. 784.

Similar to No. 784. To r., Α. In the exergue, Ε.

α) Mario Ratto Sale No. 11, May 1935, No. 51, Pl. ii, 50, gr. 3.95; β) London (from Cunningham, but thought to be a cast), ↗, gr. 3.88. PLATE VI, 6; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 4.03. PLATE VI, 7.

789. BRONZE UNIT.

Medusa head facing on Macedonian shield adorned with eight double crescents. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY in two lines beneath elephant advancing to r. Above, ANCHOR.

α) Berlin, gr. 4.72; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↓, gr. 5.197; γ) Newell, ↓, gr. 4.45. PLATE VI, 8; δ-ε) Antioch excavations, ←, gr. 5.26 and 4.47; ς) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 19, No. 57, Pl. lxiv, 9), gr. 4.50.

790. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, but with Π to l. of ANCHOR.

Newell (countermark: Horse's head r. From Prof. Torrey's Coll.), ←, gr. 4.77. PLATE VI, 9.

791. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar. The double crescents are 6, 7, 8, or 10 in number.

Similar to the preceding. Α to l. of ANCHOR.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 5.63; β) Berlin (countermark: Horse's head r.), gr. 4.95. PLATE VI, 10; γ) Berlin, →, gr. 5.39. PLATE VI, 11; δ) Adib Coll., Antioch, ↓, gr. 3.49.

792. BRONZE HALF.


Similar.

Similar to No. 791, and with the same monogram.

α) Newell, ↓, gr. 2.04; β) Milan. PLATE VI, 12.

793. BRONZE UNIT.


Similar.

Similar. Above elephant, ANCHOR. Between legs, .

- α) Beyrouth Coll.; β) Berlin, ↑, gr. 3.315. PLATE VI, 13; γ) Oxford, ↘, gr. 4.33;
 δ) Oxford, →, gr. 4.88.

794. BRONZE UNIT.


Similar.

Similar, but with  between the elephant's legs.

- α) American University, Beyrouth; β) Berlin, gr. 4.395. PLATE VI, 14.

795. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, but with  between the elephant's legs.

- α) Zygman Collection, ↘, gr. 4.09. PLATE VI, 15; β) Adib Coll., Antioch, →, gr. 4.31.

GROUP B

796. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Medusa head facing (or horse's head r.?)
on Macedonian shield.ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Anchor. No monogram visible.








- Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 6.50. PLATE VI, 16.

SERIES I, c. 280-279 B. C.

As at Seleucia on the Tigris (Nos. 136-9) and at Ecbatana (Nos. 508-15), so at Carrhae, the first issue of the new reign comprises a tetradrachm bearing the old types of Alexander the Great but now inscribed with the name of Antiochus. The connection with preceding issues is indicated by the re-use of the last obverse die (A19) employed under Seleucus I.

SERIES II, after c. 279 B. C.

GROUP A

That the gold and silver coins described above under Nos. 784 to 788 (PLATE VI, 2-7) belong together is made certain by the similarity of their style and types, and especially by the identity of some of their monograms. Thus,  and  occur both on the gold stater No. 784 and on the tetradrachm No. 785. To these the monogram  connects the succeeding stater No. 786, which, in turn, is united to the drachm No. 787 by their common monogram . The , also found on No. 787, is probably but a variant of the  of Nos. 784 and 785, and of  found on the drachm No. 788. Furthermore, the obverse dies of the two drachms, Nos. 787 and 788, are so similar that even if they are not identical they must certainly have been produced by the same die-cutter. With these gold and silver coins must surely go the bronze series Nos. 789-95 (PLATE VI, 8-15), some of which bear the monogram

Α or ΑΡ, themselves identical with or constituting obvious simplifications of monograms appearing on the coins composed of the more precious metals. The principal elements of the monograms Α, Α, Α, ΑΡ and Α are evidently the letters *pi* and *alpha*, the first of which had occurred singly on the tetradrachm No. 783.

The gold staters Nos. 784 and 786, because they are inscribed with the name of Seleucus and bear his undoubted portrait, have always been assigned to the actual reign of that king.³¹ The identical portrait (to say nothing of the accompanying reverse type), however, occurs also on the drachms Nos. 787 and 788 which bear the name of Antiochus. As we have established above, these coins present for the most part the signatures of the same magistrates, and so must have been coined at the same time. This could only have taken place under Antiochus. Babelon³² believed that these coins had indeed been issued by Antiochus, but during his father's lifetime and as his viceroy in the east. But it seems improbable that even as his father's viceroy, Antiochus would have enjoyed the right to strike coins bearing his own name without the addition of his father's also.³³ The drachms Nos. 787-8 must have been coined after his father's death, and with them evidently went the staters Nos. 784 and 786, and the tetradrachm No. 785. The horned, and therefore deified likeness of Seleucus was apparently not used during his lifetime³⁴ but occurs only upon posthumous issues such as those of Sardes (No. 1359, PLATE LIV, 1 and Nos. 1363-7, PLATE LIV, 5-10), of Dura (Nos. 878-9, PLATE XIII, 1-5) and the present drachms (Nos. 787-8) assigned to Carrhae. Hence, even if we did not possess these accompanying drachms bearing the name of Antiochus, we should be constrained to consider the gold and silver pieces Nos. 784-6 as posthumous, although they bear the name of Seleucus.

Our gold staters and silver drachms, if attributed at all, have usually been given to the far east of the Seleucid dominions.³⁵ This was doubtless due to their reverse type of the horned horse's head and to the fact that No. 788β was supposed to have come from the Oxus treasure.³⁶ Doubt is thrown on this latter point because the coin in question is now suspected of being a cast.³⁷ If that be so, it must have been made from a genuine coin, now lost, but the only link that we

³¹ Brit. Mus. Cat., *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, p. 3; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. xiv-xvii, 9; *Historia Numorum*², p. 757.

³² *Loc. cit.*, p. xvii.

³³ As is the case with certain well known coins of Bactra (E. S. M., Nos. 664-7, 672-4) and other eastern mints (E. S. M., No. 747), which were coined under Antiochus as viceroy for Seleucus I.

³⁴ Certain issues of Persepolis (E. S. M., Nos. 413-27, Pl. xxxii) and of Susa (E. S. M., Nos. 300-302, Pl. xxiii, 6-9) display a helmeted bust with horns and a bull's ear placed on the helmet itself, and so not actually springing from the king's own brow. Furthermore, Babelon (*loc. cit.*, pp. xv-xvi) has presented good reasons for believing that this particular portrait is either that of Alexander himself, or of Seleucus assimilated to Alexander. It was not therefore intended as a real portrait of the deified Seleucus, brought out during his lifetime.

³⁵ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 435; *Historia Numorum*², p. 757; Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 228. Imhoof-Blumer, however, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 424, assigns the drachms to Syria or Babylonia.

³⁶ Cunningham, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 50, 1881, p. 178, No. 66, Pl. xviii, 13.

³⁷ According to a note kindly supplied by Mr. Robinson of the British Museum, where the coin now reposes.

possess connecting any of our pieces with the Oxus hoard has been removed. It is surely significant that not one of the extant gold staters can be traced to that hoard,³⁸ where specimens would surely have been present if the coins had been struck in the east. Nor is the reverse type of a horned horse's head exclusively eastern, as witness certain coins struck at Pergamum (Nos. 1528-9, PLATE LXVIII, 9-10), Sardes (No. 1359, PLATE LIV, 1), Apamea (No. 1128, PLATE XXXIII, 1-3) and Dura (Nos. 878-9, PLATE XIII, 1-5). The fact that all three examples of the staters, Nos. 784 and 786, have been in their respective collections since early in the last century, renders it probable that they had been secured from more western sources. As we possess definite records of only one coin, the tetradrachm No. 785 having reached us from India, the extreme east of the Seleucid empire seems ruled out as the location of our mint. The rather striking fact that the little mint of Dura, for its first issue of coin, evidently copied such pieces as Nos. 784-788, immediately suggests that the mint and circulation area of the latter must have been somewhere in the vicinity.

Experience gained in studying and attributing issues from the eastern Seleucid mints, has shown that it is usually the accompanying bronze coins which give us the best clues as to the mints of the silver and gold coins. In the present case, Nos. 789-95 are 'eastern' in their somewhat crude style and the bevelled edges of their flans. Neither they nor the gold and silver coins which accompany them, however, will fit anywhere into the known issues of Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa or Ecbatana; and no specimens are recorded as ever having been found at any of those sites. On the other hand, two examples of No. 789 turned up in the excavations of Antioch, an example of No. 791 and one of No. 795 were in the Adib collection from Antioch, and No. 790 was in Prof. Torrey's collection.³⁹ Yet neither by style, fabric nor monogram will our coins fit among the issues of Syria or of Phoenicia. This rather negative result suggests some mint situated midway between 'east' and 'west.' Allowing the hint furnished by the coins from Dura to guide us, we here propose Carrhae as the most likely location for our mint. Carrhae was the nearest large city to Dura; it alone of all the towns in northern Mesopotamia had possessed an active mint under Seleucus, and, except for Nos. 784-795, the latter's issues here would have no adequate successors. The four specimens whose provenance records are connected with Antioch, might suggest a mint further to the west than Carrhae—Apamea, for instance. But the fabric of our pieces militates against such an assignment. All that can at present be done is to ask that find-spots of future specimens be carefully recorded, and to express the hope that the great classical sites of northern Mesopotamia may some day be carefully and thoroughly excavated.

The occasion for the coinage of Series II, notable for its gold staters of distinctive design, may well have been the Syrian campaigns of Antiochus I. These were undertaken to combat the dangerous rebellion which had broken out in Syria

³⁸ Both the Paris and the London examples, as well as that in Turin, were already in their respective collections before the Oxus hoard was discovered.

³⁹ Formed in Syria and Palestine but also containing many Mesopotamian coins.

about 280–279 B. C., and which was not suppressed until about 277 B. C.⁴⁰ How much of the province was involved we do not know, but probably a considerable portion. Tarn gives reasons⁴¹ for supposing that the great military centre of Apamea, and with it all the war elephants there stationed, was lost to Antiochus. At such a time it is readily conceivable that Carrhae would have constituted a most convenient base for the assemblage of troops and supplies furnished by Babylonia and the still loyal Upper Provinces⁴² for use against the rebels in Syria. Special issues of coin would then be brought out at its mint for the use and payment of the troops and for the purchase of supplies. Selection of the deified head of the great Seleucus for the obverse type of both gold and silver, was probably dictated by desire on the part of Antiochus to rally in his favor all the sentiments of loyalty and devotion to his family in this the most difficult and precarious period of his reign. The head of the revered founder of the empire, accompanied by his name (Seleucus) on the staters and tetradrachms, by that of Antiochus on the drachms, would serve to remind all beholders that Antiochus was still the great man's son and rightful heir. We shall see that a similar coinage of tetradrachms, bearing the same types, also appeared at just this time in Sardes, the administrative capital of Asia Minor.⁴³

The reverse type of the horned horse's head is so closely similar to the contemporaneous coinage of Bactra⁴⁴ that the latter may actually have served as models for the issues of Carrhae. For this reason the inception of Series II was at first thought connected with the First Syrian War, *circa* 276–5 B. C., when we know a contingent of elephants was sent by the satrap of Bactria to assist Antiochus in the west. But on the analogy of the tetradrachm No. 1359 from Sardes, which, because of its close association with the Alexander-type tetradrachm No. 1360, must belong almost to the very beginning of Antiochus' reign, our Series II probably commenced to appear before the time of the First Syrian War. Furthermore, the fact that the gold staters Nos. 784 and 786, and the tetradrachm No. 785 still bear the name of Seleucus, would seem to place them early in the new reign, as it is difficult to conceive the need for such an inscription at a later date, when Antiochus was safely in the saddle. The strikingly close similarity between the reverses of our Carrhae coins and those of Bactria may suggest, however, that that distant province had also sent troops, perhaps detachments of the famous Bactrian cavalry, to the assistance of Antiochus as early as the time of the Syrian rebellion. By such means Bactrian coins would have been brought along for the payment of wages and supplies; and their reverse type could well have been used as models by the die-cutters of Carrhae for their own issues.

The entire coinage apparently continued for a number of years, and so did not end abruptly with the final suppression of the rebellion. Not long after that came

⁴⁰ Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XLVI, 1926, p. 156.

⁴¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 157.

⁴² Just as they did two years later in the First Syrian War. Cf. Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 156.

⁴³ See below, No. 1359, PLATE LIV, 1.

⁴⁴ Compare PLATE VI, 2–4 with E. S. M., Pl. li, 1–8.

Ptolemy's sudden invasion of Syria and the events of the First Syrian War. The reverse type of the bronze coins Nos. 789-795 may have been inspired by the sight of the elephants which we know were sent by the Bactrian satrapy in 276-5 B. C. Doubtless, the great beasts, on their journey to the seat of war in Syria, passed through Carrhae, or even rested there, for the city lay on the most frequented highway from Iran through northern Mesopotamia to the crossing of the Euphrates at Zeugma. Be that as it may, the apotropaic symbolism of the obverse type of these same bronze coins, i. e., the Medusa head as the central boss of a Macedonian shield, seems highly appropriate at a time when Antiochus was struggling to ward off from his already hard-trying empire the powerful onslaught of Egyptian military might.

GROUP B

The sole known representative of this group (No. 796. PLATE VI, 16) has been tentatively assigned to Carrhae because of the similarity between its obverse type (Macedonian shield with Medusa head boss) and that of Nos. 789-795. The coin is unfortunately somewhat worn and no monogram can be distinguished. Hence, a definite attribution can be made only when further and better preserved specimens appear, or when their find-spots can be ascertained.

It is not yet known whether any later coins could have been struck at Carrhae, either for Antiochus I or for his successors. If such exist, they will be found described under the 'uncertain issues' assembled in Chapter XI. Under Seleucus II, we shall learn⁴⁵ that the mint of Nisibis apparently became the chief coining centre of northern Mesopotamia, doubtless thus replacing the earlier mints of Carrhae and Edessa.

B. EDESSA

That Edessa had an ancient predecessor, named Urhai, is probable,⁴⁶ although no mention is made of it in our pre-Hellenic sources. It was not until Seleucus founded a city here,⁴⁷ which he named Edessa in honor of the Macedonian town of like name, that the place became of importance and, henceforth, finds frequent mention in Greek and Roman literature.

It has not proved possible to segregate any coins of Seleucus himself certainly attributable to this new foundation. No serious excavations have ever been carried on at this site, and until such take place we are left more or less to conjectures with regard to any possible coinage that might have been issued here.

Only a day's journey⁴⁸ from the already well established Carrhae, Edessa at

⁴⁵ Cf. pp. 60-64 ff.

⁴⁶ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, V, p. 1933.

⁴⁷ Malalas XVII, 418; Syncellus, p. 520; Eusebius, *Chron.*; Cedrenus I, p. 292.

⁴⁸ The distance was forty kilometres, or about eight hours travel by horseback, according to Baedeker's *Palästina und Syrien*, 1904, p. 356.

first grew but slowly, not beginning to rival Carrhae, until the reign of Antiochus I —although in time it was destined far to surpass that city. In the latter's reign a mint seems to have been opened at Edessa, but one of minor importance only.

Here the following coins were struck.

ANTIOCHUS I

280–261 B. C.

797. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of Athena, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, to r. Circle of dots.

ANTIOXOY on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. (reading upward!). Trophy. In lower, inner r. field, Π (sometimes ΠΔ). In outer r. field, ΕΔΕ.

α) London (Cf. Edgar Rogers, *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. I, 1921, p. 27, No. 1, Pl. ii, 1. On this specimen ANTIOXOY is off flan and the ΕΔΕ has been read as the ΕΔΕΥ of a supposed ΣΕΔΕΥΚΟY), gr. 5.55; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 106. Here, the ΕΔΕ has been misread as ΒΑΕ, although the letters seem perfectly clear), gr. 6.00. PLATE VI, 17; γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 12, No. 7), gr. 5.80. PLATE VI, 18.

798. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 797.

Similar to No. 797, except that the inscription reads ANTIOX ΒΑΣΙΛΕ. In lower, inner r. field, ΠΔ. The ΕΔΕ is not present.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 12, No. 8), gr. 2.56. PLATE VI, 19.

799. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 797.

Similar to No. 797, except that the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is always to be read clockwise, while ANTIOXOY is only sometimes to be so read. In lower, inner r. field, ⊕.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 107, Pl. iv, 5), gr. 6.25; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 108), gr. 6.80; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 109, Pl. iv, 6), gr. 6.60; δ) Sydenham Coll., gr. 5.79; ε) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), gr. 6.87; ζ-ι) Newell (Prof. Torrey's Collection), gr. 6.20 and 6.37. PLATE VI, 20; η) Newell, gr. 6.34; θ) Berlin, gr. 4.75. PLATE VI, 21.

800. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 797.

Legend reads normally from the r. Type similar to the preceding. No monogram visible.

Newell, gr. 2.79. PLATE VI, 22.

801. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 797.

Similar to No. 797. In lower, inner r. field, ⊕.

α) Newell, gr. 7.23. PLATE VI, 23; β) Berlin, gr. 6.80; γ) Berlin, gr. 5.80. PLATE VI, 24.

802. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 797.

Similar to No. 797, except that the title is spelled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and the inscription curves with the rim. In lower, inner r. field, ☉.

Berlin, gr. 7.45. PLATE VI, 25.

These coins stand out from other Seleucid issues of the period by their curious appearance, by the exceptionally thick, dumpy nature of their flans, and by the varied and sometimes unusual arrangement of the inscriptions.

The only provenance records available for Nos. 797-802 are offered by No. 799 ρ and ζ, which were in Prof. Torrey's collection, and by Nos. 799 η and 801 α which were brought to America by an Armenian refugee from northeastern Syria. On the other hand, the mint at which these coins were probably struck seems to be indicated by the letters ΕΔΕ placed in an unusual manner in the outer right field of No. 797. To be sure, it is quite exceptional to find a mint's name, even in abbreviation, on Seleucid coins at this early period. But it is also exceptional on bronze coins to have a magistrate indicated by anything but a symbol, monogram, or single letter. In this case, furthermore, the letters *epsilon delta epsilon* suggest no ordinary personal name. This fact, coupled with the provenance of some of the specimens from upper Syria, speaks in favor of assuming, until evidence to the contrary appears, that our three letters actually represent the name of Edessa. Since the placing of a mint name on royal coins is most unusual at this period, it may follow that the issue itself was also of a special character. As the coins all bear the name of Antiochus, they may represent an issue brought out at Edessa during the troublous times of the Syrian rebellion and the almost immediately succeeding First Syrian War with Egypt. The distinctly warlike types adopted, as well as the crudeness of the die-cutting, themselves suggest some such occasion.

Edessa, like Carrhae, must have been of considerable importance to Antiochus in his wars against the Syrian rebels and against the invading armies of Ptolemy (First Syrian War). Indeed, his father, Seleucus I, would not have gone to the trouble of founding a colony at the otherwise little known site of Urhai, had there not been excellent strategic reasons for so doing. As in later times, so doubtless in the third century B. C. as well, there existed two routes traversing northern Mesopotamia from the crossing of the Euphrates at Zeugma⁴⁹ to the river Tigris. The more northerly ran from Zeugma directly to Edessa⁵⁰ and, thence, via Nisibis (also newly recolonized by Seleucus) to the Tigris. The more southerly route ran from Zeugma via Batnae-Anthemusia to Carrhae and thence to Rhessaena (Ras el Ain) from which one could reach the Tigris either via Nisibis or by a still more southerly route via Singara.⁵¹ Evidently Seleucus favored, or even definitely established, the

⁴⁹ Here Seleucus had constructed a bridge of boats (*Zebryma*), protected at either end by bridge-heads respectively named Seleucia and Apamea in honor of himself and of his wife, Apama.

⁵⁰ Which could be also reached from Zeugma less directly via Batnae-Anthemusia.

⁵¹ For details, and the supporting historical and geographical references, consult Regling, *Zur historischen Geographie des mesopotamischen Parallelogramms in Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, Vol. I, 1902, pp. 443-476;

more northerly route by his foundations of Seleucia-Apamea (Zeugma), Edessa and Nisibis, whose four fortresses would protect and further the use of the northern road. To Antiochus, assembling his forces to attack his enemies in Syria, both the newer Edessa and the older Carrhae would prove of the greatest help. Edessa would be particularly suitable as it was situated nearer to the crossing at Zeugma and lay in a particularly fertile plain⁵² at the foot of the mountains.

At the old established mint of Carrhae would be produced the necessary gold and silver money, accompanied by certain amounts of minor copper coins. It was then, perhaps, found to be more economical to establish temporarily a subsidiary mint at Edessa for the production of further supplies of copper coins for the use of the troops assembled there, rather than to transport quantities of these small-value coins all the way from Carrhae to Edessa.

It will be unsafe to assign further coins to Edessa until excavators have provided additional evidence.

C. NISIBIS

Nasipina, later Nasibina, became in Assyrian times a very important city and the residence of a governor.⁵³ In Greco-Roman times it came to be known as Nesibi (so on the coins of Roman Emperors) or Nisibis. Nothing is known of it in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times, nor is mention made of it by Alexander's historians. Doubtless, it had fallen behind Carrhae in importance. Its fortunes gradually revived after Nicanor⁵⁴ had founded here a Greek settlement of great strategic and economic significance. Whether Seleucus opened a mint at Nisibis we cannot yet be certain, but it is possible that the following series of three bronze denominations was coined here.

SELEUCUS I

312-280 B. C.

803. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Busts of the Dioscuri facing, side by side.
Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Victory advancing to l., holding palm in l.
and wreath in her outstretched r. In inner
l. field, ⚡ above Π.

- α) Paris (Babelon, No. 50, Pl. ii, 4), gr. 11.60; β) Newell, gr. 8.50; γ) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 29); δ) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 30, Pl. vi, 11), ↑, gr. 8.32. PLATE VII, 1;
ε) London, gr. 7.29. PLATE VII, 2; ς) Newell, gr. 6.04; ζ) H. Seyrig (from Teheran).

Victor Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, pp. 299 ff.; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, pp. 477-501; E. C. Semple, *The Ancient Piedmont Route of Northern Mesopotamia*, in *The Geographical Review*, Sept. 1919, pp. 153-179.

⁵² Pauly-Wissowa, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. 17, pp. 717-8, 723-7.

⁵⁴ Nicanor is variously believed to have been an officer of Antigonos (so Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen*, p. 90) or, more probably, a general of Seleucus; possibly even his nephew and his governor of Mesopotamia (so Rostovtzeff, *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, X, 1938, p. 103 ff.).

804. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

London, gr. 5.97.

Similar.

805. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar.

 α) London, gr. 2.11; β) Berlin, gr. 1.88. PLATE VII, 3.

The coins were apparently struck from loose dies. The fabric of the blanks, presenting noticeably flat surfaces and strongly bevelled edges, is very 'eastern' in character. Not a single example of these coins, however, is recorded as having been found either at Seleucia on the Tigris or at Susa. Neither will the issue as a whole fit in well among the coinages of those two mints, or of Ecbatana. Yet the general character and appearance of the coins themselves would seem to place them somewhere to the east of the Euphrates valley, and nearer Iran than Syria. Some such mint as Nisibis, then, would perhaps best suit the vague evidence we chance to possess. Hence, the coins are here tentatively assigned to this mint until further evidence, for or against the attribution, can be secured.

An attribution to the first Seleucus, rather than to the second, is not beyond all doubt. Of these two kings, Babelon prefers the first, Gardner the second, as possible issuers of our coins. Although the style appears to be crude, it does have certain elements of simplicity and strength not often found in the coinages of Seleucus II. The broad, flat blanks and low relief are not truly typical of the coinages of Seleucus I, but do occur in one of his early issues of Antioch.⁵⁵ The use of facing heads on the coins of Seleucus I is not elsewhere known, while by the time of Seleucus II it had become frequent at eastern mints. The Susian coin No. 356 (E. S. M., Pl. xxvi, 9), may be adduced in support of an attribution to Seleucus I. It must belong either to Antiochus I or II, for later it will not fit. In view of the highly imitative character of the coin types employed at Susa, it seems more likely that the obverse of No. 356 was copied from Nos. 803-5, rather than *vice versa*. If that be so, then these particular coins can be assigned to the first Seleucus only.

ANTIOCHUS I

280-261 B. C.

Granted that Nos. 803-5 are possible issues of Seleucus I at Nisibis, then we should assign to the same mint and to his successor Antiochus I the two denominations⁵⁶ Nos. 758-9 (E. S. M., Pl. lv, 17-20). In the E. S. M., pp. 265-6, they were placed among the coins of uncertain mintage, but with the statement that their

⁵⁵ Cf. below, Nos. 911-2 and 914. PLATE XVI, 9-11, 14, 17-18.

⁵⁶ Originally there probably existed *three* denominations, of which only two have so far reached us. E. S. M. No. 759 was there mistakenly called a 'unit.' It should have been named the 'half,' by analogy with No. 805 and as the weights of the known specimens indicate. Hence, the still missing denomination would be the 'unit,' to correspond with No. 804.

"mint may have lain in northern Mesopotamia." The low relief and the special character of the flans used for Nos. 758-9 are strikingly like those used for Nos. 803-5. Every appearance suggests that all of these coins emanated from one and the same mint. Like Nos. 803-5, Nos. 758-9 were also struck from loose dies. The monogram found on the latter pieces in the inner left field is very obscure, but a careful re-examination of the available casts and coins indicate that its true form was actually something like \mathbb{K} (rather than \mathbb{C} as given in E. S. M., No. 758), i. e., not unlike the first of the monograms found on Nos. 803-5. Similarly, too, the form of the monogram in the outer right field is practically identical with the second monogram on Nos. 803-5. For comparison purposes, two specimens of Nos. 758-9 are again reproduced on PLATE VII, 4-5. In the E. S. M., it was shown that certain examples of these coins have come from western Iran, which is not inimical to an assignment to Nisibis. We will soon have occasion to note several instances in which coins of this mint have been found in western Persia, a not unlikely provenance for the issues of a mint situated like Nisibis on one of the main arteries of communication between Syria and Persia.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

TOWARDS END OF REIGN

806. BRONZE HALF.

Jugate, draped busts of the Dioscuri to l., the farther in strict profile, the nearer three-quarters facing. They wear the usual laureate *pili*, each flanked by a star. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

BAΣI above, ANTI below elephant's head to r. In front of trunk, Φ .

α) Newell, \mathcal{N} , gr. 1.32; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer, *Choix*, Pl. vi, 204), gr. 1.596. PLATE VII, 6; γ) Berlin, gr. 1.33. PLATE VII, 7.

The assignment of these coins to the second Antiochus, follows from the fact that they are succeeded by a group of bronze coins, Nos. 807-11, PLATE VII, 8-13, which are of the same type, style and fabric but now bear the name of Seleucus.

The idiosyncrasy of the ancient die-engraver, on these as also on the following coins of the same reverse type, in depicting the elephant's trunk looped over the tusk nearest to the beholder, is worthy of note.

SELEUCUS II

246-226 B. C.

SERIES I, c. 244-240 B. C.

GROUP A

807. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to No. 806. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below
elephant's head to r. In front of trunk, Φ.
Circle of dots.

α) London (Gardner, p. 6, Nos. 53-4, Pl. ii, 10), gr. 5.91, 3.43; β) Berlin (v. Rauch Coll.), gr. 4.86; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 5.31. PLATE VII, 8; δ) Newell (from Urumia), gr. 4.32; ε) Newell (from Urumia), gr. 5.18. PLATE VII, 9; ς) H. Seyrig (from Teheran).

808. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar and with the same monogram.

α) London (Gardner, p. 6, No. 55), gr. 2.58; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 48, Pl. ii, 2), gr. 2.35; γ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 2.15; δ) Newell, gr. 2.27; ε) Newell, gr. 2.71. PLATE VII, 10; ς) Paris (from Susa); ζ) American University, Beyrouth; η) H. Seyrig.

809. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar and with the same monogram.
The inscription now reads only ΒΑΣΙΑ
and ΣΕΛΕΥ.

α) Wilson Coll., Azerbaijan, gr. 0.49; β-γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer and Prokesch-Osten Colls.), gr. 1.50 and 1.115; δ) London (Gardner, p. 6, No. 56), gr. 1.10. PLATE VII, 11.

GROUP B

810. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar to No. 803. To r. of trunk, N.

Berlin, gr. 5.205. PLATE VII, 12.

811. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar and with the same letter, N.

Berlin, gr. 2.49. PLATE VII, 13.

Nos. 807-9 represent the more or less immediate successors of No. 806 bearing the name of Antiochus II. They possess the same types, style, fabric and monogram as No. 806. Nos. 810-11 differ only in displaying the magistrate's letter N, instead of the accustomed monogram. The dies are irregularly placed, and the blanks are of the usual flat, 'eastern' type with strongly bevelled edges. The shape and character of the flans, the general style of the die-cutting, the irregularly placed dies of Nos. 806-811 connect these pieces with Nos. 803-5 and 758-9—so much so, in fact, that all appear to have been the products of a single mint. The weights show the falling off so characteristic of the bronze coinages commencing with the reign of

Antiochus II. This alone would indicate that our coins must have been issued by Seleucus II, and not by the first of that name as believed by Gardner and Babelon. The obverse type occurs again on an issue of bronze coins (PLATE II, 1-5) whose monograms prove that they must have been coined by Seleucus II at Seleucia on the Tigris about 240 B. C., or a little later. Because of the great similarity in style, types and monogram between Nos. 807-9 and 806 of Antiochus II, our coins must date from the very beginning of Seleucus II's rule over northern Mesopotamia. This, however, can hardly be placed before *circa* 244 B. C., after the young Seleucus had gathered together an army in Asia Minor and eventually succeeded in wresting from the invading forces of Ptolemy III their ephemeral conquests in Syria and Mesopotamia.

It should be noted how often specimens of the bronze coins now under discussion have turned up in north-western Iran.⁵⁷ Other specimens, whose source is unknown, bear a patination typical of Seleucid and Parthian bronze coins found in the regions around Hamadan. Our coins, however, will not fit among the known issues of Ecbatana. But as issues of Nisibis it is not at all surprising that examples should have found their way into the province of Atropatene (the modern Azerbaijan)⁵⁸ or along the highway from Nisibis to the Median capital, Ecbatana.

SERIES II, *c.* 240-230 B. C.

GROUP A

812. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II, wearing side-whiskers, to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l. beside tripod on which he rests l. elbow and holds arrow in outstretched r. In outer l. field, Κ. In outer r. field, Φ.

α) Newell, gr. 16.29; β) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.74. PLATE VII, 14.
α and β are from the same obverse die.

813. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ϸ. In outer r. field, Φ.

Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.58. PLATE VII, 15.

814. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ϸ. In outer r. field, Φ.

α) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.27. PLATE VII, 16; β) Newell, gr. 16.38. PLATE VII, 17;
γ) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.45. PLATE VII, 18.

⁵⁷ Cf. Nos. 807, δ and ε; 809 α.

⁵⁸ So far as we know, Atropatene possessed no local mint at this period and was dependent for its circulating medium upon the two nearest royal mints, Nisibis and Ecbatana.

815. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Jugate heads of the Dioscuri to r., wearing wreathed *pili* surmounted by stars. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Inverted anchor, flanked by ⚡ (placed sideways) and bridled HEAD OF HORNED HORSE to r.

α) London, gr. 4.17; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 4.25; γ) Berlin, gr. 5.89. PLATE VII, 19; δ) Newell, gr. 4.58.

816. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram and symbol.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 49, Pl. ii, 3), gr. 2.80; β) Sydenham Coll., gr. 2.50; γ) London (Gardner, p. 5, No. 51, Pl. ii, 8), gr. 2.82; δ) Newell, gr. 2.42; ε) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2860), gr. 2.11; ρ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 2.93; ζ) Berlin Imhoof-Blumer Coll., gr. 2.79. PLATE VII, 20; η) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Countermarked ⚡), gr. 2.73. PLATE VII, 21; θ-ι) H. Seyrig, one weighs gr. 2.70.

817. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙ on r., ΣΕΛΕ on l. Type, monogram and symbol as before.

α) Newell, gr. 1.60. PLATE VII, 22; β) London (Gardner, p. 5, No. 52), gr. 1.40.

GROUP B**818. TETRADRACHM.**

Diademed, *bearded* head of Seleucus II to r.
Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Apollo beside tripod as on Nos. 812-14.
In outer l. field, ⚡. In outer r. field, ⚡.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 921, Pl. 32, gr. 16.41; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 922, gr. 15.79, Pl. 32. PLATE VIII, 1; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer, *Choix*, Pl. vi, 206), gr. 16.18; δ) London.

819. TETRADRACHM.

Bearded head similar to the preceding.

Similar. In inner l. field, ⚡ above ⚡.

α) Newell, gr. 15.18. PLATE VIII, 2; β) Newell, gr. 16.37. PLATE VIII, 3.

820. TETRADRACHM.

Bearded head r., as before.

Same inscription as before. Apollo with tripod as before, except that Apollo's l. hand now rests on his bow. In inner l. field, ⚡ above ⚡.

The Hague, No. 6937 (Six Coll.), gr. 16.20. PLATE VIII, 4.

821. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Apollo resting l. on bow, with tripod in the background, as on No. 820. In outer l. field, ⚡. In outer r. field, ⚡.

Brussels, gr. 16.26. PLATE VIII, 5.

822. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Apollo again as Nos. 818-19, resting l. elbow on tripod. In outer l. field, ⌘. In outer r. field, ⌘.

Newell, gr. 16.41. PLATE VIII, 6.

823. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, ⌘. In outer r. field, ⌘.

Newell, gr. 16.26. PLATE VIII, 7.

824. OBOL.

Similar to the preceding, but the presence of the beard is uncertain.

Same type as the preceding. No monograms visible.

α) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 366), gr. 0.71;
β) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2877 = Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 920, Pl. 32 = Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2901 = *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 94, No. 14, Pl. iv), gr. 0.67. PLATE VIII, 8.

825. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Bearded head as Nos. 818-24. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Nike, to l., holding palm-branch in l. and wreath in outstretched r. In outer l. field, ⌘. In outer r. field, uncertain monogram.

Seleucia, No. 30, Pl. ii, gr. 5.24. PLATE VIII, 9.

GROUP A

Series II comprises the first coinage in silver which it has been found possible to assign to Nisibis. The coins are welded into a unified group by the invariable presence of the characteristic monogram ⌘ (gradually assuming the shape ⌘), by the peculiarly stiff and almost straight shape taken by the diadem-ends, and, finally, by the individualized style and fabric presented by the coins themselves. The somewhat crude appearance and rough manufacture of the silver flans definitively suggest the eastern portion of the Seleucid dominions. That we are not deceived in this is shown in that no fewer than four of these rare tetradrachms were contained in Gejou's Mesopotamian Hoard,⁵⁹ a hoard that was very largely composed of issues struck to the east of the Euphrates valley. The coins themselves, however, cannot be given to any of the eastern mints described in our previous work, as so large a group will fit nowhere among the closely knit issues of Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa, Ecbatana or Artacoana (Hecatompylus?). The district of northern Mesopotamia is the only one, then, which remains at our disposal.

The earliest of these silver tetradrachms, Nos. 812-13, are connected with the bronze coins Nos. 806-9 by their common monogram ⌘, while ⌘ of No. 812 may

⁵⁹ Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 78, Hoard No. 680.

represent the same official who signed the bronze coins Nos. 810–11 with the letter N. A further issue of bronze coins (Nos. 815–17, PLATE VII, 19–22) was later brought out, but still connected with preceding bronze and silver pieces by the continued presence of the monogram Φ . In style and fabric these coins are obviously the immediate successors of Nos. 806–11. Again the Dioscuri grace the obverse dies, though now their jugate heads are seen in profile, and face to the right. On the reverse appears the Seleucid anchor, inverted, and accompanied by the symbol of a horned and bridled HORSE'S HEAD. With the final tetradrachm (No. 814, PLATE VII, 17–18) of Group A, the accustomed monogram Φ commences to assume the more angular form Φ ,⁶⁰ which from now on is to be found on all of the succeeding pieces.

It is obvious that the bronze coins which we have been discussing here, namely Nos. 806–11 and 815–17, must have emanated from a single mint. They are inseparably united by their common style, fabric, monogram, and the recurring motif of the Dioscuri busts. Like the accompanying tetradrachms, they are distinctly eastern in appearance and provenance, but, again like these tetradrachms, they will not fit among the issues of such eastern mints as have already been studied. Northern Mesopotamia, then, remains as their most probable home, and Nisibis then is almost certainly their actual mint. In the first place, our coins present not a single trait in common with the products of other Mesopotamian mints such as Carrhae and Edessa. In the second place, a mint in the eastern portion of northern Mesopotamia is demanded by the fact that many specimens of these and succeeding bronze coins have turned up in western Iran, while none seems to have been found west of the Euphrates valley. In this regard, there is a distinct cleavage between the present coins, which appear to have generally travelled eastwards, and those of Carrhae and Edessa which seem to have travelled westwards. In eastern Mesopotamia, only Nisibis need be taken into consideration. For in the third century B. C., it was the only considerable city situated in that district and is known to have been refounded as a Greek settlement of great strategic and commercial importance by, or immediately preceding, Seleucus I. If our bronze coins belong to Nisibis, then so must also the tetradrachms which accompany them.

At this time Nisibis appears to have been growing in importance. It was here, rather than at Edessa or Carrhae, that Antiochus III wintered with his army in 220 B. C., at the outset of his expedition against the rebel, Molon.⁶¹ That the city had definitely surpassed Carrhae by the time of Antiochus IV is indicated by the fact that Nisibis, together with Edessa, was honored by the coveted privilege of striking semi-autonomous coins.⁶² Carrhae is conspicuous in its omission from this group.

⁶⁰ This form is also claimed by Gardner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 5–6, Nos. 51–56, to be the one found on the British Museum specimens of the bronze coins Nos. 807–9 and 815–17.

⁶¹ Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, I, p. 307. Polybius V, 51, 1–2.

⁶² *Historia Numorum*², p. 763.

GROUP B

The tetradrachms of Group B (Nos. 818–23, PLATE VIII, 1–7) are distinguished by the fact that Seleucus II is here represented with a well developed beard. The coins, however, are still closely united with their predecessors by identical style and fabric, by the continued presence of the monogram Φ , and by the fact that No. 818 is the direct continuation in the coinage of No. 814. It bears the same monograms, and only differs in the fact that Seleucus now wears a full beard instead of the side-whiskers shown on Nos. 812–14.

This important coinage in silver at a northern Mesopotamian mint, towards the middle of Seleucus II's reign, is doubtless to be associated with his ambitious expedition to stop the Parthian advance⁶³ and recover the lost eastern provinces. Nisibis, now the leading city in northern Mesopotamia, commanding the vitally important trunk road from the capital, Antioch, to Ecbatana, would obviously constitute the most convenient base this side of the Zagros range for the assembling of men and supplies gathered from Syria and the surrounding districts. Thence, they could be forwarded across the mountains direct to Ecbatana, which must have been the king's forward base. That the coinage was indeed connected with this particular campaign is shown by the king's bearded portrait. Similarly, the issue of bronze coins, brought out at Ecbatana,⁶⁴ distinguished by their reverse type of the Parthian quiver, is thereby most intimately associated with the Parthian war. They likewise represent Seleucus with a beard, a phenomenon not usual on his many issues. Perhaps the reverse type (Nike to left) of the bronze coin No. 825, PLATE VIII, 9, connected by portrait and monogram with the tetradrachm No. 822, commemorates the receipt of news describing Seleucus' early successes against Tiridates and his Parthians.⁶⁵

SERIES III, c. 230–226 B. C.

826. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II, with side-whiskers, to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., holds arrow in r., rests l. elbow upon tripod. In outer l. field, Φ . In outer r. field, Θ . Circle of dots.

Newell, →, gr. 16.76. PLATE VIII, 10.

827. BRONZE UNIT.

Draped, jugate busts of the Dioscuri to r., wearing wreath-adorned *pili* surmounted by stars. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath mounted Dioscuri with couched spears charging to r. Beneath farthest horse, Φ .

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 2.615. PLATE VIII, 11.

⁶³ Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, I, pp. 108–9.

⁶⁴ E. S. M., Nos. 563–5, Pl. xli, 8–12.

⁶⁵ Bevan, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 289.

The final issue at Nisibis for Seleucus II comprises a tetradrachm (PLATE VIII, 10) and a bronze unit (PLATE VIII, 11), bearing the monogram of a new supervisor, Φ . We find the portrait of Seleucus provided with side-whiskers again, instead of the beard. The character of the portrait, the shape and position of the diadem-ends, the style and fabric of the coin itself continue their uniformity with those of the preceding tetradrachms, and point unequivocally to an origin in the same mint. The types of the accompanying bronze coin again do honor to the Dioscuri. Available specimens are too few for us to determine whether or not the coins are still struck from loose dies, as is the case with all preceding issues of Nisibis.

SELEUCUS III

226/5-223 B. C.

828. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus III to r., with flying diadem-ends. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, holds arrow in outstretched r., rests l. on bow. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$. In outer r. field, A . In the exergue, A. Circle of dots.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 17.04. PLATE VIII, 12.

829. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath mounted Dioscuri charging to r. with couched spears. On l., K . On r., A. Circle of dots.

α) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 28, Pl. vi, 9); β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Choix*, Pl. vi, 197 = *Monnaies grecques*, p. 427, No. 42), gr. 5.50; γ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 4.43; δ) Newell (from Persia), gr. 4.53; ϵ) Commerce. PLATE VIII, 13.

830. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar and with the same monograms.

α) London (Rogers Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 241, No. 6, Pl. ix, 8), gr. 2.69; β) Berlin; γ) Newell (from Hamadan), gr. 4.45; δ) Newell, gr. 2.93; ϵ) Newell, gr. 2.75. PLATE VIII, 14.

As at both Ecbatana and Seleucia on the Tigris, so too at Nisibis we meet with a silver coinage for the short reign of Seleucus III. Doubtless, the necessity of financing his ill-fated invasion of Asia Minor to recover the districts lost by his brother Antiochus Hierax to Eumenes of Pergamum was the underlying cause of this wide-spread⁶⁶ minting activity. In general style of portraiture and type, No. 828 resembles the issues of Seleucia on the Tigris.⁶⁷ We find the same vigorously

⁶⁶ We shall soon find that the central mints of Antioch and Apamea, supplemented by certain minor mints, were also very active during this reign.

⁶⁷ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 15-17. The fluttering diadem-ends were also used at Susa for the opening issues of Antiochus III.

fluttering diadem-ends; while on the reverse, a letter or monogram (in addition to those on the right and left of the inscriptions) is placed in the exergue. Because of the character of its fabric and design, our tetradrachm must have been coined east of the Euphrates. But as its monograms are not identical with any employed during this period at Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa, or Ecbatana, the coin was in all probability struck at none of these mints. Nisibis would appear to represent the most likely minting place.

The bronze coins Nos. 829-30, PLATE VIII, 13-14, may support this suggestion. They are struck on the same rather thin, flat, bevelled planchets now known to be characteristic of all the preceding bronze issues of our mint. Their monograms \mathbb{K} and \mathbb{A} possibly belong to the two officials signing themselves \mathbb{K} and \mathbb{A} on the tetradrachm, although the forms are not quite the same for the two categories of coin. Specimens of the bronze coins are from time to time found in western Iran—like so many others of the Seleucid bronze issues of Nisibis. Their reverse type depicts the Dioscuri, whom by now we have come to associate with that particular mint, although the reason for their connection with it is not clear. The commercial importance of Nisibis, situated on and dominating the great east-west trunk road between the seaboard and the capital, Antioch, on the one hand, and upper Asia on the other, may have had much—or even all—to do with it.⁶⁸ In any case, it is

⁶⁸ In this connection it may be noted that J. Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, has pointed out the prevalence of Dioscuri worship in northern Mesopotamia, especially in and around Edessa. There, before the advent of Christianity, the worship of the Greek Dioscuri was connected with, or was the outcome of, the well-known Arab cult of Aziz and Monimus, the twin evening and morning stars. It was probably for this reason that later there came to be so intimately associated with Edessa the story of the Apostle Thomas, called Didymus, and locally believed to have been the twin brother of Jesus himself. There was also some vague connection with Nisibis, if any weight can be given to the last and the longest of the stories in the *Acts of Thomas*, an account of the conversion of Mygdonia, wife of a general of king Mazdai, by St. Thomas. The story was doubtless an allegorical allusion to the conversion of Nisibis itself, for Mygdonia was both the name of the district of which Nisibis was the capital, and of the river upon which that city lay (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). A partially corrupt passage in Pliny (VI, 26, 117) speaks of the two Antiochs in Mesopotamia (i. e., Antioch on the Callirhoe which was Edessa, and Antioch in Mygdonia which was Nisibis) as one, and states that the city was founded by the praefect of Mesopotamia, Nicanor, among the Arab tribes of the Orroei and Mardani, and that it bore the epithet *Arabis*. Now Edessa (once known as Urhai, modern name Ūrfa) was the capital of the district of Osroene, the former Orrhoe and the Orroei of Pliny; while Nisibis was the capital of the district of Mygdonia, Pliny's Mardani (A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 217 points to the modern Mardin, near Nisibis). This passage indicates that Nisibis, like Edessa, was inhabited by Arabs and that at one time it even bore the epithet *Arabis* (Jones, *loc. cit.* and M. Rostovtzeff, *The Foundation of Dura-Europus on the Euphrates*, *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, X, p. 104). If Nisibis was so heavily populated by Arabs, then their wide-spread cult of the Semitic Twins, Aziz and Monimus, may well be expected there. This would be but the preliminary step to the adoration at Nisibis of the Greek Dioscuri. From yet another angle, Dioscuri worship may also be expected at Nisibis. In the work mentioned above, J. Rendel Harris has pointed out (pp. 193, 196, 403-4) that the Dioscuri were 'river-saints' and that there is good evidence that shrines sacred to the Twins were once situated in northern Mesopotamia at two important crossings of the Tigris, at Zeugma and at the modern Egin. But Nisibis was also a river-crossing, where the great west-east highroad traversed the Mygdonia river. Given the apparent prevalence in northern Mesopotamia of Dioscuri worship, the Twins might well have had a shrine at Nisibis too. Further it has been shown by J. Rendel Harris (*ibid.*, pp. 247, 254) that the building of stone monuments and edifices is also one of the well-known Greek characteristics of the Twins and that they were founders and builders of famous cities. Now Nisibis was founded by Nicanor, as Pliny states, and Rostovtzeff (*loc. cit.*, p. 103) definitely equates this Nicanor with the Nicanor claimed by Malalas (p. 198) to have been the son of Didymea, sister of Seleucus I. To judge by her name, she must have

interesting to note that at the eastern end of this important highway, a somewhat similar representation of the mounted Dioscuri later constituted the favorite reverse coin-type of the Bactrian king, Eucratides.

The Apollo head of our bronze coins appears to have been copied directly from that found on an issue of Seleucus II struck at Seleucia on the Tigris (cf. E. S. M., No. 207, Pl. xvii, 6 and, in the present volume, PLATE I, 23).

ANTIOCHUS III

223-186 B. C.

SERIES I, c. 223-212 B. C.

831. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Side-whiskers faintly indicated. Fillet border.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, holding arrow in outstretched r., l. resting on bow. In outer l. field, ☿. In outer r. field, Δ^p. In the exergue, ☾ (☉?).

Henry E. Greene Coll. (Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 656, Pl. xviii), ↑, gr. 16.90. PLATE VIII, 15.

832. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☿. In outer r. field, Δ^p. In the exergue, Δ or A.

α) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake Coll., p. 25, gr. 17.02. PLATE VIII, 16; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 984, Pl. 35, gr. 16.53.

833. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. From the same die as No. 832β.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☿. In outer r. field, Δ^p. In the exergue, ☉ (recut over an A?).

Paris (Babelon, No. 345, Pl. ix, 2), gr. 17.00. PLATE IX, 1.

834. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as Nos. 832β and 833.

Similar. In upper l. inner field, FILLETED PALM-BRANCH.

α) Luneau Coll., Platt Sale, March 1922, No. 723, Pl. xv; β) American Numismatic Society, ↑, gr. 17.07. PLATE IX, 2.

α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

835. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☿. In outer r. field, Δ^p. In the exergue, K.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.17; β) Brussels, gr. 16.95. PLATE IX, 3.

α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

been a *twin*. One or all of these implications of a possible Dioscuri worship at Nisibis may have contributed their share to the persistent popularity of the Dioscuri among the Seleucid coin types of Nisibis.

836. TETRADRACHM.

Older head of Antiochus III to r. One Similar. In outer l. field, ✕. In outer r. diadem-end curves upward. No border field, Δ^p. In the exergue, A. visible.

Jameson Coll., No. 1691, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 16.82. PLATE IX, 4.

SERIES II, c. 212-209 B. C.

837. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., similar to No. 836. Traces of the fillet border remain. Similar. In outer l. field, M. In outer r. field, o.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.81. PLATE IX, 5.

838. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Similar. In outer l. field, M. In outer r. field, E.

London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 21), gr. 16.43. PLATE IX, 6.

839. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding, but the forehead higher and balder. Fillet border. Similar. No magistrate's marks.

Berlin, gr. 16.725. PLATE IX, 7.

840. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. No border visible. Similar. In outer l. field, THYRSUS.

Jameson Coll., No. 1690, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 17.04. PLATE IX, 8.

SERIES I

Like the preceding coinage of Seleucus III, this issue for Antiochus III is marked with two monograms to left and right of the inscription, accompanied by a varying letter in the exergue. In two instances, Nos. 832 and 836, this last letter is an *alpha*, just as on No. 828 of Seleucus III. At first the diadem-ends again hang loosely, somewhat as on the issues of Seleucus II. But on the latest coin of Series I (No. 836, PLATE IX, 4), marked by an older head of the king, one of the diadem-ends rises up in an 's'-like curve. The obverse dies of Nos. 831-5 are from the outset provided with a fillet border, like the contemporary issues of Antioch and Apamea.⁶⁹ In fact, in its general type and design, our first coin, No. 831, is closely modelled on the earliest issue of Antioch for Antiochus III.⁷⁰ Here, as there, the king is depicted as still quite youthful but wearing a faintly indicated side-whisker. In the immediately succeeding portraits (PLATE IX, 1-3) the die-cutters of Nisibis become less and less dependent upon Antioch, although the continued youthful-

⁶⁹ Cf. below, Nos. 1044-6, 1051 (PLATES XXVI, 11-14 and XXVII, 1-3) and No. 1186 (PLATE XXXVII, 8-12).

⁷⁰ Cf. PLATE XXVI, 11.

ness of the king's appearance indicates that our coins must date from the earliest portion of his reign. The tetradrachm No. 836, PLATE IX, 4, with older features and tall forehead revealing symptoms of approaching baldness, brings the series down to about 212 B. C., or a little later, when this type of portrait gradually came into use.⁷¹

Early in Series I comes the tetradrachm No. 834, PLATE IX, 2. The coin was struck from the same obverse die (shown by its pristine state to be at an early stage of its use) as that used for Nos. 832 β and 833. The coin is rendered remarkable by the total lack of any magistrates' monograms or letters, their place being taken by a filleted PALM BRANCH, conspicuously placed in the upper left inner field, just in front of Apollo's face. This object, to the Greeks so symbolic of victory, must here have had some definite connotation. As the major portion of Series I, because of the youthful portrait which it bears, comes comparatively early in the reign, we may perhaps associate it with the successful campaign of Antiochus III against the rebel Molon. We know from Polybius,⁷² that when in 221 B. C. Molon's impressive successes against the Seleucid generals and his capture of the eastern capital Seleucia on the Tigris had finally forced the young Antiochus and his advisers into drastic action, a powerful army was assembled with the intention of putting a final quietus upon the now dangerous usurper. When all was ready Antiochus, at the head of the royal army, set out in the late autumn of 221 B. C. and advanced to Nisibis. Here the worst period of the winter of 221-0 B. C. was passed. With the coming of more clement weather the advance to the Tigris was resumed, the river crossed, and the army moved down the eastern bank towards Babylonia and the eventually decisive victory over the rebel. Throughout this period Nisibis must have constituted the forward base of operations and there would be every reason, under the circumstances, to expect considerable activity in its mint. Especially would this have been the case, as the great eastern mints of Seleucia on the Tigris and Ecbatana were in the hands of the rebels,⁷³ while Susa was closely invested by them. A mint at Nisibis could more conveniently and economically supply the current requirements of cash than could the Syrian mints of Antioch and Apamea. Therefore, the earliest portion of Series I may reasonably be associated with this campaign. The exceptional tetradrachm No. 834 represents a 'victory coinage' brought out on receipt of the news of Molon's defeat and death. Thereafter the ordinary coinage was resumed under the same officiating magistrates as before, the final issue (No 836) appearing about 212 B. C., or a little later. On the reverse of this latter piece the curious fillet which binds Apollo's head and hangs down in two broad bands behind, may be noted.

⁷¹ Compare, for instance, certain issues of Antioch belonging to this period.

⁷² V, 51-54.

⁷³ And actually coining money for them, as we have seen in E. S. M., pp. 85-6, 204-5.

SERIES II

The coins of Series II constitute the stylistic transition between Series I and Series III. The head on No. 837, PLATE IX, 5, presents strong stylistic affinities with that of the last coin (No. 836) of Series I; the locks of hair on the king's head are similarly arranged, while one of the diadem-ends rises in the 's' curve behind the head. With Nos. 837 and 839, PLATE IX, 5 and 7, the fillet border re-appears for a moment on the obverse, and the portrait of Antiochus commences to show the heavy, almost beetling brow and the high, domed forehead of succeeding issues. Similar features recur on No. 840, PLATE IX, 8, where the forehead, if not quite so lofty, presents the tell-tale signs of increasing baldness. The nose is still more pointed and aggressive than before, while the somewhat emaciated cheek and more evident cheekbone are clearly rendered. This general type of portrait appears to have occurred at Nisibis some years before it did at other eastern mints. Doubtless, it offers a likeness more nearly true to life at this particular period than do the younger heads which had heretofore been used. Such younger heads continue at Seleucia on the Tigris until about 210 B. C.,⁷⁴ at Susa until about 206 B. C.,⁷⁵ at Ecbatana until about 209/8 B.C.⁷⁶ It is possible that Antiochus was in Nisibis during his Armenian campaign of 212 B.C.⁷⁷ Certainly he was there in 211/10 B. C., just before proceeding down the Tigris⁷⁸ on his expedition into Persia. The die-engravers of Nisibis would then have had the opportunity of observing Antiochus as he was. It was not until 209/8 B. C., when Antiochus was in Ecbatana, that the coins issued there commence⁷⁹ to adopt the new style of portraiture; while at Susa we do not find it until about 205/4 B. C.,⁸⁰ when the king passed through the city on his return from India.

Returning to No. 840, it may be noted that the diadem-ends hang loosely downwards, and so continue throughout the succeeding Series III. In the present case, they present the additional and unusual feature of being provided with fringes. No magistrate's letters mark this coin—instead we find a THYRSUS depicted in the outer left field. Perhaps it would be too far-fetched to recognize in this symbol an allusion to the contemplated expedition of Antiochus III who, like the god Dionysus, was about to invade Bactria and India. Certainly the coin was struck at just about the time (c. 210 B. C.) that Antiochus began his advance down the Tigris and

⁷⁴ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xix, Nos. 1-6.

⁷⁵ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xxx, Nos. 1-12; Pl. xxxi, Nos. 1-3.

⁷⁶ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xlv, Nos. 1-4.

⁷⁷ Bevan II, pp. 15-17; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, I, p. 159.

⁷⁸ Some scholars (i. e., Bevan, II, p. 17) associate the fragment of Polybius IX, 43, 6—which merely mentions some troops (whose ?) being conveyed down the Euphrates by boat—with this expedition of Antiochus to Ecbatana. This is of course possible, but it seems highly doubtful that the king and his main army followed any such route. The most usual, the most direct, and for a large army the most feasible route from Syria to Ecbatana was along the great trunk road from Antioch and Apamea to Zeugma, thence through northern Mesopotamia via Nisibis to, and along, the Tigris until the road turned eastwards to cross the Zagros Mountains and thence direct to Ecbatana past the Rock of Behistun.

⁷⁹ E. S. M., p. 215-9.

⁸⁰ E. S. M., p. 147.

across the Zagros mountains to Ecbatana, whence he planned to set out for the reconquest of Bactria and the invasion of India.

SERIES III, c. 209/8-200 B. C.

841. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., with straight diadem-ends. Circle of dots, usually off flan.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. No magistrates' letter or monogram.

A1—P1. London (Gardner, p. 21, No. 15), gr. 16.87. PLATE IX, 9.

A2—P2. α) Hazeldine Coll., Sotheby Sale, April 1914, No. 61, Pl. iii, ↑, gr. 16.85; β) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2793, Pl. lxxvii (ex Bunbury Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.06; γ) Brussels, gr. 16.94; δ) Berlin, ↑, gr. 17.045; ε) Berlin (Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 651, gr. 16.98 [sic!], Pl. 15), ↑, gr. 17.095. PLATE IX, 10; ς) Berlin, gr. 17.045.

842. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☐.

A2—P3. α) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 33, No. 25, Pl. lxxv, 13), gr. 16.87; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 969, Pl. 35, gr. 16.99. PLATE IX, 11.

843. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, ΑΣ. In outer r. field, ☐.

A2—P4. Newell, ↑, gr. 16.94. PLATE IX, 12.

844. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\frac{\Lambda}{\Sigma}$. In outer r. field, ☐.

A2—P5. Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9248, Pl. 335, 14 = Babington Coll., Sotheby Sale, 1891, No. 295), ↑, gr. 16.71. PLATE X, 1.

845. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, ΑΣ.

A3—P6. Glendining Sale, March 1931, No. 1147, Pl. xxix, gr. 17.08 (sic!) = Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 977, Pl. 35, gr. 16.55. PLATE X, 2.

P7. London (Dunne's Mesopotamian Hoard), ↑, gr. 16.80. PLATE X, 3.

846. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, ΑΣ. In outer r. field, ΣΩ.

A4—P8. Newell (Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1963), ↑, gr. 16.47. PLATE X, 4.

847. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ἰ. In outer r. field, ☐.

A5—P9. London (Urfa Hoard = *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. V, 1925, p. 19, No. 57, Pl. ii), ↑, gr. 16.96. PLATE X, 5.

848. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 847.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ . In outer r. field, \square .A5—P10. London (Urfa Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 16.93. PLATE X, 6.**849. TETRADRACHM.**

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, E Σ above \square .

A5—P11. Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.93. PLATE X, 7.

850. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. One die is the same as that of Nos. 847–9, but now shows signs of damage.

Similar. In outer l. field, E Σ .A5—P12. α) Paris (Babelon, No. 366, Pl. ix, 10 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3300, Pl. cxx), gr. 16.96; β) Copenhagen, gr. 16.94. PLATE X, 8.A6—P13. Newell (Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 972, Pl. 35 = Cumberland Clark Coll., Sotheby Sale, Jan. 1914, No. 262, Pl. vii), \uparrow , gr. 16.87. PLATE X, 9.**851. DRACHM.**

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, E Σ .Newell (Vogel Coll., Hess Sale, March 1929, No. 385, Pl. 10), \nearrow , gr. 4.25. PLATE X, 10.**852. DRACHM.**

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath elephant standing to r. In the exergue, E Σ . α) Newell, \nearrow , gr. 3.73; β) Turin (Fabretti, p. 330, No. 4599), gr. 4.15. PLATE X, 11.
 α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.**853. DRACHM.**

Similar.

Similar, but without monogram.

 α) London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 30, Pl. ix, 2), gr. 4.25; β) Jameson Coll., No. 1689, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 3.88; γ) Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 1004, Pl. 36 (= Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2922, Pl. xxv), gr. 4.23. PLATE X, 12.**854. TETRADRACHM.**

From the same dies as No. 850.

Similar to No. 850. In outer l. field, Δ I.

A5—P15. Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 665, Pl. xviii, gr. 16.98. PLATE X, 13.

A6—P16. α) Rome (Vatican Coll.); β) London (Urfa Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 16.89. PLATE X, 14.P17. α) Barachin Coll., Florange-Ciani Sale, Dec. 1924, No. 247, Pl. viii, gr. 16.5; β) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum. General Coll.). PLATE XI, 1.**855. TETRADRACHM.**

One old die (A6) used, together with a new one (A7) presenting a new type of portrait.

Similar. In outer l. field, ∇ (on die P24 it appears to have the form \square).A6—P18. α) Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. Num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 132, No. 488), gr. 17.00; β) Neville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1955, Pl. 57, gr. 16.93. PLATE XI, 2.A7—P19. Newell (obverse has been slightly tooled about the hair and diadem-ends), \uparrow , gr. 16.95. PLATE XI, 3.P20. American University, Beyrouth (on this die the monogram seems to have the form \square). PLATE LXXXV, 9.

856. TETRADRACHM.

Die A7 again used.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$.A7—P21. London (Wace Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 16.63. PLATE XI, 4.

857. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\Sigma}$ ($\overline{\Sigma}$ on die P24)
A^c, both placed sideways.A7—P22. Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.69. PLATE XI, 5.

P23. Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 422, Pl. 13, gr. 16.93.

P24. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 971, Pl. 35 (*Num. Chron.*, 4th. Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, pp. 245–6, No. 10, Pl. ix, 12. Believed by Dr. Edgar Rogers to have come from Persia), gr. 16.73.

858. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, A Σ Σ A, both
placed sideways.

A7—P25. Paris (Babelon, No. 369), gr. 16.50.

P26. Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 17.085. PLATE XI, 6.

Perhaps to this variety should also be assigned the coin found at Sardes.
Cf. *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 43, No. 399, gr. 16.91.

859. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to preceding dies of both types.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{K}}$ above EP.A8—P27. Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.36. PLATE XI, 7.

A9—P28. Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 16.84. PLATE XI, 8.

860. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, EP. In outer r.
field, $\overline{\text{K}}$.A9—P29. α) Munich, gr. 16.70; β) Newell (Hartwig Coll., Santamaria Sale, March 1910, No. 818, Pl. xv), \uparrow , gr. 17.01. PLATE XI, 9.

861. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to die A7.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$ above $\overline{\text{H}}$.A10—P30. Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 369), \uparrow , gr. 15.78.
PLATE XI, 10.

862. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to die A9.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$ above $\overline{\text{R}}$.

A11—P31. Riechmann Sale 30, Dec. 1924, No. 758, Pl. xxx, gr. 16.97. PLATE XI, 11.

863. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{R}}$ $\overline{\text{K}}$, both
placed sideways.

A11—P32. Paris (Babelon, No. 368), gr. 16.80. PLATE XI, 12.

864. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, ΑΠΘ above ΑΡ.

A11—P33. Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 33, No. 27), gr. 16.93. PLATE XII, 1.

865. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Α.

A12—P34. α) Newell, ↑, gr. 15.97 (cleaned); β) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.03. PLATE XII, 2.

866. TETRADRACHM.

Same die.

Similar. In outer l. field, Α above ΜΕ.

A12—P35. Newell, ↑, gr. 16.88. PLATE XII, 3.

867. TETRADRACHM.

Same die in somewhat less damaged state.

Similar. In the exergue, ☐ ±.

A12—P36. Newell, ↑, gr. 16.77. PLATE XII, 4.

868. TETRADRACHM (E. S. M., No. 765).

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath elephant standing to r. On l., Ε. On r., Κ.

A13—P37. α) Newell, ↘, gr. 16.32 (described in E. S. M., p. 268, No. 765, Pl. lvi, 5); β) Brussels, gr. 16.82. PLATE XII, 5.

BRONZE COINAGE

869. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Nike advancing to l. holding long palm-branch in her extended r. No monogram or letter.

Newell, ↑, gr. 8.29. PLATE XII, 6.

870. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Α.

α-β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 37, Nos. 58-9, Pl. lxxv, 20. The form ω occurs in the title on No. 58), grs. 8.04 and 6.67; γ) London (Rogers Coll.), ↗, gr. 8.01. PLATE XII, 7.

871. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Ι.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 441, Pl. x, 19), gr. 7.20; β) American University, Beyrouth.

872. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Σ.

London (Rogers Coll.), ↑, gr. 7.48. PLATE XII, 8.

873. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Ξ.

Berlin, gr. 8.85. PLATE XII, 9.

874. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, A^c (placed sideways as on Pl. XI, 5).Newell, *✓*, gr. 9.43. PLATE XII, 10.

With the great expedition of Antiochus III into the east, the mint of Nisibis becomes extremely active. Basing our judgment on criteria of style, fabric, and portraiture, and taught by our previous study of the contemporaneous issues of Ecbatana⁸¹ and Susa,⁸² we can assign Nos. 841–868 only to the years after 208 B. C. Although composed of numerous varieties, the entire issue is obviously the product of a comparatively short period. The fabric changes but little from beginning to end, while such differences in style as are noticeable are due to the divergent and individualistic handiwork of the small number of die-cutters employed. The issue is a very compact one; the many varieties described result from the shifting and interchanging association of the magistrates whose several initials or monograms appear on the coins. This compactness is clearly exemplified by a frequent interchange of obverse dies, for to produce the twenty-five varieties of tetradrachms here described, only thirteen obverse dies were actually used. In order that the reader may visualize this more clearly, the known obverse and reverse dies have been carefully numbered, according to the system adopted for other mints described in this volume.

The character of the king's portrait (with its long, pointed nose, high cheekbones, domed forehead now showing signs of baldness, etc.) not only continues from Series II, but it also parallels the issues which we have seen must have been coined at Ecbatana and Susa between the arrival of Antiochus in Media and his eventual return to Babylonia.⁸³ The final proof of this synchronism between the several coinages of Nisibis, Susa and Ecbatana is based on the presence of the elephant.⁸⁴ The choice of the elephant as a reverse type was obviously inspired by its presence on the gold and silver (and certain of the bronze) issues of Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa, and Ecbatana in direct consequence of Antiochus III's victories in Bactria and Afghanistan, and his vaunted acquisition of many war-elephants from Euthydemus and Sophagastenus. Some sort of direct interdependence, so to speak, between these particular issues of Nisibis, Susa, and Ecbatana is further suggested by the recurrence on all of certain typical monograms or letters. Thus we find AΣ or AC on Nos. 843–6, 857–8 of Nisibis, & on Nos. 402–3 of Susa, AC on No. 607 of Ecbatana; ΔI on Nos. 848 and 854 of Nisibis, on No. 399 of Susa, and on Nos. 604–9 of Ecbatana. All of these coins cannot possibly represent issues of a single mint⁸⁵ because of the obvious divergencies in their several styles and fabrics. They must be assigned to at least three distinct mints, but the immediate occasion for

⁸¹ E. S. M., pp. 211–22.⁸² E. S. M., pp. 142–48.⁸³ Cf. E. S. M., Pls. xxxi, 4–6; xlv, 6, 7, 12; xlv, 1–3, 9.⁸⁴ Cf. E. S. M., Nos. 397, 626–631, 765, and the present volume, Nos. 852–3 and 868.⁸⁵ Cf. also E. S. M., pp. 146–7.

their production was one and the same—namely, the great and costly expedition of Antiochus III into the East, combined with the necessity of converting into coin at the earliest possible moment the enormous mass of bullion obtained by him from the spoliation of the temple of Aene at Ecbatana. Polybius⁸⁶ sets the amount thus secured at very nearly four thousand talents of coined money. Apparently, and quite understandably, the facilities of a single mint (Ecbatana) could hardly be expected to cope with such a mass-production at short notice. But Antiochus needed the money badly and at once—or he would never have taken so drastic a step as the high-handed spoliation of a very sacred temple which was bound to alienate local sentiment. As apparently time was essential, it proved more expedient (as well as expeditious) to transfer some of the bars, plates and tiles of metal to other nearby mints, such as Susa and Nisibis, rather than to depend upon Ecbatana alone, or to disrupt the even functioning of those mints by bringing *their* die-cutters, workmen, and appliances to the Median capital. The choice of Susa as an assistant mint to Ecbatana for the conversion of the Aene bullion into coin, was doubtless due to the fact that it was the nearest of any of the other mints active at this time. The selection of Nisibis as the other assisting mint, instead of Seleucia on the Tigris, may have been governed by the important consideration that it lay directly on the military highway which connected the capital, Antioch, and the great supply depôt, Apamea, with Ecbatana, now the eastern base for Antiochus' operations. Along this great *Heerstrasse* must have flowed the major part of the necessary replacements and supplies from the empire's centre in Syria to the army in the field. Hence, it would have been less convenient and practical to use Seleucia on the Tigris, which lay somewhat off the main route of communications between Syria and Media.

Characteristic of Series III at Nisibis, and in contrast to its contemporaries at Susa and Ecbatana, are the broad, thin flans employed. Until just before the end, the relief is consistently low. As in Series I and II, as also for the contemporaneous issues of Susa and Ecbatana, the dies are in the general relation $\uparrow \uparrow$. That the elephant drachms Nos. 852 and 853 (PLATES X, 11 and 12) should be distinguished from the similar pieces assigned to the mint of Ecbatana,⁸⁷ is rendered certain by their somewhat broader flans and flatter relief, in which regard they closely resemble the tetradrachms with which they are here associated. The drachms of the Median mint always bear the magistrate's monogram M , or the monogram E , which for so many years had been especially characteristic of the Ecbatana issues. The Nisibis drachms Nos. 852 and 853 either have no mark at all, or are provided with the letters $\text{E}\Sigma$ which are also to be found on the accompanying tetradrachm and drachm, Nos. 850 and 851 (PLATE X, 8–10).

In the middle of the issue, a curious type of portrait appears (PLATE XI, 3–7 and 10); it is marked by an almost retroussé nose and heavier locks of hair along the upper portion of the forehead. This unusual portrait lasts but a short

⁸⁶ X, 27, 12–13.

⁸⁷ E. S. M., No. 631, Pl. xlvii, 14–16. The present volume, No. 631A, PLATE III, 11 and 12.

time and then gives way again to the earlier type (PLATE XI, 8-9, 11-12), but now in somewhat higher relief. In the meantime, the style of the reverse dies has grown even more 'sketchy.' The letters of the inscriptions are uneven and poorly made; the pellets which mark the salient points of each letter are increased in size, rendering the individual letters clumsy and unattractive.⁸⁸

The issue appears to close with the elephant tetradrachm No. 868 (765) which in E. S. M., p. 268, had been tentatively placed among the uncertain mints, although the suggestion was there hazarded that the coin might have been struck in northern Mesopotamia. Although the diadem-ends wave slightly, whereas on the immediately preceding issues of Nisibis they fall more or less straight, the style and general character of the portrait are not only similar to those of the preceding coins (PLATE XII, 2-4), but also constitute an apparent transition to the portrait marking the first coin (No. 875, PLATE XII, 11) of the succeeding Series IV. The negligence of the die-cutting on the reverse, as well as the uneven and carelessly made letters, remind one strongly of what had just preceded. The monograms are indeed new, although there may be some connection between the CE of No. 868 (765) and the C of No. 867. The use of the elephant as a type for the silver coins appears to have continued at Ecbatana until *circa* 200 B. C. The same may also be true at Nisibis whose mint frequently seems to have been influenced by that of the Median capital.

The mint of Nisibis is here proposed for the bronze coins Nos. 869-74, PLATE XII, 6-10, because of the very characteristic monogram A^{C} to be found on No. 874. The same monogram also occurs on the tetradrachm No. 857. Similarly, the monogram Σ of No. 873 doubtless indicates the magistrate Σ who also signed No. 857. The flans upon which these bronze coins have been struck are unusually thick and 'dumpy.' Their dies are adjusted \uparrow or \nearrow , like most of the accompanying tetradrachms. No specimens have been found either at Antioch or at any of the other scientifically excavated sites. In fact, we possess no provenance records at all for these bronze coins, except the very vague one that a specimen (No. 871 β) exists in the collection of the American University, Beyrouth. It seems significant that no specimens occur in any of the other Syrian collections of which we chance to have records available. This very negative evidence does point, in its way, to the region of northern Mesopotamia whose classical sites have not yet been scientifically excavated and whence we as yet have no local collection upon which to base possible conclusions. An origin east of the Euphrates River is also suggested by the fact that the reverse type of Nike, standing to left and holding a long palm-branch before her with her right hand, was apparently copied from somewhat earlier issues of Antiochus III at Seleucia on the Tigris, E. S. M., Plate xviii, 15-16. In the present case, this type probably refers to the eastern victories of that king, as does the elephant type of some of the accompanying silver pieces, Nos. 852-3 and 868.

⁸⁸ Cf. PLATE XI, 3, 5, and 7; PLATE XII, 2-3.

SERIES IV, c. 200-186 B. C.

GROUP A

875. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., with straight diadem-ends.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, as before, seated to l. on *omphalos*.
In upper, inner l. field, $\overline{\Lambda}$.

Milan. PLATE XII, 11.

GROUP B

876. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., with waving diadem-ends. Fillet border.

Similar. In upper, inner l. field, $\overline{\Lambda}$. In upper, inner r. field, Δ I.

α) London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 19), gr. 16.36; β) Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 581, Pl. xviii, gr. 17.12; γ) Florence. PLATE XII, 13.

877. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In upper, inner l. field, $\overline{\Lambda}$. In upper, inner r. field, NI.

α) Turin (Fabretti, No. 4591), \uparrow , gr. 16.77; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.96; γ) The Hague, \uparrow , gr. 16.90; δ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 16.995; ϵ) Cambridge (Leake Coll.); ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 388, Pl. ix, 14), gr. 16.82. PLATE XII, 12; η) London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 20), gr. 16.75. PLATE XII, 14; θ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 982, Pl. 35, gr. 16.73; θ) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2795, Pl. lxxvii, gr. 17.00; ι) Paris (Babelon, No. 389, Pl. ix, 15), gr. 17.00.

β - η are from the same obverse die. β and γ are from one reverse die, δ to ζ from another reverse die.

The final series of coins brought out at Nisibis under Antiochus III is connected with the preceding coinage by the style and character of the king's portrait on No. 875, PLATE XII, 11, and the recurrence of the monogram Δ I on No. 876. The new issue is signed throughout by the chief magistrate $\overline{\Lambda}$, which monogram assumes the form $\overline{\Lambda}^{89}$ on No. 877. The issue is especially characterized by the placing of the monograms high in the inner field and to either side of Apollo's head.

The style of the reverse dies and the rendering of the letters in the inscriptions show great improvement over what we have found at the end of Series III. In Nos. 876-877 (PLATE XII, 12-14), the die-cutters take the final issues at the capital, Antioch, as their model.⁹⁰ Thus, the obverse die is now surrounded by a fillet border. Similarly, the flying diadem-ends are so arranged that one rises up behind the head, while the other falls in a curve over the right shoulder. That the coinage of Series IV extended down to the end of the reign is shown by this copying of the later issues of Antioch, and also by the deeply lined and very elderly portrait of Antiochus himself which our coins display.

⁸⁹ Possibly the same person who had previously signed No. 855?

⁹⁰ Cf. the tetradrachms of that mint illustrated on PLATES XXIX to XXXII.

2) PARAPOTAMIA

DURA-EUROPUS

The Yale excavations of 1928-37 at Dura-Europus on the Euphrates have brought to light a few new varieties of Seleucid bronze coins of Antiochus I, in addition to a large number of familiar types from definitely ascertained mints, principally Antioch. As these new varieties, with a single exception, have never turned up elsewhere, as they are either of unusual design or mere copies of issues from other mints, and as they are of individual style and for the most part less carefully executed than contemporaneous coinages of sister mints, it is practically certain that they were produced in Dura itself.

ANTIOCHUS I

280-261 B. C.

SERIES I, c. 280-276 B. C.

878. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed and horned head of Seleucus I ΒΑΣΙΛΕ (sic!) ANTIOXOY around the
to r. Circle of dots. horned head of a horse to r.

α) Yale excavations, √, gr. 2.81; β) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938, ↓, gr. 5.10.

Countermarked: Lyre

γ-δ) Yale excavations, √, gr. 4.43 and √, gr. 4.14.

Countermarked: Lyre and Horse's Head

ε-ι) Yale excavations, √, gr. 4.71. PLATE XIII, 2; √, gr. 3.51. PLATE XIII, 1; √, gr. 2.73; √, gr. 2.03; √, gr. 3.59. PLATE XIII, 3; √, gr. 3.42. PLATE XIII, 4.

879. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Inscription illegible. Anchor.

Yale excavations, gr. 1.25. PLATE XIII, 5.

SERIES II, c. 276-270 B. C.

880. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Macedonian shield with the usual crescent ornaments, and bearing an anchor as its central boss. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ above, ANTIOXO below elephant advancing to r. On r., ☐.

α-γ) Yale excavations, √, gr. 7.38; ↓, gr. 5.63. PLATE XIII, 6; ↓, gr. 4.22. PLATE XIII, 7.

881. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. Monogram illegible.

α-β) Yale excavations, √, gr. 1.56. PLATE XIII, 8; √, gr. 1.31.

SERIES III, c. 270-265 B. C.

882. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Bridled and horned head of horse to r.
Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY in two lines
within and to l. of a strung bow. Below,
following name, Ξ.

α-γ) Yale excavations, ♂, gr. 6.17; ♀, gr. 6.10; ♂, gr. 4.17. PLATE XIII, 9.

883. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram.

α-β) Yale excavations, ♀, gr. 3.35. PLATE XIII, 10; ♂, gr. 2.40.

Evidently, the strategically important fortress-town of Dura-Europus, founded by Seleucus I Nicator, possessed a local mint during the reign of his son, Antiochus I. Its coins have been carefully described and discussed in *A Seleucid Mint at Dura-Europus*⁹¹ under the joint authorship of Dr. A. R. Bellinger and the present writer. The latter contributed but the attribution, while the able discussion is entirely the work of the former. Thanks to the thoroughness of Dr. Bellinger's study, there is little further to add, and we therefore confine ourselves here to a catalogue of the known varieties and to a brief outline of the evidence offered by the coins themselves.

Dr. Bellinger is doubtless correct in his opinion that because of their crude style, erratic weights and poor metal, the coins of Series I represent an issue brought out, perhaps, unofficially, and certainly not in a well-established royal mint. Later, these coins were given some official status by the application of countermarks, first the Lyre, later the Horse's Head. We here suggest the possibility that the issue was at first necessitated by a dearth of small change at Dura due to the dislocation occasioned by the dangerous and troublesome Syrian rebellion, which took place in the first years of Antiochus I's reign. It is perhaps significant that for its types the die-cutters had recourse to an issue of gold and silver coins brought out at this very time at the neighboring mint of Carrhae.⁹² In any case, the adoption by Dura of these particular and unusual types strongly supports a northern Mesopotamian origin for Nos. 784-8, as against an Indian one as heretofore supposed.^{92a} The types chosen for this, the first issue of coin at Dura, are also interesting from another standpoint—for do they not, rather obviously, serve to commemorate Seleucus, the founder and 'patron saint'⁹³ of the city itself?

The coiners of Series II (PLATE XIII, 6-8) took for their model the types of Antioch between the years c. 278 and 270 B. C.⁹⁴ There, the types seem to have contained references to the defense of the empire against Egyptian aggression and the replenishment from Bactria of the much vaunted Seleucid war-elephants.⁹⁵

⁹¹ See Appendix, pp. 402-06.

⁹² Cf. Nos. 784-8, PLATE VI, 2-7.

^{92a} Cf. pp. 50-3.

⁹³ *The Excavations at Dura-Europus*, Report VI, 1936, pp. 430-1 and Reports VII-VIII, 1939, p. 260.

⁹⁴ Cf. below, Nos. 942-5, PLATE XVIII, 12-19.

⁹⁵ Cf. p. 109.

These Dura copies are again of crude workmanship and of poor quality in the metal used, presenting every appearance of an emergency issue by inexperienced workmen, probably the only kind available for the moment at Dura. The various campaigns of the First Syrian War against Egypt, and the generally unsettled state of affairs may have continued to keep the fortress dependent upon its own meagre resources. The presence of a monogram on Nos. 880-1 suggests that the issue, in spite of its crude appearance, was nevertheless, an official one.

With Series III (PLATE XIII, 9-10) the workmanship, general appearance, and quality of the coins greatly improve. The dies, like those of Series I and II, and in accordance with the common practice at this time in the Mesopotamian, Babylonian and Susian mints, are still irregularly placed. New types were chosen. The horned horse's head of the obverses is a marked improvement over that found on the first issue and probably harks back to Seleucus, upon whose coins it had always been a favorite type or symbol. The bow, on the reverses, appears alone on only one other known Seleucid coin, No. 936 of Antioch. There, its presence was of course suggestive of Apollo, patron deity of the dynasty who had first been brought into especial honor on Seleucid coins by Antiochus himself. Ostensibly, at Dura the significance of the type would be the same. But Dura was also a fortress commanding an important road, ever threatened by the predatory Arabian nomads who lived in the surrounding districts. At this particular period its garrison was no doubt largely composed of mounted troops, armed (as we know to have been the case in later times) with the bow. For only thus could it adequately protect against well-mounted marauding nomads the military and trade route which it was supposed to guard and for which especial purpose it continued to exist. When first founded by Seleucus, Dura was doubtless intended as a bulwark, guarding the Euphrates road against an attack from Syria by Seleucus' arch enemy, Antigonus. But since the defeat and death of the latter at Ipsus, and the incorporation of Syria into the Seleucid empire, that particular danger had been removed. The danger of the predatory nomad tribes, however, still remained. Hence the bow may also have possessed a secondary and local significance which at this late date we can but dimly sense.

Gradually, by dint of the almost super-human efforts of Antiochus, conditions within the empire became more settled while the threatening dangers from without were largely averted. The fortress of Dura now no longer appears to have been dependent upon its own resources. Henceforth, supplies of the necessary 'small change' could be regularly supplied it by the central mint of Antioch, and the excavators have found quantities of the ordinary bronze issues of Antiochus I and II.⁹⁶ The letters EY in a circular depression, counterstamped on many of these coins found at Dura-Europus, may have indicated their currency in the city.⁹⁷ The letters may have stood for the initials of the name Europus, or they may have

⁹⁶ Those of Antiochus I are our Nos. 960-4, PLATES XIX, 27-8 and XX, 1-11 belonging to his third Antiochene issue, *circa* 268-261 B. C. Those of Antiochus II are mostly such coins as our No. 967, PLATE XX, 15-22.

⁹⁷ Cf. Appendix, p. 404.

been but the initials of some official (*agoranomus* ?) charged with the supervision of the city's markets, or even the name of the local military governor or chief city magistrate.⁹⁸

3) UNCERTAIN ISSUES OF THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES REGIONS

Until it becomes possible to base conclusions upon dependable provenance records, the following rare bronze coins may be grouped as of uncertain origin, but probably as having come from the regions between, or bordering upon, the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers.

SELEUCUS I

884. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Bevelled edge.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l.
Horned head of horse to r.

Berlin, gr. 5.30. PLATE XIII, 11.

885. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., of better style than the preceding. Bevelled edge.

Similar inscription, similarly disposed. The head and neck of a bull to r.

London (Gardner, p. 108, No. 71β. Countermarked: Helmet), gr. 6.90. PLATE XIII, 12.

The bevelled edges, the general fabric, and the style of Nos. 884-5 point to the east of the Euphrates river. The crudity of the die-cutting, and the reverse type of No. 884 suggest certain coinages of northern Mesopotamia and Parapotamia studied in the present chapter. The reverse type of No. 885 recurs again at Seleucia on the Tigris under Seleucus II,⁹⁹ but the style of our coin appears too early for that reign.

ANTIOCHUS I

886. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of horned horse to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXΟΥ on l. Inverted anchor. In inner r. field, ⲁ. In inner l. field, Ⲑ.

α) Newell, ⲁ, gr. 3.64; β) Newell, ⲁ, gr. 3.68. PLATE XIII, 13; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 3.32. PLATE XIII, 14.

887. BRONZE UNIT.

Bust of Apollo (or Dionysus?) facing three-quarters r. Bevelled edge.

ANTIOXΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Horse's head to r. Circle of dots.

Berlin (Countermarked: Anchor in oval), gr. 2.77. PLATE XIII, 15.

⁹⁸ For another explanation of the letters EY, see below, p. 116.

⁹⁹ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 5.

888. BRONZE HALF.

Facing head of Helios. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath
small, inverted anchor.α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 1.90. PLATE XIII, 16; β) London, ⚭, gr. 1.91.
PLATE XIII, 17.

The 'unit' No. 886, PLATE XIII, 13-14, has an eastern appearance, and its types are copied from a certain prolific bronze coinage of Seleucia on the Tigris under Seleucus I.¹⁰⁰ An assignment to that mint, however, is problematic as their style varies and no examples of No. 886 appear to have been found at Seleucia.

The two succeeding pieces, Nos. 887-8, PLATE XIII, 15-17, are also of distinctly eastern fabric and style, accentuated by the three-quarters facing heads which they bear. The Helios head of No. 888 suggests Susa, on whose coins it frequently appears in both Greek and Parthian times. No specimens of our coin, however, seem as yet to have been found in the excavations of that city.

ANTIOCHUS II (?)

889. BRONZE DOUBLE.Youthful, diademed head to r. of Antiochus
II (?). Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath
anchor and elephant's head to r. Uncertain
monogram on r.Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Choix de monnaies grecques*, pl. vi, 216, and *Monnaies grecques*, p. 428, No. 55), gr. 7.58. PLATE XIII, 18.

This very worn bronze 'double' has here been tentatively placed under Antiochus II. The general character of the portrait suggests the rather nondescript youthful heads which mark his earliest bronze coinages at the Ecbatana mint.¹⁰¹ It is most unfortunate that the monogram should be so obscure, thus depriving us of a possible clue to the actual mint. Fabric and style of the coin itself would seem to place its mint somewhere in the eastern portion of the Seleucid empire.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. vii, 8-9.¹⁰¹ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xxxix, 13, 18, 19, 21-23.

CHAPTER III

SELEUCIS AND PIERIA

Instead of beginning our study of the Seleucid coinages of Syria proper with a description and discussion of the issues brought out at the capital, Antioch, a curious situation renders it preferable to start with the coinages of its great seaport, Seleucia Pieria. But first we must go back a few years to a time before the decisive battle of Ipsus, which gave Seleucus dominion over Syria. In 306 B. C., while Demetrius Poliorcetes was bringing to a brilliant conclusion his sudden attack on Cyprus, his father, Antigonus Monophthalmus, was busy at a certain spot in the rich Orontes valley, founding and building what he intended should become his empire's capital, Antigonea on the Orontes.¹ Here, as soon as possible, a mint was put into operation, and the following coins struck.

ANTIGONEA ON THE ORONTES

ANTIGONUS

c. 306–301 B. C.

1. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. on sceptre and holding Nike in his outstretched r. In l. field, Μ.

A1—P1. Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. II, No. 2134, Pl. 82, gr. 17.33. PLATE XIV, 1.

A2—P2. α) Boston (Regling, *Sammlung Warren*, No. 647, Pl. xv. On this specimen the reverse is slightly double-struck), gr. 17.07; β) Capt. Hollschek Coll., Vienna, gr. 16.16; γ) Naville Sale XIII, June, 1928, No. 523, Pl. 16, gr. 16.97; δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.84. PLATE XIV, 2.

P3. Commerce. PLATE XIV, 3.

2. TETRADRACHM.

From the same two dies as the preceding.

Similar, except that Zeus holds an eagle and is seated on a *diphros*. In l. field, X. Beneath throne, φ.

A1—P4. Athens. PLATE XIV, 4.

P5. Newell, ↑, gr. 16.89.

A2—P5. Newell (from Baghdad), ↑, gr. 16.53.

P6. Newell, ↑, gr. 17.18. PLATE XIV, 5.

P7. α) Rome (Museo Nazionale delle Terme), ↑; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. I, p. 306, No. 104), gr. 17.06.

P8. α) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 1426, Pl. xliii), gr. 16.87; β) London.

P9. Dr. Petsalis, Athens.

There are further specimens in Berlin and Naples of which casts have not been received

¹ Diodorus XX, 47.

3. TETRADRACHM.

From the same two dies, but now in a more worn and damaged state.

Similar. In l. field, X. Beneath throne, ϕ .
In outer r. field, K.

A1—P10. Newell (Serrure Sale, May 1913), \downarrow , gr. 17.03. PLATE XIV, 6.

A2—P11. Vienna, gr. 17.11. PLATE XIV, 7.

4. TETRADRACHM.

From the worn die A2.

Similar. In l. field, X above K. Beneath throne, ϕ .

A2—P12. Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. II, No. 3441, Pl. 127, 9), \uparrow , gr. 17.11. PLATE XIV, 8.

5. TETRADRACHM.

From the worn die A1.

Similar. In l. field, X. Beneath throne, ϕ .
In outer r. field, M.

A2—P13. Vienna, gr. 17.04. PLATE XIV, 9.

In general, this group of coins is not only of the old Alexander type but still bears the hallowed name of the great Macedonian hero—a policy to which Antigonus had consistently adhered in all the mints of his empire.² Only on the first variety, No. 1, PLATE XIV, 1–3, do we find that a wreath-bearing Nike has temporarily replaced the usual eagle in the hands of Zeus.³ This temporary innovation seems eminently appropriate for the initial coinage at Antigonus' new capital, an issue undoubtedly brought out soon after his son's great victory at Salamis had astounded the ancient world, and had given father and son undisputed naval supremacy over all the eastern Mediterranean. But Antigonus' deep-seated aversion (or was it reasoned policy?) to altering, by even a little, the old Alexander type, soon reasserted itself, and on the remainder of the issue the eagle again replaces the Nike in the right hand of Zeus.

The same two obverse dies (A1 and A2) that had been prepared for No. 1, continue in use for Nos. 2–5. But, henceforth, they show a gradually deteriorating state, thus proving definitely that No. 1 must have been the initial issue. The dies seem to have been regularly placed—usually, $\uparrow \uparrow$; exceptionally, $\uparrow \downarrow$. Generally speaking, the coins are of an 'eastern' style and fabric, but do not seem to fit anywhere among the issues of the old established mints (Tarsus, Babylon, Aradus, Byblus, Sidon, Tyre, Alexandria, etc.) of the region. Their subtle individuality of appearance suggests some newly opened mint. Their style points to the last decade of the fourth century B. C., and they do not occur in the all-embracing hoard of Demanhur, which seems to have contained practically everything of the Alexander tetradrachm type coined down to *circa* 319/8 B. C. Nor were they in the almost equally comprehensive hoard of Abu Hommos, buried *circa* 310 B. C., or not much

² Cf. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, pp. 14–15.

³ This represents the only instance so far recorded in which the Nike usurps the place of the eagle on a coin bearing the name of Alexander. It is possible that this innovation quickly appealed to Seleucus (or to his mint authorities at Seleucia on the Tigris), for we find the Nike in place of the eagle for the first time on the coin issues of that mint which were issued *c.* 303–2 B. C. Cf. E. S. M., Nos. 13–14, Pl. iv, 1–2.

later. Evidence from later hoards is negative, since but one specimen (a coin similar to No. 2) is known to have turned up in a scientifically recorded deposit, that of Tell Halaaf.⁴ But as this particular hoard was not buried until long after the period of their issue, it can tell us nothing beyond what we already know regarding Nos. 1-5. The proposed attribution to Antigonea is based on general stylistic considerations and on the evidence of the coins next to be described.

A. SELEUCIA PIERIA

SELEUCUS I

SERIES I, c. 300-290 B. C.

890. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus, enthroned to l., rests l. on sceptre and holds Nike in outstretched r. In l. field, Ⓢ. Beneath throne, KP.

A3—P14. Newell (Prof. Haynes), ←, gr. 16.36. PLATE XIV, 10.

P15. α) Newell (Gejou), ↗, gr. 16.79; β) Ratto Sale, Apr. 1927, No. 2432, Pl. lxi (= Clement Platt, Priced Sale Cat., No. 581, Pl. iv), gr. 17.06.

P16. α) Vienna, ↓, gr. 16.75; β) Basel Sale 4, Oct. 1935, No. 864, Pl. 30 (= Cahn Sale 84, Nov. 1933, No. 402, Pl. 14), gr. 16.45.

P17. α) Brussels, gr. 17.08; β) Copenhagen, gr. 16.32.

A4—P18. Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. Num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 130, No. 477), gr. 16.83. PLATE XIV, 11.

P19. Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ←, gr. 16.63.

A5—P20. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 774, Pl. 26 (= Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7831, Pl. 285), gr. 16.87. PLATE XIV, 12.

P21. Newell, ↖, gr. 16.85.

891. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram and letters.

Berlin, gr. 3.92. PLATE XIV, 13.

892. TETRADRACHM.

Struck from die A5.

Similar. In l. field, Ⓢ. Beneath throne, Ψ.

A5—P22. Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 7, No. 14, Pl. lxiii, 10), gr. 16.61. PLATE XV, 1.

893. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, Ⓢ. Beneath throne, KA (KP?).

Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 133, No. 29), gr. 16.65.

894. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above thunderbolt. In field above, Α; below, Ⓢ.

⁴ Noe, No. 1086.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 211, No. 4), gr. 7.94; β) London (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, etc., p. 269, No. 6); γ) Newell, ↙, gr. 7.21; δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 7.75; ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 6.35. PLATE XV, 2.

SERIES II, c. 290–285 B. C.

GROUP A

895. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., as before.
Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the
exergue. In l. field, ☉ or ☿.

A6—P23. (☉) Newell (Armenak Hoard), ↑, gr. 16.99. PLATE XV, 3.

P24. (☉) α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↖, gr. 16.757; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 7, No. 13), gr. 16.83. PLATE XV, 4.

896. BRONZE QUADRUPEL.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above winged thunderbolt.
Beneath, ☉.

α-β) London (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, etc., p. 269, No. 1, Pl. xxxii, 4, and *loc. cit.*, No. 2); γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 13.95. PLATE XV, 5; δ) Newell, →, gr. 12.18; ε) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 211, No. 1), gr. 12.89. PLATE XV, 6.

897. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above plain thunderbolt.
Beneath, ☉.

α) London (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, etc., p. 269, No. 5, Pl. xxxii, 3); β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 211, No. 5), gr. 5.70. PLATE XV, 7.

GROUP B

898. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above winged thunderbolt.
Beneath, ☉.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 211, No. 2), gr. 7.45; β) London (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, etc., p. 269, No. 3); γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 6.49; δ) Newell, →, gr. 6.21. PLATE XV, 8.

899. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

ΣΕΛΕΥ above, ΚΕΩΝ beneath winged
thunderbolt. On l., ☉.

α) Newell, ↗, gr. 3.34. PLATE XV, 9; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 211, No. 3, Pl. lxxiv, 26), gr. 3.60. PLATE XV, 10.

SERIES III, c. 285–280 B. C.

GROUP A

900. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles, as before. Circle
of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l.
Zeus enthroned to l. holding Nike, as
before. Beneath throne, ☉.

A7—P25. α) Constantinople, ↗, gr. 16.91; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↗, gr. 17.10. PLATE XV, 11.

901. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above plain thunderbolt.
Beneath, ⊗ (inverted).

α) Newell, ↓, gr. 7.73; β) Newell, ↙, gr. 7.19. PLATE XV, 12.

902. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram.
Thin flan.

Newell, ↘, gr. 3.46. PLATE XV, 13.

GROUP B

903. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar, but of slightly better style.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚ[ΕΩΝ?] above thunderbolt. Be-
neath, ⌘. Circle of dots. Thin flan.

From the excavations of Seleucia on the Tigris, gr. 3.134. PLATE XV, 14.

GROUP C

904. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ above plain thunderbolt. Be-
neath, ⊗ (inverted).Excavations of Dura (*Preliminary Report, Third Season, 1929-30*, p. 1 and p. 149), ↘,
gr. 6.065. PLATE XV, 15.

In the spring or early summer of 301 B. C. was fought the momentous battle of Ipsus, which gave to Seleucus the eastern half of Antigonos' empire, including northern Syria. Here Seleucus himself eventually arrived and decided that he, too, would found in the Orontes valley a new city, Antioch, destined to become the capital of his now greatly enlarged dominions. At the same time, he also planned to construct at the mouth of this river a magnificent port to constitute the economic gateway to the empire which now stretched from the Mediterranean to central Asia and the borders of India. According to John Malalas,⁵ the formal determining of the harbor's site, the attendant solemn sacrifices, and the official founding of the city itself took place in March (23 Xandikos, 301/0) of 300 B. C. Seleucus christened the city after himself. It was henceforth known as Seleucia Pieria, to distinguish it from his numerous other foundations bearing his name.

Either because the construction of Seleucia was at first more energetically pushed than that of Antioch,⁶ or because a mint at this spot was of paramount importance at this particular moment, Seleucus appears to have moved the mint of Antigonea (together with its appliances and personnel) *directly to Seleucia*. For so the coins themselves proclaim. It is to be noted that the obverse dies A1 and A2 of Nos. 1-5 (PLATE XIV, 1-9) are so similar in appearance to A3 of No. 890

⁵ P. 199.⁶ It is conceivable that a suitable port for the reception of the necessary building supplies might be especially desirable during the simultaneous building of two such large cities.

(PLATE XIV, 10) that only by a close inspection is it possible to assure one-self that they are not actually identical. The size of the flans, the spacing of the encircling dots, the arrangement of the locks of hair both of Heracles and of his lion's skin, the forms of both Heracles' and the lion's ears, the profile and the expression of the features, the drawing of the eye and its pupil, the size of the head itself, etc., are all so nearly identical that we cannot escape the conclusion that they must have been produced by one and the same die-cutter. This, and the fact that the bronze type No. 894—which must accompany Nos. 890–3 because of its unusual monogram ☉—bears the name of the citizens of Seleucia Pieria, constitute our unequivocal evidence for the transference of the mint and its personnel from the old Antigonea directly to the new Seleucia. It is therefore also but natural that the seated Zeus Nicephorus on the reverse of No. 890 (PLATE XIV, 10–12) should be practically identical with the same figure on No. 1 (PLATE XIV, 1–3). But now the name of Seleucus has replaced that of Alexander, and the wreath-bearing Nike which he holds commemorates Ipsus⁷ and not Salamis. It is both curious and interesting to note that Diodorus⁸ expressly declares: οὐ μὴν πολλὸν γε χρόνον συνέβη μείναι τὴν πόλιν (i. e., Antigonea), Σελεύκου καθελόντος αὐτὴν καὶ μεταγαγόντος ἐπὶ τὴν κτισθεῖσαν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκειαν. In other words, Seleucus is here definitely stated to have transferred Antigonea directly to Seleucia, and *not* to Antioch as generally believed. Various editors⁹ and historians, following Strabo and the late writers Malalas and Libanius, have emendated the passage, proposing to replace the name Σελεύκειαν by Ἀντιόχειαν. Recently Honigman, in Pauly-Wissowa II. 2, pp. 1185–7, came to the support of Diodorus, pointing out that the passage is in no wise unacceptable as it stands and is even supported by various statements of Plutarch and Appian. He reminds us that it was ever the practice of Hellenistic kings to name their newly founded capitals after themselves,¹⁰ that Seleucus was actually buried in Seleucia Pieria and not at Antioch, and that in a passage of Polybius,¹⁰ Seleucia Pieria is hailed as the capital seat (ἄρχηγέτις) and the very hearth (ἑστία) of the dynasty. Honigman boldly suggests that Seleucia Pieria may at first have been intended as the new capital of the empire. Thus, there would have been every reason for Seleucus to have shifted the mint of Antigonea directly to Seleucia. The evidence of the coins themselves is now seen to support both Diodorus and the German scholar.

SERIES I

Both silver and bronze coins of Series I are characterized by the presence of the unusual monogram ☉, an almost unmistakable indication that they must have been coined in a common mint and at the same time. The inscription borne by No. 894 proves that this mint can only have been Seleucia Pieria. The silver coins

⁷ As it does at the other capital, Seleucia on the Tigris, in 302/1 B. C. Cf. E. S. M., p. 22.

⁸ XX, 47, 6–7.

⁹ Wesseling, Dindorf, Droysen, Benzinger, etc.




¹⁰ I. e., Lysimachia, Cassandrea, Antigonea, Seleucia on the Tigris.


¹⁰ V, 58.

are royal issues and so bear the inscription ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. On the other hand the bronze coins, being inscribed simply ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ, must represent something more in the nature of a municipal coinage, although issued from the same mint as the silver pieces and under the supervision of the same chief magistrate. It may be noted, however, that while the assistant officials appearing on the silver are KP, T, and KA, the bronze coins were produced under the signature of their own special subordinate, one R. It is possible that either KP or KA (if this form really exists) may represent the same official as the K of Antigonos' issues (Nos. 3-4).

In keeping with the municipal character of the bronze coins, their types are also local in significance. For the splendid head of Zeus which adorns the obverse (PLATE XV, 2) is probably not so much the deity presiding over the obverses or reverses of the early Seleucid royal silver coins but, rather, the far-famed and deeply venerated Zeus Casius, who from his holy Mt. Casius, not far from Seleucia itself, looked benignly down upon the new foundation. Surely his must be the head which here, and frequently in after years, adorned the obverses of the autonomous and semi-autonomous issues of Seleucia.¹¹ His, too, must be the thunderbolt on the reverse, a type which continued to distinguish the coinages of Seleucia Pieria for over half a millenium.¹² The particular significance of the thunderbolt at Seleucia is explained by Appian who tells¹³ how "a portent of thunder preceded the foundation of the one by the sea (i.e., Seleucia Pieria), for which reason he (namely, Seleucus) consecrated thunder as a divinity of the place, and accordingly the inhabitants worship thunder and sing its praises to this day."¹⁴

SERIES II

The coinage of Series II, Group A, Nos. 895-7, PLATE XV, 3-7, continues as before and comprises silver tetradrachms in the name of Seleucus, and bronze coins in the name of the Seleucians. Their monograms vary slightly on different coins. Thus, we find the forms , , and , which, however, were surely intended to represent the name of one and the same individual. But as identical forms do occur on coins both of silver and of bronze, it remains certain that both categories emanated from a single mint. That this mint was still Seleucia Pieria is shown by the inscriptions found on Nos. 896-7. In this issue a larger denomination (No. 896, PLATE XV, 5-6) was added to the usual 'double,' from which it is distinguished not only by its size and weight but also by the fact that on it the thunderbolt is depicted as winged.

Series II, Group B, Nos. 898-9, PLATE XV, 8-10, comprises as yet only bronze coins, marked by a monogram of slightly divergent form, , from any that

¹¹ Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, etc., Pl. xxxii, 5. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, Pl. xvi, 1. *Zeitschr. für Num.*, Vol. III, 1876, Pl. ix, 13.

¹² Its last appearance at Seleucia is on a coin of Elagabalus. Cf. specimen in the author's cabinet.

¹³ *Syr.*, 58. Translation by Horace White in The Loeb Classical Library.

¹⁴ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεὸν αὐτοῖς κεραυνὸν ἔθετο, καὶ θρησκεύουσι καὶ ὕμνουσι καὶ νῦν κεραυνόν.

have preceded. Both 'double' and 'unit' now adopt the winged thunderbolt, first found on the large denomination of Group A. On the 'unit,' probably because of the smaller space available, the inscription has been divided into two portions, one placed above, the other beneath, the type.

SERIES III

In Series III, Group A, Nos. 900-2, PLATE XV, 11-13, we still find royal tetradrachms and municipal bronze coins continuing, all marked by the same monogram, Ⓢ. The style of the silver coins has deteriorated slightly, while the royal title has been moved from the exergue to a position in front of Zeus and paralleling the personal name of Seleucus which still remains in its old position to the right of the god. In passing, it may be remarked that this particular arrangement of the inscription first appeared on Seleucid coins towards the end of the reign of Seleucus, and thereafter grew rapidly in favor in the western mints. The arrangement doubtless was copied from the masses of tetradrachms bearing the names and personal types of Lysimachus and Demetrius Poliorcetes¹⁵ which throughout the first twenty years of the third century B. C. had become so popular in eastern Europe and Asia Minor.

The style of the bronze coins of Series III has also changed decidedly for the worse, while the flans have become generally thick and 'dumpy.' The winged thunderbolt of Series II is again replaced in Series III by the plain thunderbolt, which now is rendered in a summary and clumsy fashion.

Group B is represented by but a single specimen, No. 903, PLATE XV, 14. Curiously enough, this coin turned up in the excavations of Seleucia on the Tigris. Its style is an improvement over what immediately precedes, while its monogram, Ⓢ, is identical with one occurring on certain staters and tetradrachms of the Babylonian mint, E. S. M., Nos. 110-13, Pl. xi, 9-12. If the inscription once read ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, an assignment to Seleucia on the Tigris would perhaps be the most logical, although on the bronze coins of that mint the royal title invariably accompanied the king's name. However, on the gold stater of that particular issue the name of Seleucus also stands alone, and our bronze coin might have followed the precedent thus set. Unfortunately, the final letters of the inscription are so badly damaged by corrosion that they are illegible. The inscription might equally well have been ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ or ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. In the latter case, the coin would be almost certainly an issue of Seleucia Pieria, where similar coins in the name of the Seleucians are of common occurrence in the reign of the first Seleucus, while none such are known for this period at Seleucia on the Tigris. Furthermore, the style and types of our coin do not seem to fit very happily between such pieces as E. S. M., Pl. xi, 6-8 and Pl. xii, 1-3. At Seleucia Pieria, however, its types are fully at home. For that reason the coin has here been tentatively included among the issues of the Syrian Seleucia, at least until further specimens shall have been discovered in Babylonia, or until completely legible examples become available.

¹⁵ Those with his portrait on the obverse, and the seated or standing Poseidon on the reverse.

Finally, with Group C, No. 904, PLATE XV, 15, the name of the Seleucians makes way for that of Seleucus himself. Henceforth, under Seleucid rule, barring only short interludes in the reigns of Antiochus IV,¹⁶ Alexander I¹⁷ and Antiochus VII,^{17a} the name of the people of Seleucia Pieria vanishes from the coins until the recovery of its freedom in 108 B. C.

ANTIOCHUS I

280-261 B. C.

905. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath thunderbolt. In the exergue, \mathcal{R} (placed sideways).

α - β) Excavations of Antioch, \downarrow and \leftarrow ; γ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), \downarrow , gr. 5.46; δ) Newell, \swarrow , gr. 6.79; ϵ) Berlin, \downarrow , gr. 6.29. PLATE XV, 16; ζ) Berlin, \downarrow , gr. 7.295. PLATE XV, 17.

906. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA above, AN beneath thunderbolt.

α) Excavations of Antioch; β) Newell, \downarrow , gr. 1.51; γ) London (Gardner, p. 12, No. 44, Pl. iv, 14), gr. 1.57. PLATE XV, 18; δ) Poche Coll., Aleppo; ϵ - ζ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938.

The group which we here propose to assign to Seleucia Pieria under Antiochus I, represents a continuation of the types current there in the reign of Seleucus I, namely the head of Zeus Casius on the obverse, and his thunderbolt on the reverse. The flans, fabric, and style greatly resemble those of the near-by capital, Antioch. Although coins of similar types¹⁸ were also coined in this reign at the latter mint, Nos. 905-6 are sufficiently divergent in their general appearance to suggest that they had been struck elsewhere. If so, then the types point unequivocally to Seleucia Pieria. It may also be noted that the magistrate's monogram \mathcal{R} had previously occurred on a known issue of Seleucia Pieria, namely No. 894. Two specimens of No. 905 and four of No. 906 occurred in the excavations of Antioch—but that is hardly surprising because of the close connections between the two mints. If these numbers seem too large, one could assume either that Nos. 905-6 were, after all, issues of and for Antioch, or that by this time the local mint at Seleucia had been closed down as no longer actually necessary in addition to that of Antioch, and that the latter mint now coined any issues needed for small change in the markets of its seaport.

As yet no coins are known which could be plausibly assigned to Seleucia Pieria for the reign of Antiochus II. Doubtless, the increasingly heavy coinages of Antioch

¹⁶ Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Seleucid Kings*, p. 42, Nos. 83-5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57, Nos. 68-9.

^{17a} *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. xxix, 1912, Pl. v, 5.

¹⁸ See below, Nos. 949-951, PLATE XIX, 8-14.

itself sufficed for the two cities. We know that the Antiochene mint was now supplying the comparatively distant Dura with a circulating medium.¹⁹ Why not also the near-by Seleucia?

Soon after the death of the second Antiochus in 247/6 B. C., the Laodicean (Third Syrian) War broke out, and Ptolemy III immediately seized Seleucia.²⁰ From that time until 219 B. C., it continued to be held by Egyptian garrisons, and no coins could have been struck there for Seleucid kings. After the city's recapture by Antiochus III,²¹ it is possible that a Seleucid mint may have been re-opened; but, if so, we know of no coins which should be assigned to it.

B. ANTIOCH ON THE ORONTES

One month after the founding of Seleucia Pieria, namely at sunrise on the twenty-second of Artemision (April-May) 300 B. C., Seleucus I is said²² to have performed the solemn rites heralding the erection of his new capital, Antioch. It took time to lay out and to build a great metropolis, the centre of a mighty empire and the residence of its ruler. From its new mint we have the following issues:

SELEUCUS I

SERIES I, c. 300-286 B. C.

907. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. on sceptre, holding Nike in outstretched r. In l. field, ♂. Beneath throne, N.

A1—P1. Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 729, Pl. 13, gr. 16.95. PLATE XVI, 1.

908. STATER.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on l. Nike standing, facing l., holding *stylis* in l., and wreath in outstretched r. To l., ♂: to r., ⊙E.

Leningrad (Anadol Hoard. Pridik, *Izvestia Imp. Arch. Komm.*, Vol. iii, 1902, p. 87, Pl. xii and *Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 131, No. 4), gr. 8.50. PLATE XVI, 2.

909. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 907.

Similar to No. 907. In l. field, ♂. Beneath throne, ⊙E.

A2—P2. α) Newell, ♂, gr. 16.08; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.06. PLATE XVI, 3.
A3—P3. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 778, Pl. 27, gr. 17.08. PLATE XVI, 4.

¹⁹ See above, p. 79.

²⁰ Bevan, I, pp. 184-5; Bouché-Leclercq, I, p. 98.

²¹ In 219 B. C. Cf. Bevan, I, pp. 311-12; Bouché-Leclercq, I, pp. 141-2.

²² Malalas, p. 200 (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.*, IV, 469); Eusebius II, 116.

- A4—P4. Newell (Countermarked for Byzantium. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 781, Pl. 27), \nearrow , gr. 16.94. PLATE XVI, 5.
 A5—P5. Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \searrow , gr. 17.105.
 P6. Newell, \searrow , gr. 16.96. PLATE XVI, 6.

MUNICIPAL BRONZE

910. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots. ANTIOXEΩN above thunderbolt. Above, Bevelled edge. $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}$. Beneath, $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{E}}$.

α) Berlin, \searrow , gr. 8.09. PLATE XVI, 7; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \leftarrow , gr. 7.195. PLATE XVI, 8.

ROYAL BRONZE

GROUP A

911. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge, usual; straight edge, rarer. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Helmeted, draped figure of Athena standing to r., holding spear in upraised r. and shield in outstretched l. In r. field, ANCHOR.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 9, No. 33), gr. 6.64; β) Sydenham Coll., \uparrow , gr. 8.34; γ - ϵ) Dura excavations, all \nearrow ; ζ - ι) London (Gardner, p. 6, Nos. 60-1), one \uparrow , gr. 9.17; η) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \nearrow , gr. 7.70; θ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); ι) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 8.02; κ) Newell, \nearrow , gr. 7.91. PLATE XVI, 9; λ) Paris (Babelon, No. 78, Pl. iii, 7), gr. 8.25; μ) Paris (Countermarked: anchor. Babelon, No. 79), gr. 8.20. PLATE XVI, 10; ν) Antioch excavations, \nearrow , gr. 8.41; ξ - π) Poche Coll., Aleppo; ρ) American University, Beyrouth; σ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; τ - υ) H. Seyrig (one purchased in Beyrouth); ϕ) Dealer in Antioch.

912. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar. Both bevelled and straight edges used. Similar, but without anchor.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 9, No. 32, Pl. lxiii, 17), gr. 9.07; β) Antioch excavations, \uparrow , gr. 8.10; γ - ϵ) Berlin (Löbbecke, Sperling, v. Knobelsdorf, etc. Colls.); ζ) Berlin (Countermarked: Horned horse's head. Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 7.80. PLATE XVI, 14; η) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 8.15; θ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 9.46. PLATE XVI, 11; ι) Tarsus excavations (Countermarked: Horned horse's head), \nearrow ; κ) Tarsus excavations (Countermarked: Horned horse's head, bearded human head, trident); λ) London, \nearrow , gr. 7.76; μ) London, \uparrow , gr. 8.36. PLATE XVI, 12; ν - ξ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 80-1), gr. 7.60, 6.80; σ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; π) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 8.10. PLATE XVI, 13; ρ) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo); σ - τ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth; υ) Adib Coll., Antioch, \uparrow , gr. 6.35.

913. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar. Only straight edges are known. Similar.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 3.90. PLATE XVI, 15; β) Newell, \nearrow , gr. 3.75. PLATE XVI, 16.

914. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar. Bevelled edge.

Similar. In l. inner field, $\overline{\text{M}}$. In r. inner field, EY.

α) Antioch excavations, ↑, gr. 7.81; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 82), gr. 7.70. PLATE XVI, 17;
 γ) Adana Museum (Countermarked: Horned horse's head), ↑, gr. 7.745. PLATE
 XVI, 18; δ) H. Seyrig (purchased in Beyrouth).

GROUP B

915. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar. Straight edge.

Similar. In l. inner field, Σ. In r. inner
 field, Π.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 83), gr. 5.95; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 6.51; γ) Bey-
 routh Museum; δ) London (Gardner, p. 107, No. 61α), ↓, gr. 7.42; ε) London, ↗, gr.
 6.94. PLATE XVI, 19; ς) H. Seyrig (purchased in Beyrouth).

916. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar. Straight edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
 Tripod. To l., Σ; to r., Π.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 3.235. PLATE XVI, 20.

917. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA on r., ΣΕ on l. Tripod.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 310), gr. 2.60; β) Newell (from Beyrouth), ↑, gr. 1.58; γ) London,
 both ↑, gr. 2.26 and 1.43. PLATE XVI, 21-2; δ-ζ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938.

918. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
 Athena to r. as on No. 912. In l. inner
 field, Π (sometimes, perhaps, Π).

α-β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 9, Nos. 35, 36), gr. 6.19, 5.90; γ) London, →,
 gr. 6.10. PLATE XVII, 1.

919. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Same inscription. Tripod. In outer l.
 field, Π.

London (Gardner, p. 7, No. 72, Pl. ii, 16), →, gr. 2.07. PLATE XVII, 2.

920. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar. Straight edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
 Athena to r., as on No. 912. In r. inner
 field, ⊙.

α) Riechmann Sale 30, Dec. 1924, No. 756, Pl. xxx, gr. 7.37; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll.,
 Vol. III, p. 9, No. 34), gr. 8.55; γ) Dresden, gr. 6.046; δ-ζ) Berlin; η) Paris (Babelon, No.
 84), gr. 4.65; θ) Dura excavations, ←; ι) London (Gardner, p. 6, No. 59, Pl. ii, 13), gr.
 7.58; κ) London (Countermarked: Anchor), gr. 4.15; λ-μ) Newell, ↖ and ←, gr. 6.79,
 7.15; ν-ξ) Newell, ↖ and ←, gr. 7.31, 7.33; ο) Newell, ↖, gr. 7.37. PLATE XVII, 3;
 π-υ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; φ) H. Seyrig; χ) Dealer in Antioch; ψ) M. Cuinat,
 Beyrouth; ω-ββ) Adib Coll., Antioch, ←, gr. 7.27; →, gr. 7.26; ↑, gr. 6.76.

921. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar. Straight edge.

Same inscription. Tripod. In outer l.
 field, ⊙.

α) Berlin; β) Newell, ←, gr. 3.03; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 307, Pl. viii, 14), gr. 3.30. PLATE XVII, 4.

922. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA on r., ΣΕ on l. Lyre.

α) Dura excavations, ↘, gr. 1.70. PLATE XVII, 5; β) London, ↗, gr. 1.27. PLATE XVII, 6; γ-ε) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938, →, gr. 2.95; ↖, gr. 1.44; ←, gr. 1.35.

In style, design, and fabric the tetradrachms of Antioch are strikingly similar to those of Seleucia Pieria. The monograms or letters which they bear, however, do not occur on the bronze coins issued in the name of the Seleucians and therefore cannot be assigned to that mint. On the other hand, their attribution to Antioch is made certain by the existence of an accompanying municipal issue, No. 910, PLATE XVI, 7-8, which, like the similar issue for Seleucia, bears as types the Zeus head and the thunderbolt,^{22a} but is here inscribed with the ethnic, ANTI-OXEON, i.e., 'of the Antiochenes.' The magistrate's letters ΟΕ of the silver reappear on the bronze in monogram form, ΟΞ. These municipal pieces were apparently not coined in any considerable number and today are very rare. Their place was soon taken by large issues of royal coins, Nos. 911-22, PLATES XVI, 9-22 and XVII, 1-6. As was only appropriate for the growing capital of a great empire, the silver and bronze coins were also accompanied by an issue of gold staters, No. 908, PLATE XVI, 2.

For convenience' sake, the voluminous issues of bronze coins, bearing royal types, which go to make up the first series of coinages struck at Antioch, have been divided into two groups. Group A is almost exclusively composed of 'doubles,' accompanied by one small issue of 'units.' The types are the same throughout. The obverse is dedicated to Apollo, the tutelary god of the Seleucid line, whose far-famed shrine in the beautiful grove at Daphne on the outskirts of Antioch became one of the most sacred and popular pilgrimage sites of later antiquity. There, in the god's impressive temple, Seleucus dedicated the great gold and ivory statue of Apollo, the work of the renowned Athenian sculptor, Bryaxis. The head on our coins, with its flowing locks of hair and laurel wreath, is evidently copied more or less closely from the statue.²³ On the reverses is depicted Athena Promachus,^{23a} in

^{22a} Malalas states (p. 199) that three days after the founding of Seleucia Pieria, Seleucus again sacrificed to Zeus Casius, this time at Iopolis, in a shrine said to have been erected by Perseus, on Mt. Silpius, the mountain which overhangs Antioch. Later (p. 200) Seleucus founded Antioch on the site of the village of Bottia, opposite Iopolis, and immediately afterwards erected there a shrine dedicated to Zeus Bottius. Other sources (for instance, Libanius I, 461) claim that Alexander himself had built this temple of Zeus Bottiaeus. In any case the representation of Zeus, or of the thunderbolt sacred to him, would be as appropriate to the early coins of Antioch as to those of Seleucia Pieria.

²³ Compare these heads with the well-known tetradrachms of Antiochus IV (Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xii, 12) which give a good reproduction both of the head and of the complete statue itself.

^{23a} With regard to this figure of Athena on the coins of Antioch, it is interesting to note that Malalas (p. 201) records the erection by Seleucus at Antioch of an imposing bronze statue of Athena (ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν φοβερὴν τῆς Ἀθῆνης). This was doubtless the same statue of Athena which, together with one of Zeus Ceraunus, is stated by Malalas (p. 212) to have later been presented by the Antiochenes to Rome. He adds that in his day these statues still stood on the Capitol and bore the inscription: Δῆμος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης ἐτίμησε Ῥωμαίους ἀγάλματα εὐχαριστῶν.

fighting attitude, just as we see her in her chariot of elephants on the contemporary silver issues of Seleucus' other capital, Seleucia on the Tigris. On the first coin, No. 911, PLATE XVI, 9-10, a large Seleucid anchor is placed in the field, just in front of Athena. This reminds us of the similar anchor found above Athena's shield on the silver pieces of Seleucia on the Tigris, just mentioned. There seems thus to exist some sort of connection between the latter pieces and our bronze coins. A possible connection is still further indicated by the fact that, unlike the contemporary bronze issues of Seleucia Pieria, by far the greater number of the known specimens of No. 911 are struck on bevelled flans practically identical with the flans employed at this time for the bronze issues of the Babylonian Seleucia.²⁴ Workmen, or in any event their *practices*, seem to have been transferred from Seleucia on the Tigris to Antioch when the latter mint was opened by Seleucus. Very soon, however, the character of the flans commences to change, with the result that throughout Group A we find both the bevelled edge type and the straight edge type being used for the same varieties, the latter eventually predominating.

On the coins Nos. 912-14, PLATE XVI, 11-18, the anchor has disappeared. Only on the last piece, No. 914, PLATE XVI, 17-18, do we find any magistrates' marks; in this case, a monogram accompanied by the initials EY. Although there is little evident connection between these royal bronze coins of Group A and the silver tetradrachms certainly struck at Antioch, the attribution of Nos. 911-14 to the latter mint is almost equally certain. Not only have several examples turned up in the excavation of Antioch itself, but the usual provenance of specimens offered for sale in the coin-market is almost invariably Syria. The appearance of still others at Dura is also in favor of Antioch, for that was the source from which by far the greater portion of Seleucid coins once in circulation at Dura had originally come. Finally, the very size of these issues, when taken in conjunction with a generally Syrian provenance, indicates that our coins could have emanated from a large and active central mint only—a mint which would conceivably have been located in the capital, Antioch.

Certain of the coins described above bear counterstamps—the anchor or the horned horse's head. The former was probably applied at a later period in Antioch itself, and will be discussed in greater detail below.²⁵ The horned horse's head punch varies in details, and is better made than the one which occurs on the first issue of local bronzes produced at Dura.²⁶ In the present case, it is interesting to note that of the four specimens (Nos. 912ζ, ι and κ; 914γ) bearing this punch, no less than three come from definitely Cilician sources. Possibly this counterstamp was applied to the coins at Tarsus, thus authorizing their circulation in Cilicia after the seizure of that province by Seleucus in 294 B. C. In any case, we know of no bronze coins actually struck anywhere in Cilicia under Seleucus I.

With Group B, the straight edge technique, which at Antioch first appeared

²⁴ Cf., E. S. M., Pl. vii, 8-9 and xi, 6-8.

²⁵ P. 111.

²⁶ No. 878, above.

in the course of Group A, has definitely come to stay. The noticeable flatness of the reverse surface also disappears with the bevelled edge, for these are inseparable concomitants of that particular casting process used in the manufacture of coin blanks. Henceforth, at Antioch, the bronze coins are provided with straight edges and a gentle concavity of the reverse surfaces.

The bronze coins of Group B were issued in three denominations, the two larger bearing magistrates' monograms or letters. Three separate issues are distinguishable, marked with Σ - Λ , Π , or Θ . All the denominations bear an Apollo head on the obverse. The 'doubles' have the Athena figure of the preceding coinage (PLATES XVI, 19 and XVII, 1, 3); the 'unit,' a tripod (PLATES XVI, 20 and XVII, 2, 4); the 'half,' either a tripod (PLATE XVI, 21, 22) or a lyre (PLATE XVII, 5, 6). With the exception of the Athena figure, the types are strongly Apolline in character, which the proximity of the great shrine of this god at Daphne renders hardly surprising. In style the coins are very similar to Nos. 911-14, and their usual provenance is almost invariably Syria. Hence their assignment to Antioch is certain, as is proved by the finding of so many examples of the smallest denomination in the excavations of that city.

SERIES II, c. 286-1 B. C.

923. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

$\Sigma\Lambda\epsilon\Upsilon\text{K}\Theta\Upsilon$ on r., $\text{B}\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\epsilon\Omega\varsigma$ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l., holding Nike in outstretched r. In l. field, Σ .

A6-P7. Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 7, No. 12), gr. 17.05. PLATE XVII, 7.

P8. Newell, \nearrow , gr. 16.84. PLATE XVII, 8.

P9. London (Gardner, p. 106, No. 17 α), \nearrow , gr. 16.98.

A7-P9. Cahn Sale 84, Nov. 1933, No. 401, Pl. 14, gr. 15.70. PLATE XVII, 9.

P10. Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 407, Pl. 13, gr. 16.92.

924. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Winged head of Medusa to r. Circle of dots.

$\text{B}\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\epsilon\Omega\varsigma$ above, $\Sigma\Lambda\epsilon\Upsilon\text{K}\Theta\Upsilon$ beneath bull, butting to r. Above, Λ . The exergue is off flan, but probably contained Σ .

α) Poche Coll., Aleppo; β) Berlin; γ) Yale University, \uparrow , gr. 6.88. PLATE XVII, 10.

925. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. No monogram above bull. In the exergue, Σ .

α) *Arethuse*, Suppl. Commercial, No. 1, 1924, p. 32, No. 594; β) Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 739, Pl. 13; γ) Munich, gr. 6.66; δ) Beyrouth Museum; ϵ - θ) Poche Coll., Aleppo; ι - ν) Sydenham Coll., \uparrow , gr. 6.45, \uparrow , gr. 6.71, \uparrow , gr. 6.23, \downarrow , gr. 7.91, \rightarrow , gr. 7.06; ξ - σ) Florence; π) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9246, Pl. 335, 9, \nearrow , gr. 7.68; ρ - σ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 10, Nos. 39-40), grs. 6.35, 6.12; τ) Zygman Coll., \searrow , gr. 6.61; υ - χ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 87, 89-90), grs. 7.10, 5.15, 6.20; ψ) Paris (Babelon, No. 88, Pl. iii, 9 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3267, Pl. cxviii), gr. 7.10; ω - $\epsilon\epsilon$) Berlin (Fox, Löbbecke, Imhoof-Blumer, etc., Colls.); $\phi\phi$ - $\eta\eta$) Dura excavations, \downarrow ,

✓, ↑; θθ-λλ) Adana Museum, ↑, gr. 6.84, ↑, gr. 6.915, ↑, gr. 5.94, ✓, gr. 6.955; μμ-νν) London (Gardner, p. 6, No. 62, Pl. ii, 14 and No. 63), grs. 6.75 and 7.22; ξξ-οο) These pieces are described below under No. 926, β-γ; ππ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2860), ✓, gr. 7.19; ρρ) Newell, ↓, gr. 6.26; σσ) Newell (Prof. Torrey Coll.), ↗, gr. 6.44. PLATE XVII, 11; ττ-φφ) American University, Beyrouth; χχ-ωω) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; ααα-βββ) Dealer in Antioch; γγγ) H. Seyrig; δδδ-εεε) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth; ςςς) Adib Coll., Antioch, ↑, gr. 6.09.

With Countermarks.

a) Caduceus in oblong square.

ξξξ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 10, No. 41), gr. 6.51; ηηη) Dresden, gr. 6.855; θθθ) Yale University, →; ιι) Newell, ←, gr. 6.26. PLATE XVII, 12.

b) Caduceus in oblong square, and anchor in oval.

κκκ) Florence; λλλ) Dura excavations, ↑, gr. 5.30. PLATE XVII, 13.

c) Same as b, and elephant in square.

μμμ) Dura excavations, ↑, gr. 5.41. PLATE XVII, 14.

d) Anchor in square, twice.

ννν-ξξξ) Newell, ✓, gr. 6.44, ↓, gr. 7.93. PLATE XVII, 15; οοο) Newell (Starosselsky Coll.), ↓, gr. 6.20. PLATE XVII, 16.

e) Anchor in circle, and horned horse's head r. in circle.

πππ) Copenhagen (Ramus, Vol. I, p. 295, No. 4), gr. 6.46. PLATE XVII, 17.

f) Monogram, ΠΙ.

ρρρ) Newell, →, gr. 6.14. PLATE XVII, 18.

g) Horned horse's head.

σσσ) American University, Beyrouth.

926. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar, but the bull faces l. In the exergue, Ε.

α) Berlin; β-γ) London (Gardner, p. 7, Nos. 69-70), grs. 5.09 and 6.20; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 87), gr. 7.10; ε) London (Rogers Coll.), ↑, gr. 7.44. PLATE XVII, 19.

927. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar to No. 925 with bull facing r. In the exergue, Ε.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 10, No. 42), gr. 2.69; β) Dresden, gr. 3.295; γ) Florence; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 93, Pl. iii, 10 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3268, Pl. cxviii), gr. 4.05; ε-ζ) Antioch excavations, ↑, gr. 3.37, ↓, gr. 2.47; ζ) Newell, ✓, gr. 3.26. PLATE XVII, 20; η) American University, Beyrouth; θ-μ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; ν) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo. Countermark: Small anchor in circle); ξ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth.

928. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA above, ΣE below bull butting to r.
No letter in the exergue.

α) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 1.59; β-γ) Adana Museum, ⚭, gr. 1.45, ⚭, gr. 0.95;
δ) Newell, ⚭, gr. 2.35. PLATE XVII, 21; ε) Newell (restruck on a coin of Demetrius.
Cf. *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, p. 53, Pl. iv, 9), →, gr. 2.37. PLATE XVII, 22;
ς) Paris (Babelon, No. 96, Pl. iii, 11), gr. 1.55; ζ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth.

The tetradrachm No. 923, PLATE XVII, 7-9, resembles, in style and character of the Heracles' head, the approximately contemporaneous tetradrachms, No. 895, PLATE XV, 3-4, of Seleucia Pieria. Like them, the monogram of one official, only, appears, placed in the left field of the coin. As, however, the monogram Σ does not occur on any of the known municipal issues of Seleucia, No. 923 is more likely to have been an issue of Antioch.

Probably simultaneously with No. 923 the large series of bronze coins represented by Nos. 924-8, PLATE XVII, 10-22, was brought out. A *post quem* date for their appearance is offered by No. 928ε, whose Seleucid types have been overstruck on a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes from his Tarsus mint,²⁷ and therefore necessarily restruck after *circa* 294 B. C. On the other hand, an *ante quem* date for most of Nos. 924-8 is found in the fact that their types were copied at Seleucia on the Tigris *circa* 284-3 B. C.,²⁸ and also about the same time at Susa²⁹ and Ecbatana.³⁰ We shall soon have occasion to see that others of similar types were brought out in western Asia Minor in the last year of Seleucus' life-time.³¹ Such a widespread coinage of a single type would seem to hint at some effort on the part of the central government, towards the end of the reign, to coördinate what had hitherto been a remarkably diverse selection of types on the bronze coinages of the empire. If such an effort was really made, it proved to be of but short duration. For under Antiochus I and his immediate successors, the bronze types again become extremely varied as between mint and mint. Apparently, the authorities in charge of the several mints were at liberty to select such types for the minor coins as appeared the most appropriate to them. This is one of the reasons why the Seleucid coinages possess so strong an appeal, in contrast, for instance, to the tiresomely narrow range of Ptolemaic types, with their eternal Ammon, Zeus or Isis heads and their never-ending eagle-reverses.

In seeking some explanation for the use by Seleucus of the Medusa head as a type, Babelon³² follows Visconti,³³ who pointed out that on Mt. Silpius, which overhangs the city of Antioch, there was an ancient altar said to have been erected

²⁷ Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, p. 53. Poliorcetes coined at Tarsus only between the years 298-4 B. C.

²⁸ E. S. M., Nos. 117-9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 341.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Nos. 501-2.

³¹ See below, Nos. 1357 (PLATE LIII, 14) and 1469 (PLATE LXII, 6).

³² *Loc. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

³³ *Iconographie grecque*, Vol. II, pp. 281-2.

by Perseus to his father Zeus on his return from an expedition against Cyprus. Because of this tradition, Visconti long ago proposed to assign our bronze coins to the mint of Antioch. We gladly follow him in this, although for very different reasons.

The butting bull of the reverse is but another allusion to the old story of the famous exploit attributed to Seleucus,³⁴ and has previously been discussed in the *E. S. M.*, pp. 18-9. Whether this particular tale was apocryphal (as some scholars would have it) or not, is perhaps beside the point. Certainly, Seleucus seems to have made use of an actual incident, or some oriental simile, for the purpose of enhancing his prestige among the widely diverse subjects—Macedonians, Greeks, Syrians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Iranians, and the hundred and one other tribes and nationalities of his vast dominions. The bull first appeared on his bronze coins struck at Seleucia on the Tigris³⁵ as early as *circa* 305-4 B. C., and thereafter was used as a common type at many mints all the way from Iran to Asia Minor. So closely associated with the first Seleucus did the bull type become, that probably for that very reason it was again revived in the reign of his great-grandson and namesake, Seleucus II.³⁶ With but one exception (No. 1482, PLATE LXIII, 14), and that due to local reasons, the bull is unknown to the issues of other Seleucid kings.

The present series of bronze coins, comprising three denominations as before, is connected with Nos. 915-6 (possibly also including certain specimens of No. 918) by the continued use on No. 924 of the monogram \mathbb{A} . In this case, however, the official works in conjunction with the magistrate signing himself \mathbb{E} , who soon takes over the entire charge of the remaining bronze coins. The size of this issue must have been enormous, as specimens are plentiful today. Their usual provenance is Syria proper, but examples turn up as far west as Cilicia, and east as far as Dura and Iran. Significantly enough, several specimens of the 'unit'—whose area of circulation cannot have been extensive—have appeared in the excavations of Antioch, thus supporting our assignment of the entire coinage to that mint.

Countermarks are unusually common on the 'doubles' of this issue, and are of a varied character. As the two little anchors, each placed in a small, oblong depression, occur not only on No. 925⁰⁰⁰ (which comes from Persia), but also are found, similarly placed, on a bronze coin of Seleucia on the Tigris,³⁷ they may have been applied to these coins somewhere in the eastern portion of the empire. The larger anchor in an oval depression, No. 925^{xxx}- $\mu\mu\mu$, is a typical Antiochene counterstamp and one which we shall frequently meet at a later date.³⁸

³⁴ Appian, *Syr.*, 57, as well as other writers such as Libanius, Codinus, Aelian, etc.

³⁵ *E. S. M.*, Nos. 6-8.

³⁶ Cf. *E. S. M.*, Nos. 205-7, and the present work, Nos. 1156-61.

³⁷ *E. S. M.*, No. 105t, Pl. xi, 6.

³⁸ Cf., below, Nos. 944 ϵ -f; 946 u-ff; 947 μ -v; 949 o- χ ; 950 ζ -0; 952 α - β ; 953 i- σ .

SERIES III, c. 281-280 B. C.

929. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Male figure, naked to waist, seated to l. on rock, supporting himself with his l. hand, and holding an *ankh* in his outstretched r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath horned elephant's head to r. In the exergue, Ε.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 9, No. 31, Pl. lxiii, 16), gr. 5.90; β-γ) London, grs. 6.23, 6.19; δ) Newell, ♂, gr. 7.73; ε) Berlin (Fox Coll. Behind figure, Α or Λ ?), ♂, gr. 7.385; ς) Berlin, ♂, gr. 5.405. PLATE XVII, 23; ζ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 18, No. 22, Pl. ii, 12), ♂, gr. 5.81. PLATE XVII, 24; η) Berlin (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2861), ♂, gr. 6.54. PLATE XVII, 25.

930. BRONZE HALF.

Macedonian shield.

ΒΑΣΙ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥ on l. Inverted anchor.

α-β) Antioch excavations, grs. 2.05, 1.99. PLATE XVII, 26; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 18, No. 21, Pl. ii, 11), gr. 1.915. PLATE XVII, 27.

Series III probably covered the last year of Seleucus' reign. The magistrate's letter Ε (distinguishable on PLATE XVII, 25) connects this issue closely with the end of the preceding Series II. The interesting and well-executed figure on the obverse of No. 929, has been usually described³⁹ as a seated Apollo holding an arrow. But figures of Apollo himself are not known on Seleucid coins until the succeeding reign, and there the god is always depicted as seated upon his *omphalos*, never upon a rock. The object which the figure on our coins holds is clear on the two Berlin specimens ς and ζ (PLATE XVII, 23 and 24), and is evidently intended to represent the *ankh* or elephant's goad. That being the case, we should perhaps recognize here an idealized representation of Seleucus himself, the ἐλεφαντάρχης, master of elephants—as the courtiers of Demetrius Poliorcetes, half in derision, half out of sheer envy, were wont to describe him.⁴⁰ The elephant's head on the reverse of these coins but adds point to our proposed explanation of the obverse type. In further support of this, is the probable position of the issue at the end of the coinages of Seleucus at Antioch, in the very year that Seleucus had led his mighty armament of war-elephants across the length of Asia Minor to the field of Corupedium, and there won his great victory and crushed the army of Lysimachus. More appropriate types could hardly have been selected for such a 'victory issue.'

Whether or not the 'half,' No. 930, PLATE XVII, 26-27, actually accompanied No. 929 is not yet absolutely certain. But the Macedonian shield, here for the first time introduced among the Seleucid coin types, would not be inappropriate for the occasion of Seleucus' invasion of Asia Minor. As previous issues of Antioch are well supplied with 'halves,' it is quite possible that No. 930 comes at this particular point, and the obverse type was continued by Antiochus at Antioch, early

³⁹ Cf. Macdonald in the *Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection*, Vol. III, p. 9, No. 31, and Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 18, No. 22.

⁴⁰ Plutarch, *Demetrius*, XXV, 4.

in his reign.⁴¹ Indications furnished by style and fabric, together with the fact that two specimens of No. 930 turned up in the excavations of Antioch, assure us that their attribution to that mint is practically certain.

ANTIOCHUS I

SERIES I, c. 280-278 B. C.

931. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ANTIOXOY on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Zeus enthroned to l., holding eagle in his outstretched r. In inner l. field, Π in WREATH. Beneath throne, ⚡.

A8—P11. Berlin (Fox Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.97. PLATE XVIII, 1.

P12. Jameson Coll., No. 1667, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 16.45.

932. TETRADRACHM.

Head to r., slightly variant in style from the above.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY, in two parallel lines on the r. Zeus enthroned to l., holding eagle as above. In l. field, TRIDENT. Beneath throne, Π.

A9—P13. Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Choix*, etc., Pl. vi, 201 = *Monnaies grecques*, p. 422, No. 7), gr. 16.90. PLATE XVIII, 2.

933. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Tripod. In outer r. field, Π (placed sideways). In outer l. field, ⚡.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↘, gr. 6.13; β-γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, and ↘; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 222, Pl. iv, 14), gr. 7.40; ε-ζ) London (Gardner, p. 12, Nos. 45-6); ζ) Newell, →, gr. 6.64. PLATE XVIII, 3; η) Poche Coll., Aleppo; θ) Adib Coll., Antioch, ↗, gr. 6.31.

934. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙ on r., ANTI on l. Tripod.

α-δ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938.

935. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA on r., AN on l. Tripod.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 18, No. 47, Pl. lxiv, 8), gr. 1.59; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↓, gr. 1.285; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 1.575. PLATE XVIII, 5; δ) Sydenham Coll., ↓, gr. 1.68; ε) Tarsus excavations; ζ-η) London; η) Newell, ↘, gr. 1.66. PLATE XVIII, 4; θ-κ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; λ) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo).

936. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar.

BA to r., AN to l. Strung bow.

⁴¹ See below, Nos. 942-8, PLATES XVIII, 12-19 and XIX, 1-7.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. Cf. *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 93, No. 11, Pl. iv, where the head is described as that of Antiochus I), gr. 0.97. PLATE XVIII, 6.

For reasons of style, it is here proposed to assign No. 931, PLATE XVIII, 1, to Antioch. The coin appears to represent the only instance among the silver pieces of Alexander's types, bearing the name of Antiochus, which carries on the stylistic traditions of preceding Alexandrine issues of Seleucus at Seleucia Pieria and Antioch. The placing of the inscription to right and to left of the reverse design occurs on the last issues of Seleucus at Seleucia Pieria, while at Antioch this particular variety for Seleucus I appears still to be missing. The monograms on No. 931 occur on no other coins of either Seleucia or of Antioch, and therefore its attribution to the latter mint must be regarded as still tentative. On the other hand, the piece is remarkable in that here Zeus holds the eagle and not the Nike. This constitutes a somewhat unusual feature for the Alexander tetradrachms of Antiochus but one which is shared by the succeeding tetradrachm No. 932, itself almost certainly an issue of the Antiochene mint because of the magistrate's letters Π^o.

Certain is the assignment to Antioch of the bronze coins Nos. 933-6, PLATE XVIII, 3-6. Their style and fabric are typically Antiochene; and the Apollo head is closely similar, both in conception and execution, to that found on Nos. 918-22, PLATE XVII, 1-6. The head, and especially the tripod on the reverse, are appropriate to Antioch because of the neighboring sacred precinct of Delphian Apollo at Daphne. The coins have sometimes been assigned to Antiochus II,⁴² although Gardner long ago⁴³ correctly recognized the earlier character of their style and fabric. The usual provenance of these coins is Syria, while no less than seven examples of the 'half' were unearthed in the excavations of Antioch. The monograms appearing on No. 933 are Ⓔ and Ⓜ, the latter obviously representing a combination of the letters *pi* and *omicron*. For that reason we have also assigned to Antioch the tetradrachm No. 932, PLATE XVIII, 2, which bears the letters Π^o beneath the throne.

SERIES II, c. 278-268 B. C.

937. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the r., ANTIOXOY on the l. Apollo, resting l. on bow, and holding arrow in outstretched r., seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer l. field, Ⓜ. In the exergue, ΑΙ.

α) Newell (Talbot Ready Coll., Feuardent Sale, July 1919, No. 544), ←, gr. 16.76;

β) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.74. PLATE XVIII, 7.

α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

938. TETRADRACHM.

From a die almost identical with the preceding.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ⓜ. In outer r. field, Ⓜ.

⁴² So placed in the trays of the Berlin collection, apparently following Babelon, *loc. cit.*, No. 222.



⁴³ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, p. 12, Nos. 45-6.

Paris (Babelon, No. 132, Pl. iv, 14 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3274, Pl. cxviii), gr. 17.00.
 PLATE XVIII, 8.

A cast of this piece appeared in the Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1427, Pl. 50.

939. TETRADRACHM.


Same die as No. 938.

Similar. In outer l. field, . In outer r. field, .

Paris (Babelon, No. 133), gr. 17.10. PLATE XVIII, 9.

940. TETRADRACHM.


Same die as No. 938, but now in a more damaged condition.

Similar. In outer l. field, .

α) Copenhagen, gr. 16.94; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 131), gr. 17.10. PLATE XVIII, 10.

941. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, .


Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 14, No. 26, Pl. lxiv, 2), gr. 17.13. PLATE XVIII, 11.


BRONZE COINS

GROUP A

942. BRONZE DOUBLE.



Macedonian shield with anchor on its boss.


ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath
 horned elephant to r. Beneath elephant,
 ☉. In the exergue, .

α) Yale Collection; β) Dr. E. P. Robinson Coll., , gr. 5.51. PLATE XVIII, 12;
 γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 167), gr. 5.55; δ) London (Gardner, p. 11, No. 36); ε-ρ) Poche
 Coll., Aleppo (as these specimens are worn, they might also be one of the following two
 varieties); ζ) American University, Beyrouth; η) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938.

943. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. Between the elephant's hind legs,
 or . Beneath belly, ☉.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 18, No. 48), gr. 6.64; β) Vatican; γ-ε) Berlin (Im-
 hoof-Blumer, Dannenberg and Löbbecke Colls.); ρ) Paris (Babelon, No. 168, Pl. v, 7 =
 de Luynes Coll., No. 3276, Pl. cxix), gr. 5.95; ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 169), gr. 5.65;
 η) Newell (from Beyrouth), , gr. 6.27. PLATE XVIII, 13; θ-ι) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth.

944. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. Between elephant's hind legs, Σ.
 Beneath belly, ☉.

α) London (Gardner, p. 11, No. 35); β) Munich; γ) Ratto Sale, Feb. 1928, No. 746, Pl. xi;
 δ) Newell, →, gr. 6.20. PLATE XVIII, 14.

Countermarked: Anchor in oval.

ε) Paris (Babelon, No. 170), gr. 5.40. PLATE XVIII, 15; ρ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol.
 III, p. 18, No. 49), gr. 5.35. PLATE XVIII, 16.

945. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA above, AN beneath horned elephant to r.

α) Coll. Poche, Aleppo; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 18, No. 52), gr. 1.68; γ) Sydenham Coll., ♂, gr. 1.52; δ) Beyrouth Museum. PLATE XVIII, 17; ε-ρ) Berlin, grs. 1.615 and 1.36; ζ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale, XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), ♂, gr. 1.37. PLATE XVIII, 18; η) London (Gardner, p. 11, No. 40, Pl. iv, 8), gr. 1.55. PLATE XVIII, 19; θ-ι) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; κ) Adib Coll., Antioch, ♂, gr. 1.61.

GROUP B

946. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Macedonian shield with anchor on boss.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY below horned elephant to r. In upper field, ☞ and CLUB. In the exergue, JAW-BONE.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 18, No. 50), gr. 7.39; β) Yale Coll.; γ) Vatican; δ-ρ) Antioch excavations, ↑, gr. 5.58, ↑, gr. 4.99, →, gr. 6.41; ζ) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9252, Pl. 335, 12), ←, gr. 6.36; η) Sydenham Coll., ↓, gr. 7.32; θ-κ) Adana Museum, ←, gr. 6.85, ←, gr. 5.76, ←, gr. 6.86; λ) Paris (Babelon, No. 171, Pl. v, 8), gr. 6.55; μ-ν) Berlin (Fox and Imhoof-Blumer Colls.), ← and →, gr. 5.75; ξ) London (Gardner, p. 11, No. 37, Pl. iv, 7); ο) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), ←, gr. 5.69; π) Newell, ←, gr. 5.79. PLATE XIX, 1; ρ) American University, Beyrouth; σ) H. Seyrig; τ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth.

Countermarked: Anchor in oval.

υ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 18, No. 51), gr. 7.19; φ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); χ-ψ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 172, 173), grs. 6.10 and 5.85; ω) Beyrouth Museum; αα) Sydenham Coll., ♂, gr. 5.31; ββ) Vatican; γγ) London (Gardner, p. 11, No. 38); δδ-εε) Newell, ←, gr. 6.00. PLATE XIX, 2, and ↑, gr. 5.99. PLATE XIX, 3; ϕϕ) Dealer in Antioch.

947. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram and symbols. The inscription now reads ΒΑΣΙ ANTI.

α) London (Gardner, p. 11, No. 39); β) Dura excavations; γ-δ) Berlin, gr. 1.735. PLATE XIX, 5, and gr. 1.315; ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 1.64; ρ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), ↑, gr. 1.59. PLATE XIX, 4; ζ-θ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; ι-κ) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo); λ) Adib Coll., Antioch, ♂, gr. 1.29.

Countermarked: Anchor in oval.

μ) Berlin, gr. 1.21. PLATE XIX, 6; ν) H. Seyrig.

948. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA above, AN below forepart of horned elephant to r. On l., ☞ and CLUB. On r., JAW-BONE.

Berlin (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 92, No. 9, Pl. iv), gr. 1.27. PLATE XIX, 7.

GROUP C

949. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath thunderbolt. In upper field, CLUB and ☞. In the exergue, JAW-BONE.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 18, No. 53), gr. 5.35; β-γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 174, Pl. v, 9 and No. 175), grs. 5.95 and 5.65; δ-ε) Berlin (Löbbecke and Imhoof-Blumer Colls.), ↓, ↙, and ↑, gr. 6.99; ζ) Antioch excavations, ↓, gr. 3.92 (much corroded); η-θ) London (Gardner, p. 11, No. 41, Pl. iv, 15 and No. 42); ι) Newell, ↙, gr. 5.64; κ) Coll. Poche, Aleppo; λ) Newell, ↓, gr. 6.64. PLATE XIX, 8; μ-ξ) H. Seyrig (two from Aleppo and one from Beyrouth).

Countermarked: Anchor in oval.

ο) Paris (Babelon, No. 176), gr. 5.35; π-σ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 18, Nos. 54, 55, 56), grs. 5.99, 6.09, 5.73; τ) Adana Museum, ↑, gr. 5.695; υ) Newell (from Syria), ↙, gr. 6.42. PLATE XIX, 9; φ) Newell (from Syria), ↑, gr. 5.20. PLATE XIX, 10; χ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth.

950. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙ above, ANTI beneath thunderbolt. Same monogram and symbols as on No. 949.

α) Antioch excavations, ←, gr. 1.06; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 1.38. PLATE XIX, 11; γ) Newell, ←, gr. 1.35. PLATE XIX, 12; δ) American University, Beyrouth; ε-ε) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938.

Countermarked: Anchor in oval.

ζ) Munich; η) Antioch excavations, ←, gr. 1.35; θ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 1.635. PLATE XIX, 13.

951. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA above, AN beneath a half thunderbolt to l. In upper field, CLUB. On r., ☞ (placed sideways). In exergue, JAW-BONE.

Newell (Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1037, Pl. 16), ↓, gr. 1.21. PLATE XIX, 14.

952. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙ on r., (ANTI) on l. Tripod. In outer r. field, CLUB and ☞. In outer l. field, (JAW-BONE).

α) Antioch excavations (countermarked: Anchor in oval, obliterating the ANTI and the JAW-BONE), ↑, gr. 0.77 (corroded). PLATE XIX, 15; β) Adib Coll., Antioch (types nearly obliterated by countermark: Anchor in oval), ↑, gr. 1.13.

GROUP D

953. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Tripod. In outer r. field, CLUB and ☞. In outer l. field, BOW.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 153, Pl. v, 2), gr. 6.95; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 17, No. 46), gr. 6.16; γ - δ) London (Gardner, p. 12, Nos. 47 and 48, Pl. iv, 17); ϵ) Sydenham Coll., \rightarrow , gr. 5.31; ζ) Newell, \nwarrow , gr. 6.47; η) Tarsus excavations; θ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; θ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \rightarrow , gr. 6.26. PLATE XIX, 16.

Countermarked: Anchor in oval.

ϵ - κ) Coll. Poche, Aleppo; λ) London (Gardner, p. 12, No. 49); μ) Adana Museum, \rightarrow , gr. 6.30. PLATE XIX, 17; ν) Antioch excavations, \swarrow , gr. 5.05; ξ) Newell, \swarrow , gr. 6.77; \omicron) Berlin, gr. 6.405; π) Berlin (Morel Coll.), \leftarrow , gr. 7.075. PLATE XIX, 18; ρ) H. Seyrig.

Countermarked: Caduceus in oval.

σ) Paris (Babelon, No. 155), gr. 6.60; τ) Paris (Babelon, No. 154), gr. 7.45. PLATE XIX, 19.

954. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BAEI on r., ANTI on l. Tripod. Same monogram and symbols as on No. 953.

α) Berlin, gr. 1.40; β) London, gr. 1.48. PLATE XIX, 20; γ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; δ) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo), gr. 1.56.

955. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA above, AN beneath *omphalos*. In outer r. field, CLUB and ☞ . In outer l. field, BOW.

α - γ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 1.76. PLATE XIX, 21; ϵ) London, gr. 1.57. PLATE XIX, 22.

956. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar.

B and A to l. and to r. of an arrow-point.

Antioch excavations, \uparrow , gr. 0.59. PLATE XIX, 23.

At Antioch, as at other mints of the empire, the Alexander-type tetradrachm, with the name of Antiochus, soon gave way to his standard-type silver coinage which bears his own portrait on the obverse and a seated Apollo on the reverse. The first issue (No. 937, PLATE XVIII, 7) displays on its reverse, in the left-hand field, the monogram Ϡ (i.e., *pi* and *omicron*) which connects the coin on the one hand with the preceding Nos. 932 and 933, on the other hand with the accompanying bronze coins Nos. 942 and 943.⁴⁴ There follow further issues of the tetradrachm, Nos. 938-41, PLATE XVIII, 8-11, which indeed offer new monograms, but the style of the coins remains identical with that of the preceding piece. In fact, so extraordinarily similar in its appearance is the obverse die used for Nos. 938-40, that a very close inspection is needed to establish the fact that it is not actually the same die as the one used for No. 937. They must all have been cut by the same artist. The rugged portrait of Antiochus on these pieces is both characteristic and

⁴⁴ On No. 943 the monogram is variously rendered Ϡ or Ϡ , both forms doubtless meant for Ϡ , but here simplified because of the very restricted space, between the hind legs of the elephant, where the monogram now finds itself.

striking, but differs very considerably in execution and conception from the heads found on the contemporary issues of Seleucia on the Tigris, Ecbatana, Artacoana (Hecatompylus ?) and the mints in Asia Minor. The Apollo figure of the reverse, in this instance, holds only one arrow, in contradistinction to the two held by the god at Seleucia on the Tigris and the three at Ecbatana. The tetradrachm No. 941, PLATE XVIII, 11, is closely associated with No. 940 by its monogram which comprises identical elements (although slightly varied in their arrangement) as the single monogram of No. 940. The reverse is now surrounded by a circle of dots, in which characteristic the piece resembles the accompanying bronze coins but not the other tetradrachms. It also differs from the latter in its style, which is dryer, and the relief is lower. The coin, however, seems to be transitional in style, leading up to the succeeding tetradrachms of Series III.

Accompanying this issue of silver tetradrachms were several very extensive coinages in bronze, here assembled under Groups A, B, C, and D, arranged according to the various types and magistrates' marks which they bear. Group A (Nos. 942-5, PLATE XVIII, 12-19) revives the Macedonian shield type of the last bronze issue of Seleucus I, No. 930, PLATE XVII, 26-7, but now adorns the boss with the Seleucid anchor. The reverse displays the horned elephant. These types may refer to the events which darkened the early years of Antiochus I's reign. Like the Macedonian shield with its Medusa-head boss (of apotropaic significance), which we have found being used at Carrhae⁴⁵ at this very period, the anchor-adorned shield may symbolize his desperate struggle against the local rebellion in Syria, the succeeding Egyptian attacks and the Gallic invasion safely withstood. For this shield, embellished as it is with the dynastic badge of the anchor, suggests some sort of rallying symbol for the forces still loyal to Antiochus against the many domestic and foreign enemies which in these years beset the hard-pressed kingdom. The elephant, again, may refer to the twenty great beasts so opportunely received from Bactria, and the successful use later made of them in conjuring the Gallic terror. As the elephants on our coins are provided with horns, they may perhaps be symbolic rather than actual. The coins are of typical Antiochene fabric and the earliest specimens bear the monogram [Γ] of the preceding bronze coin No. 933. Accompanying this monogram, and its variants [Γ] and [N], is the letter Θ, which again appears on No. 944 but now associated with Σ.

Group B (Nos. 946-8, PLATE XIX, 1-7) continues the types of Group A, but the coins are marked by a new system of control. Above the title on the reverse may be seen the monogram [Θ]E accompanied by the symbol CLUB. In the exergue is a boar's JAW-BONE. This monogram resolves itself most easily into the letters Θ EM (Θεμιστοκλῆς, or some such usual name ?), and the owner may well have been the same official who signed his initial Θ on the preceding 'doubles.' In this issue the 'half' at first employs the same reverse type as the 'doubles,' but soon (No. 948, PLATE XIX, 7) replaced this by the fore-part of an elephant.

Group C, PLATE XIX, 8-14, changes the types to a head of Zeus on the ob-

⁴⁵ Cf. Nos. 789-796. PLATE VI, 8-16.

verse and a thunderbolt on the reverse, but continues with the same control marks as in Group B. These new types are ones suitable for, and frequently used at, Seleucia Pieria. Probably, however, Nos. 949-52 were actually coined at Antioch—as indicated by the continued use of the same control marks, and by the style and fabric which are distinctly Antiochene and differ not a bit from Nos. 942-8 and 953-6, whose mint was certainly Antioch; and, finally, by the fact that several specimens turned up in the Antioch excavations. It may also be noted that these same types had previously been used for the very first coins struck at Antioch, namely the municipal coinage bearing the name of the Antiochene people (PLATE XVI, 7-8). In this connection, it is to be remembered that there had existed at Antioch, from very early times, a temple traditionally dedicated by Alexander the Great to Zeus of Bottiaea⁴⁶ and, hence, the types of Zeus and his thunderbolt would also have been entirely appropriate to Antioch, as well as to Seleucia Pieria. In any case, even if intended for use in Seleucia, the coins were actually struck at Antioch and evidently circulated there as well. It is certain that by this time Antioch had become the principal mint in the central portion of the empire and, as proved by finds,⁴⁷ even furnished much of the circulating medium for adjoining regions such as Cilicia and eastern Syria.

Just as in Group B, where the reverse type of the 'half' was later changed from the elephant to the half-elephant (the inscription being at the same time shortened from ΒΑΣΙ ΑΝΤΙ to ΒΑ ΑΝ), so also on the 'halves' in Group C the fulmen is later changed to the half of a fulmen, accompanied by a similar shortening of the inscription. The final 'half' of this issue No. 952 (PLATE XIX, 15) bears types which unite the two Groups C and D. On the obverse is to be seen the Zeus head of the former, while on the reverse is the tripod of the latter.

The types of Group D (Nos. 953-6, PLATE XIX, 16-23) are more definitely associated with Antioch, namely, the head of Delphian Apollo and his sacred tripod, or the *omphalos*. Accessory monogram $\text{P}\epsilon$ and CLUB appear as before, but Apollo's BOW now replaces the boar's JAW-BONE. As had happened in previous groups, the reverse type of the 'half' is changed in the course of the issue, this time from the tripod to the *omphalos*, likewise accompanied by a shortening of the inscription. Groups C and D are so closely similar in style and fabric that they might well have been coined contemporaneously. Perhaps in fact they were, to honor conjointly the patron deities of Antioch and of her seaport, Seleucia Pieria. The association of the tiny 'quarter' (No. 956, PLATE XIX, 23) with this particular issue is perhaps not entirely certain, as it lacks the customary control marks of Groups B to D. The style and character of the Apollo head, however, appears to connect it most closely with the coins of Group D. Otherwise, one might suggest its assignment to Series I (whose 'halves' and 'quarters,' Nos. 934-6, PLATE XVIII, 4-6, also bear no magistrate's marks), were it not for the fact that that particular group already possesses the 'quarter' denomination.

⁴⁶ See above, footnote 22a.

⁴⁷ I. e., those of Tarsus and Dura.

A curious feature of these several issues of bronze coins is that they so frequently bear on their reverses the countermark of an anchor placed in an incuse oval. This countermark usually occurs on coins of Groups B, C, and D; and in these cases it is almost invariably punched squarely over the monogram $\text{P}\Sigma$ ⁴⁸—as if the express intention had been to obliterate that particular feature of the type; and that, only. This particular punchmark does occur, but rarely, on a few specimens of preceding issues of Antioch,⁴⁹ but not on any Seleucid coin known to the writer from other mints. It should also be distinguished from the anchor which appears as a countermark on certain coins of succeeding issues, on Nos. 960 $\xi\xi\xi$ -ooo, 961 θ , and 967 $\pi\pi$. But on these latter pieces the anchor is smaller and is placed in a circular, not an oval depression. To judge by the coins themselves, the anchor in the oval could have been applied to the coins only at the close of Series II, or during the course of Series III. The countermarking must have taken place at Antioch itself, where these coins had originated and remained available in large quantities. No other mint would have had reason to obliterate the monogram of a magistrate operating in Antioch. What the actual reason at Antioch was, we, of course, do not know. Was the man removed for malfeasance in office, or did he otherwise incur the royal displeasure that his monogram should have been so carefully obliterated by a Seleucid anchor? Can it have been a case of re-tariffing the coins?⁵⁰ Such an explanation might account for the fact that a few countermarked pieces of earlier issues, which do not bear the seemingly offending monogram, do exist, but it does not account for the very careful obliteration of $\text{P}\Sigma$ and $\text{P}\Sigma$ alone, on the succeeding groups. If it had been a case of re-tariffing, the punchmark could have been applied almost anywhere on the surface of the coin—unless there existed some peculiar hesitancy to disfigure the divine symbols (thunderbolt, tripod, club, jaw-bone),⁵¹ the gods (Zeus, Apollo), the Macedonian shield with its Seleucid insignia (the anchor), or the name and royal title of the king. Was the horned elephant, too, so sacred at Antioch? For in Group B,⁵² Nos. 946–8, the punchmark is not placed on the beast, where it might so easily have been done, but always upon the monogram. Thus, the sole remaining space for the punch would have been the monogram, which surely belongs only to a mere official. However, one would have supposed that counterstamping with the royal Seleucid anchor, itself an object of significance and deep respect, would not have been thought of as a mutilation to anything short of a divine effigy. The whole matter presents some curious aspects and might well repay more intensive study.

The fact that the bronze coins of Groups A, B, C, and D almost invariably reach us from Syria and have been found in considerable quantities in the excavations of Antioch, proves beyond doubt that they must once have been coined in

⁴⁸ Noticeably few exceptions occur, for instance, PLATE XIX, 13 and 15.

⁴⁹ Cf. Nos. 911 μ , 925 $\kappa\kappa\kappa$ - $\mu\mu\mu$, 944 ϵ and ζ .

⁵⁰ In this connection it may be noted that it is *mostly* the larger size pieces (i. e., the 'doubles') which have been punched, and that this particular size does not occur at all in the immediately succeeding issues.

⁵¹ Was this latter symbol, at Antioch, sacred to Adonis?

⁵² And for that matter, likewise in Group A, No. 944, ϵ - ζ .

that particular city. This definitely disposes of Gardner's attempt⁵³ to associate them with a problematical sojourn of Antiochus in Europe, or, at best, with his aspirations to the Macedonian throne. Gardner, however, was careful enough to add, "that they were actually minted in Macedonia or Europe, we cannot say," but unfortunately he also added "their fabric has a European appearance." This, our coins certainly have not. Their fabric as well as appearance are typically Syrian. Curiously enough, Gardner's impossible, though interesting theory was accepted by Babelon,⁵⁴ who definitely assigns these coins to Thracian, Macedonian, Thessalian or even Aetolian mints. The unfortunate consequences may be seen in Bevan's *The House of Seleucus*, Vol. I, pp. 127-9, where the hazardous theory is accepted, although fortunately with reservations. Sir George Macdonald, however, remained justly sceptical.⁵⁵ Gardner's point that "the Macedonian buckler is very usual on the coinage of Macedon at this period and adopted by the various competitors for dominion," is quite true. But he fails, or was not in a position to add that the Macedonian buckler also appears very frequently on issues struck in Asia Minor and Syria. Hence, that particular argument entirely loses its force. As stated above, the coins in question never come from European but almost invariably from Syrian sources; their style and fabric are completely Syrian; and if Antiochus had ever held any territory in Europe, it could only have been for a very short time, far too short in which to coin the prolific issues represented by Nos. 942-56.

SERIES III, c. 268-261 B. C.

957. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* as on Nos. 937-41. In outer l. field, ☉.

α) Beyrouth Museum; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 866, Pl. 30, gr. 16.90; γ) Naville Sale XVII, Oct. 1934, No. 595, Pl. 18, gr. 16.90; δ) Newell, gr. 16.91. PLATE XIX, 24; ε) American University, Beyrouth, gr. 17.

958. TETRADRACHM.

Die closely similar to the preceding.

Similar. In outer l. field, κ.

Paris (Babelon, No. 135, Pl. iv, 15), gr. 16.75. PLATE XIX, 25.

959. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Diadem-ends fall straight.

Similar. In the exergue, ⚡.

α) Cahn Sale 68, Nov. 1930, No. 1521, Pl. 33, gr. 16.89; β) Paris (not listed by Babelon). PLATE XIX, 26.

960. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar head to r.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☉. In outer r. field, ⚡.

⁵³ *Num. Chron.*, New Ser., Vol. XVIII, 1878, pp. 92-3.

⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. xlviii-li.

⁵⁵ Cf. Bevan, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 127, footnote 2.

α - η) Adana Museum, grs. 4.57, 4.17, 4.125, 3.885, 3.43, 3.385 and two additional specimens; θ - λ) Beyrouth Museum. PLATE XX, 1; μ) Sydenham Coll., gr. 4.19; ν - σ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 16, Nos. 33-5), grs. 4.34, 3.82, 3.34; π) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9251, Pl. 335, 10), gr. 5.40; ρ - τ) London (Gardner, p. 10, No. 26, Pl. iv, 4, and Nos. 27-8); υ - ζ) Berlin (Fox, Imhoof-Blumer, Knobelsdorf, Löbbecke and other Colls.); η η - π π) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 136-45. No. 137 is Pl. iv, 16 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3275, Pl. cxix), grs. 3.70, 4.20, 3.65, 4.85, 3.80, 4.50, 3.85, 4.30, 3.40, 3.40; ρ ρ - ν ν) Tarsus excavations; φ φ - ω ω) Antioch excavations, grs. 4.05, 3.91, etc.; $\alpha\alpha\alpha$ - $\delta\delta\delta$) Florence; $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ - f f f) Yale Collection; $\zeta\zeta$ - $\lambda\lambda\lambda$) Newell, grs., 2.99, 3.88, 3.79, 3.68, 3.25, 2.36; $\mu\mu\mu$ - $\nu\nu\nu$) Newell, grs. 4.51, 3.93. PLATE XIX, 27-8. There were also thirty-four specimens found at Dura, some of which may be of the following varieties, Nos. 961-2; while in the Poche Coll., Aleppo, there are ten more examples, four in the American University, Beyrouth and at least fifteen further examples come from the Antioch excavations of 1937 and 1938. There are also two owned by M. Seyrig, six in a dealer's hands at Antioch, three owned by M. Cuinat, Beyrouth, and five in the Adib Collection, Antioch.

With Countermarks.

a) Anchor in circular depression.

$\xi\xi\xi$) Yale University, gr. 4.55. PLATE XX, 2; $\sigma\sigma\sigma$) Dura excavations (there appears to be a letter Y, alongside the anchor), gr. 2.84. PLATE XX, 3.

b) E Y in circular depression.

$\pi\pi\pi$ - $\psi\psi\psi$) Dura excavations. PLATE XX, 4.

961. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ . In outer r. field, \mathcal{A} .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 16, No. 32), gr. 4.96; β) Sydenham Coll., gr. 3.82; γ - δ) Adana Museum, grs. 4.175, 4.075; ϵ - f) Newell, grs. 3.51, 2.49; ζ - η) Newell, grs. 4.60, 3.39. PLATE XX, 5-6; θ) Adib Coll., Antioch, ζ , gr. 4.21.

Countermarked: Anchor in circular depression.

θ) Dura excavations, gr. 4.605. PLATE XX, 7.

962. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. The monogram in the outer l. field is off flan on the known specimens, but is probably Δ . In outer r. field, EY.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); β) Newell, gr. 3.90; γ) Newell, gr. 4.43. PLATE XX, 8.

963. BRONZE HALF.

Similar diademed head of Antiochus I facing to l. Circle of dots.

BAΣI on r., ANTI on l. Similar figure of Apollo on *omphalos* to r., holding bow with both hands. In outer r. field, \odot . In outer l. field, P.






α) London (Gardner, p. 10, No. 25, Pl. iv, 3); β - γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 147, Pl. iv, 18 and No. 148), grs. 1.90, 1.60; δ - ϵ) Adana Museum, grs. 1.815, 2.07; f) Tarsus excavations; ζ - η) Dura excavations; θ) Antioch excavations, gr. 2.14; ι) Turin (Fabretti, No. 4603), gr. 1.68. PLATE XX, 9; κ - λ) Newell, gr. 2.37, 1.51; μ) Newell, gr. 2.27. PLATE XX, 10; ν - σ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938.

964. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar, but the head again faces r.

Same inscription as on the preceding.
Apollo to l., as on Nos. 960-62.

α) Berlin (Morel Coll.); β - ϵ) Antioch excavations, grs. 1.03, 0.98, 0.92, 0.60; ζ) Dura excavations; η) Paris (Babelon, No. 149, Pl. iv, 19), gr. 0.95. PLATE XX, 11; η - μ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; ν) H. Seyrig (from Antioch).

The final issues of Antiochus I at Antioch comprise Nos. 957-64, PLATE XIX, 24-28 and PLATE XX, 1-11. The tetradrachm No. 957 appears to carry on the silver issues of Series II where the latter had left off. It is marked with the monogram , which may or may not represent the same chief official who had supervised most of the silver issues of Series II where he used such forms as , , and . The bronze 'units' of the present issue also bear the monogram of , accompanied by those of his assistants, ϵ , \mathcal{A} or EY. The letters P and \odot on the 'half' may represent only the initials of the chief and the first of his assistants. Examples of all three denominations of the bronze coins were found in the Antioch excavations and so serve to determine the mint, although style and usual provenance do this in any case.

As stated above, the denomination which we term 'double' is now no longer coined at Antioch. In contrast, the unit is issued in quantities larger than ever before at our mint.⁵⁶ The types of the 'unit' and 'quarter' are the same as those of the tetradrachm, while the portraits on both silver and all bronze denominations are identical in every detail. Large numbers of the bronze coins appear to have been carried by trade, or purposely shipped, to such outlying cities as Tarsus and Dura. At the latter city many of them were locally counterstamped with the letters EY.⁵⁷

Throughout this issue, there seems to have been some attempt to place the dies more systematically than in preceding issues. Positions such as \uparrow , \nearrow , \searrow , or \rightarrow appear to represent the general rule.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

SERIES I, c. 261-256 B. C.

965. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. The diadem-ends fall straight. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
on bow and holding arrow in outstretched
r. In outer r. field, Φ . In outer l. field, Δ .
In the exergue, \mathcal{M} .

⁵⁶ The 'unit' had been issued in comparatively small number in the past and at times even appears to have been entirely lacking—as, for instance, in Series III of Seleucus I, and Series I and II of Antiochus I.

⁵⁷ Cf. Appendix, pp. 404-06.

α) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, No. 370, Pl. xix), ♂, gr. 17.03; β) Newell (Delbeke Coll., Sotheby Sale, April 1907, No. 217, Pl. vii), ↑, gr. 17.08. PLATE XX, 12; γ) Vienna; δ) Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. Num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 132, No. 486, Pl. vi), gr. 16.98; ε) London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 10), ↑, gr. 16.86. PLATE XX, 13.

β-ε are from the same obverse, γ-ε from the same reverse die.

966. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 965 β-ε.

Similar. In outer r. field, Α. In outer l. field, ⚡.

Beyrouth Museum. PLATE XX, 14.

967. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

Same inscription. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. elbow on lyre and holding arrow in outstretched r. In outer r. field, Μ. In outer l. field, E Y.

α-β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 16, Nos. 36 and 38), grs. 4.15, 3.89; γ-δ) Sydenham Coll., grs. 4.35, 4.32, 3.24, 2.96; ε-θ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 157-9, Pl. v, 4), grs. 4.05, 4.10, 3.90; ι-λ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 161-3. The letters ΞΜ, supposedly on No. 163, are almost certainly Μ), grs. 3.55, 4.65, 4.05; μ-ν) Antioch excavations, (one) gr. 3.60; ξ-υ) Dura excavations; φ-ψ) Berlin (one from Löbbecke Coll.); ω-ββ) London (Gardner, p. 13, Nos. 59-60); γγ-ζζ) Newell, grs. 4.62, 3.94, 3.80, 3.63, 3.38; ηη-θθ) Newell, grs. 3.61, 3.41. PLATE XX, 15-16; υ) H. Seyrig (purchased in Beyrouth); κκ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth; λλ-μμ) Adib Coll., Antioch, grs. 4.19 and 3.75.

With Countermarks.

a) E Y in circular depression.

α-λλ) Dura excavations, gr. 3.345. PLATE XX, 17; μμ) Yale Coll., gr. 3.58. PLATE XX, 18; νν) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 16, No. 37), gr. 3.60. PLATE XX, 19.

b) Α in circular depression.

ξξ) Dura excavations. PLATE XX, 20.

c) Trident in circular depression.

οο) Beyrouth Museum. PLATE XX, 21.

d) Anchor in circular depression.

ππ) Paris (Babelon, No. 160), gr. 4.00. PLATE XX, 22.

968. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Α. The monogram in outer l. field is off flan.

α) H. Seyrig (Beyrouth); β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 16, No. 39), gr. 4.21. PLATE XX, 23.

969. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. No monograms visible.

Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938.

After the sudden death of Antiochus I in 261 B. C., his eldest living son Antiochus II, surnamed Theos, succeeded to the Seleucid throne. To him may be assigned the bronze 'units' Nos. 967-8, PLATE XX, 15-23. These coins are very closely connected by their style and fabric, as well as by the magistrate's letters EY, with the final bronze issues, Nos. 960-4, of his father at Antioch. Their usual provenance is Syria, and specimens have been found in the excavations of Antioch. New types, however, serve to differentiate them from the immediately preceding coinage of Antiochus I. Once more a youthful, laureate head of Apollo, with flowing locks, graces the obverse; while on the reverse we find the usual figure of this god seated to left on his *omphalos*, holding an arrow in his outstretched right hand, but now leaning his left elbow upon his lyre.

Again we possess many specimens of these bronze coins which bear countermarks, both the anchor and the EY of preceding coins. In addition, we also find a trident or the monogram AI. Many of the specimens with EY, as well as the one with AI, come from the Dura excavations. Their evidence would seem to show, as has been brought out by Dr. Bellinger, that at least the EY counterstamp had been applied to the coins at Dura-Europus. It is curious to note, however, that both the letters EY and the monogram AI also occur as simple magistrate-marks on these very coins.⁵⁸ Is this a mere coincidence?

The monogram M serves to associate with the bronze coins the tetradrachm No. 965, PLATE XX, 13, which bears this same monogram in its exergue. The tetradrachm No. 966, PLATE XX, 14, again, is closely united with No. 965 both by style and by the continued employment of one of the latter's obverse dies. These silver coins now display a typical portrait of Antiochus II, the portrait whose true identity was first discovered and proved by Sir George Macdonald.⁵⁹ It may be noted that the diadem-ends hang loosely, just as they do on the final issue of Antiochus I, No. 959, PLATE XIX, 26. In fact, the general appearance and style of these coins of Antiochus II, both silver and bronze, greatly resemble those of his father's latest issues at Antioch, and so must have been produced by the same mint.

Throughout this coinage the dies are more regularly placed than they have been hitherto, and their position seems invariably to be either ↑ or ↗.

SERIES II, c. 256-246 B. C.

970. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed portrait of Antiochus II to r. The further diadem-end rises in an 's' curve behind the head. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the r., ANTIOXOY on the l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* as on Nos. 965-6. In outer r. field, ☉. In outer l. field, ΛΕ.

α) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2792, Pl. lxxvii, gr. 17.15; β) Gotha, gr. 17.01; γ) London (Gardner, p. 21, No. 13 = Head's *Guide*, Pl. 38, 16), gr. 17.06. PLATE XX, 24.

α-γ are struck from the same obverse and reverse dies.

⁵⁸ Cf. Nos. 962, and 967-8.

⁵⁹ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, p. 108ff.

971. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding, but now become slightly more worn and damaged.

Similar. In outer r. field, \odot . In outer l. field, ΛE .

α) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 421, Pl. 13, gr. 16.98; β) Newell, gr. 16.99; γ) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 16.975; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 890, Pl. 31 = Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 579, Pl. xvii, gr. 16.96. PLATE XXI, 1; ϵ) Munich, gr. 17.01; ζ) Newell, gr. 16.56; η) Newell, gr. 15.72; θ) Munich, gr. 16.96. PLATE XX, 25.
All specimens are from the same obverse die. α - δ are from one reverse die; ϵ - θ from another.

972. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\frac{1}{2}$. In outer l. field, P^o .

London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 8), gr. 16.92. PLATE XXI, 2.

973. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, \square . In outer l. field, $(P)^o$.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 292, Pl. viii, 7), gr. 4.15. PLATE XXI, 3; β) London (Gardner, p. 21, No. 16), gr. 4.08. PLATE XXI, 4.

974. STATER.

Similar.

Similar. In the exergue, ΔIN .

Newell, gr. 8.67 (inclusive of small loop attached). PLATE XXI, 5.

975. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In the exergue, $\Delta (IN?)$.

London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 6), gr. 17.00. PLATE XXI, 6.

976. TETRADRACHM.

Very similar to the die of Nos. 970-2.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΔI . In outer l. field, κ (on die ι this has the form KE).

α) Vienna (with loop attached); β) Paris (Babelon, No. 357), gr. 17.00; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 359, Pl. ix, 7 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3298, Pl. cxx), gr. 17.10; δ) Boston (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 889, Pl. 31), gr. 17.04; ϵ) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7850, Pl. 286, weight given erroneously as gr. 16.74), gr. 17.06. PLATE XXI, 7; ζ) London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 11), gr. 17.06. PLATE XXI, 8; η) Paris (Babelon, No. 358), gr. 17.00; θ) Ball Sale VI, Feb. 1932, No. 380, Pl. 12, gr. 17.40; ι) Vienna. PLATE XXI, 9; κ) Paris (Babelon, No. 361 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3299, Pl. cxx), gr. 17.00. PLATE XXI, 10; λ) Newell (Stack's Sale, Aug. 1940, No. 125, Pl. iii), gr. 16.98; μ) American University, Beyrouth.
 α - ζ are from one obverse die, ζ - μ are from another.

977. TETRADRACHM.

From another die, similar to the preceding.

Similar. In outer r. field, E . In outer l. field, ΔI .

Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4443, Pl. lv, gr. 16.85. PLATE XXI, 11.

978. TETRADRACHM.

From same die as No. 977.

Similar. In outer r. field, κ . In outer l. field, Δ I.

Paris (Babelon, No. 356), gr. 16.95. PLATE XXI, 12.

979. TETRADRACHM.

From same die as No. 977.

Similar. In outer r. field, \odot . In outer l. field, I Δ .Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, No. 371, Pl. xix), gr. 17.24.

980. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 977. One die, in worn condition, carried over from No. 976.

Similar. In outer r. field, \bowtie . In outer l. field, μ .

α) Florence. PLATE XXI, 13; β) London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 9), gr. 16.36. PLATE XXI, 14; γ) Boston (Regling, *Sammlung Warren*, No. 1298), gr. 17.07; δ) Jameson Coll., No. 1685, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 16.86; ϵ) Newell, gr. 17.02; ζ) Munich, gr. 16.83; η) Newell (Homs 1927 Hoard), gr. 16.97. PLATE XXII, 1; θ) London (*Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. IX, 1929, p. 190, No. 16, Pl. viii), gr. 17.11.

α is from the same obverse die as No. 976 (α - ζ); β - ϵ are from another obverse die; ζ - η are from still another.

981. TETRADRACHM.

From same die as ρ - ζ of the preceding variety.Similar. In outer r. field, μ (recut over \bowtie ?). In outer l. field, μ .

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.035. PLATE XXII, 2.

982. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r.

BAΣIAEΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Tripod. In the exergue, anchor. In outer r. field, \odot (placed sideways). In outer l. field, Δ H (placed sideways).

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 237), gr. 6.25; β) Sydenham Coll., gr. 6.48; γ) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 11, Pl. v, 8), gr. 4.85. PLATE XXII, 3; δ) Imhoof-Blumer (*Choix*, Pl. ix, 203); ϵ) Berlin (Morel Coll.); ζ) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 6.42; η - θ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 22, Nos. 15-17), grs. 6.06, 5.86, 5.09; ι) Newell, gr. 6.99. PLATE XXII, 4; κ) H. Seyrig.

983. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, \odot . In outer l. field, \odot . Both monograms are placed sideways.

α - β) Paris (Babelon, No. 236, Pl. vi, 15, and No. 238), grs. 7.45, 6.40; γ) Berlin (v. Rauch Coll.); δ) London, gr. 5.12. PLATE XXII, 5.

984. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, \odot . In outer l. field, μ . Both monograms are placed sideways.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 22, No. 19), gr. 5.70; β - γ) Adib Coll., Antioch, grs. 6.06, 5.42; δ) London, gr. 6.56. PLATE XXII, 6; ϵ) American University, Beyrouth.

985. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, \square . In outer l. field, \otimes . Both monograms are placed sideways.

α - β) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 12, and another), grs. 6.18, 4.70; γ) Newell, gr. 5.68. PLATE XXII, 7; δ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 22, No. 18, Pl. lxiv, 16), gr. 5.99.

With this Series we find the silver issues of Series I of Antiochus II continued in identically the same style and fabric, but now signed by a succession of new magistrates. Varying combinations of their monograms, as well as the interchange, between the several varieties, of common obverse dies serve to bind these tetradrachms together into a compact whole. The dies themselves are now generally adjusted (if not actually fixed) to the positions \uparrow or \nearrow . Other positions are extremely rare. In general, it may be said that henceforth the practice of adjusted dies of the gold and silver coins is established at Antioch.

With the opening of Series II the positions of the diadem-ends were again altered, reverting to the scheme of arrangement as found in Series II and at the beginning of Series III under Antiochus I (cf. PLATES XVIII, 7-11 and XIX, 24-5).

That the rare gold stater No. 974, PLATE XXI, 5, is to be placed somewhere in the course of Series II, is shown by its style. The magistrate's letters Δ IN probably represent the same official who signs himself \otimes or Δ I on the accompanying tetradrachms Nos. 971 and 976-9. Serving to throw this exceptional coinage of gold into considerable prominence and to reveal the probability of its very special nature, is the fact that we have been unable to assign any gold coins to the mint of Antioch since the initial issue there by Seleucus I⁶⁰. In addition, outside the regular Bactrian coinage of gold,⁶¹ only one other stater is known of Antiochus II.⁶² Since the coinage of gold in the west was so very exceptional a matter under Antiochus II, there must have been some event which made such an issue desirable at this time. Such an occasion may be recognized in the extraordinary celebrations attending the ratification of peace with Egypt and the festivities accompanying the marriage of Antiochus II with Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy III, which took place at Antioch in the spring of 252 B. C.⁶³ According to the statement of St. Jerome,⁶⁴ Berenice brought along as her dowry sufficient gold wherewith to finance such an issue, however large. Or, possibly Antiochus, not willing to be outdone by his new relatives, coined at his own expense this issue of gold for ostentatious distribution in commemoration of the great occasion.

⁶⁰ Cf. No. 908, PLATE XVI, 2.

⁶¹ E. S. M., Nos. 706 and 709.

⁶² See below, No. 1497, PLATE LXV, 7.

⁶³ Beloch IV², I, p. 673. On this famous marriage, see also Bevan I, p. 178 ff. and Bouché-Leclercq I, p. 89 ff.

⁶⁴ "Infinitia auri et argenti milia dotis nomine dedit" (*In Daniel*, 11, 6).

Because of their Syrian appearance, we propose to assign also to Series II the group of 'doubles' described under Nos. 982-5, PLATE XXII, 3-7. Their monograms seem also to connect them with the tetradrachms. Thus, Ⓞ may well represent the same official as Ⓞ of No. 971, ΔH may be the same as Π of Nos. 980-1, and Ⓞ or Π the same as Π of the tetradrachm No. 966 and as the drachm No. 973. This attribution remains tentative as no specimens appear to have been found in the excavations of Antioch. There is, however, a specimen of No. 984 in the cabinet belonging to the American University at Beyrouth, and this collection is almost entirely composed of coins found in Syria. A specimen, probably of No. 982, is in M. Seyrig's collection, presumably secured by him in Syria; while two more of No. 984 are in the Adib Collection from Antioch itself.

SELEUCUS II

246-226 B. C.

SERIES I, c. 244-240 B. C.

GROUP A

986. STATER.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. The diadem-ends hang straight. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., resting l. on bow and holding arrow in extended r.

Paris (Babelon, No. 246, Pl. vii, 2 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3283, Pl. cxix), gr. 8.35. PLATE XXII, 8.

987. STATER.

Similar, but of finer style. One diadem-end waves out behind on specimen α.

Similar, but of finer style. In outer l. field, Υ.

α) Jameson Coll., No. 2345, Pl. ccxiv (= Sir Herman Weber Coll., No. 7858, Pl. 286), gr. 8.48. PLATE XXII, 9; β) Boston Museum of Fine Arts, gr. 8.47. PLATE XXII, 10. Because the style and fabric of β is so at variance with that of its companions, this stater may possibly belong with the tetradrachm No. 1021 of Series IV, which bears a similar monogram. An earlier suspicion with regard to its authenticity, aroused by this divergence of style and by the extraordinary rendering of the diadem-ends, has not been entirely removed by a renewed inspection of the piece itself, now in the Boston collection.

988. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 987α, but both diadem-ends again hang straight.

Similar to the preceding, but Apollo here rests his l. elbow on a tripod. In l. outer field, Υ.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 254), gr. 17.05; β) Cahn Sale 75, May 1932, No. 395, Pl. 11, gr. 14.83 (sic! Cast?); γ) Zygman Coll., gr. 16.96; δ) Newell Coll. (Gejou), gr. 16.65; ε) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.955. PLATE XXII, 11; ρ) American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.

All specimens are from the same obverse die.

GROUP B

989. STATER.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Apollo standing to l., resting l. elbow on
tripod and holding arrow in extended r.
In outer l. field, ΠΡ.

Vienna. PLATE XXII, 12.

990. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, ΠΡ.

α) Basel Sale 10, March 1938, No. 370, Pl. xv (= Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2899, Pl. xxiv), gr. 16.95; β) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.54; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.12.
PLATE XXII, 13.

The unexpected death (late in 247 or early in 246 B. C.) of Antiochus II, removed the only restraint to the rancorous hatred of his first wife, Laodice, towards her successful rival Berenice, and the empire was brought almost to the brink of destruction. The political acts of Laodice, now regent for her two young sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, and the opening events of the Third Syrian, better known as the Laodicean, War, need not delay us here, except insofar as they had direct bearing on the activities of the mint at Antioch. Doubtless, the receipt there of the news of Antiochus II's death brought all coinage in his name to an end. Berenice, with her infant son by Antiochus II, was at this time residing in the Syrian capital. But no coinage in the name of the young child has come down to us. Indeed, she had little opportunity to cause such to be struck. The partisans of Laodice at Antioch rose in rebellion⁶⁸ and before many months had elapsed encompassed the death of both Berenice and of her son. Ptolemy III hastened to avenge his sister's murder. His fleet appeared before Seleucia Pieria and the Egyptian forces entered Antioch. For over a year the city remained in Egyptian hands, while Ptolemy himself pursued his triumphant military parade as far as Seleucia on the Tigris, which he reached in the summer of 245 B. C. Before the ensuing winter, however, he had been called back to Egypt by a native uprising. During this interval, the mint of Antioch may have remained quiescent. Ptolemy certainly would not have struck any Seleucid coins there; and if he issued any of his own they have not reached us, or they still remain unidentified among the countless uncertain Ptolemaic issues which fill our cabinets.

Eventually the elder son of Laodice, Seleucus II, having secured the neutrality of the Cappadocian and Pontic rulers by ceding certain territories and giving his two sisters in marriage to them, assembled sufficient forces in Asia Minor to attempt the recovery of his Syrian and Mesopotamian provinces. In the spring of 244 B. C., he crossed the Taurus mountains and quickly recaptured all this territory except the seaport of Seleucia Pieria. By the early summer of 244, Seleucus had regained Antioch, and its mint was once more in a position to continue the coinage of Seleucid money.

⁶⁸ For the probable sequence of events, see Beloch, IV², 1, pp. 674-8.

His opening issue appears to consist of the coins assembled under Series I, Group A, Nos. 986-8, PLATE XXII, 8-11. The coinage of gold staters was doubtless in celebration of the triumphant return of the legitimate Seleucid scion and the elimination of all Egyptian influence. These gold coins may also have been useful for purposes of rewarding those who had remained loyal to Laodice's cause.

Accompanying the gold are issues of tetradrachms in silver. The still youthful head of Seleucus marks both staters and tetradrachms. A graceful figure of Apollo appears on all the reverses, standing alone on the staters, leaning against a tall tripod on the tetradrachms. In Group B, the style becomes very fine; and even on the gold, as well as on the silver, Apollo rests his left elbow on an accompanying tall tripod. Throughout, the dies appear to have been adjusted in the upright position.

SERIES II, c. 240-232 B. C.

GROUP A

991. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus to r. Faint traces of a cheek-beard may be seen. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo to l. leaning against the tripod, as before. In outer r. field, Μ. In inner l. field, Π.

α) Zygmans Coll., gr. 16.73; β) Newell, gr. 16.85; γ) Newell, gr. 16.69; δ) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 781, Pl. 13, gr. 16.85; ε) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum, ex Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 459), gr. 17.04; ς) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 17.00. PLATE XXII, 14; ζ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 908, Pl. 32, gr. 16.85. PLATE XXII, 15; η) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.54; θ) London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 1, Pl. vi, 1 = Head's Guide, Pl. 38, 15), gr. 16.97. PLATE XXII, 16. α-ζ are from one obverse die; ζ from another, and η-θ from still another.

992. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same two monograms, partially erased. Beneath the outer r. monogram, Κ.

London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 2), gr. 17.12. PLATE XXII, 17.

993. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Θ.

The Hague (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. III, 1876, p. 345, Pl. ix, 5), gr. 17.02. PLATE XXIII, 1.

994. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 992.

Similar. In outer r. field, Σ.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.035. PLATE XXIII, 2.

995. STATER.

Similar.

Same inscription. Apollo standing to l., resting l. hand on his bow. In inner l. field, Π.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 243 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3281, Pl. cxix), gr. 8.55; β) Munich, gr. 8.49. PLATE XXIII, 3.

α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

996. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. One die is that of No. 991 η-θ, Same inscription as before. Apollo beside another that of No. 992. tripod. In inner l. field, ΚΕ.

α) Berlin, gr. 16.00; β) Berlin, gr. 16.31. PLATE XXIII, 4; γ) Copenhagen, gr. 16.92; δ) London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 9), gr. 17.06. PLATE XXIII, 5; ε) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 24, No. 3), gr. 16.73; ζ) Newell (Gejou), gr. 16.72; ζ) Zygman Coll., gr. 16.91; η) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), gr. 17.00. PLATE XXIII, 6; θ) Coll. Poche, Aleppo; ι) The Hague, No. 6944, gr. 17.00; κ) Newell, gr. 16.93.

α and β are from the same obverse die as No. 991 η-θ; γ, δ, θ, and κ are from the same obverse die as No. 992; ε-η and ι are from yet another obverse die.

997. STATER.

From the same obverse die as No. 995. Similar to No. 995. In inner l. field, ΚΕ.
In outer r. field, Β.

London (Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 696, Pl. ix), gr. 8.52. PLATE XXIII, 7.

998. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 996 ε-η. Similar to No. 996. In inner l. field, ΚΕ.
In outer r. field, Β.

Paris (Babelon, No. 253), gr. 17.20. PLATE XXIII, 8.

999. STATER.

Similar to No. 997, but the diadem-ends wave. Similar to No. 997. In inner l. field, ϙ.

Paris (Babelon, No. 245 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3282, Pl. cxix), gr. 8.40. PLATE XXIII, 9.

1000. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 998. Similar to No. 998. In inner l. field, ϙ.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 24, No. 6, Pl. lxiv, 21), gr. 16.98; β) Campion Coll., Glendining Sale, Nov. 1937, No. 54, Pl. ii (= Hess Sale, Lucerne, Dec. 1933, No. 96, Pl. 4 = Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 910, Pl. 32 = Egger Sale, Nov. 1909, No. 420, Pl. xiv), gr. 16.76. PLATE XXIII, 10.

1001. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Similar. No monogram.

α) Collignon Coll., Feuardent Sale, Dec. 1919, No. 384, Pl. xix; β) Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. Num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 132, No. 485, Pl. vi), gr. 17.10. PLATE XXIII, 11.

GROUP B

1002. TETRADRACHM.

Die identical with that of No. 996 α and β, Similar, but of crude style. In outer r. but in bad condition. field, ϙ. In outer l. field, ΚΕ.

Berlin, gr. 16.00. PLATE XXIII, 12.

1003. TETRADRACHM.

Die similar to, but not the same as the preceding. Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\Pi}$.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 909, Pl. 32 = Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 458, Pl. iv), gr. 17.07. PLATE XXIII, 13.

1004. TETRADRACHM.

Die similar to, but not the same as No. 996 α and β . Similar, but cruder. In outer l. field, Δ above \odot .

Newell, gr. 16.85. PLATE XXIII, 14.

1005. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding. Similar, but still more crude. In outer l. field, uncertain monogram (something like Bo) above \odot .

Munich, gr. 16.72. PLATE XXIII, 15.

1006. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Similar, but of slightly better style. In inner l. field, \odot (placed sideways).

Cambridge (McClellan Coll., Vol. III, No. 9257, Pl. 336, 5), gr. 16.37. PLATE XXIV, 1.

1007. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Similar. In outer l. field, ϵ (partially erased) above ϵ .

London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 4), gr. 17.03. PLATE XXIV, 2.

1008. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Attic helmet. Apollo standing to l., resting l. hand on bow. In outer l. field, Δ above Δ .

Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 3.835. PLATE XXIV, 3.

1009. DRACHM.

Same die as the preceding. Similar. In outer l. field, \odot above Δ .

α) Newell, gr. 3.89. PLATE XXIV, 4; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 4.075. PLATE XXIV, 5; γ) Poche Coll., Aleppo. PLATE XXIV, 6.

Series II, Group A (Nos. 991-1001, PLATES XXII, 14-17 and XXIII, 1-11), under new magistrates, continues the types of Series I, but with generally broader flans and a slightly more mature portrait. The series comprises larger and more abundant issues than the preceding, and the coinage of gold staters is resumed. This is the period of seemingly endless wars between Seleucus II and his younger brother Hierax who, at the instigation of Laodice, had succeeded in making himself practically independent of his brother in Asia Minor. Thus deprived of his many mints in that region, Seleucus was thrown back upon the resources of Syria and the east. Anti-

och now became an exceedingly active mint and produced issue upon issue of gold and silver coins. Only thus was it possible for Seleucus to finance the often disastrous campaigns in Asia Minor, and prepare for the ambitious expedition into eastern Persia. Under such difficult circumstances, it speaks volumes for the idealistic attitude of both ruler and mint officials that the coinage of Group A should maintain its excellence of standard and weights, and its consistently high level of artistic as well as mechanical production.

In Group A certain of the magistrates once active under his father re-appear on the issues of Seleucus II. Thus on No. 991 we find the PA of Antiochus II, Nos. 980-1; while on Nos. 992 and 993 occur the monograms K or C , on Nos. 997-8 occurs KE , all of which are suggestive of the K (sometimes KE) appearing on No. 976 of Antiochus II.

The effects of the exhausting struggles in which Seleucus II was involved at this time may perhaps be seen in Group B, Nos. 1002-9, PLATES XXIII, 12-15 and XXIV, 1-6. Here, for the most part, the style has degenerated sadly, especially on the reverses which sometimes are very crude productions indeed. The obverses are much better conceived, and this may be accounted for by the fact that their die-cutters closely followed the models which were to be found among the splendid coins of Group A. Because of this close copying, because of the continued use of an old die previously employed, and because the magistrate signing himself KE on No. 1002 is probably the same person as the K of Nos. 996-8 and the K and C of Nos. 992-3, it seems almost certain that these cruder coins were contemporaneous with the later issues of Group A, and were also produced at Antioch. If so, we may suppose them to have been brought out in a subsidiary mint, one whose die-cutters were not the practised artists of the central establishment. Perhaps pressed by the insistent need for the 'sinews of war' wherewith to finance his various campaigns, Seleucus, or his finance minister, farmed out the coinage of Group B to certain silver-smiths of the city. These, however, were not sufficiently expert, or practised in the art of coinage, to be able to produce such fine coins as the royal mint itself.

SERIES III, c. 232-228 B. C.

1010. STATER.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r.

$\text{BAZIAE}\Omega\text{S}$ on the r., $\Sigma\text{EAEYKOY}$ on the l. Apollo standing to l. as on No. 999. In outer r. field, FE . In outer l. field, BP .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 23, No. 1), gr. 8.51; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 244, Pl. vii, 1), gr. 8.55; γ) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 8.53. PLATE XXIV, 7; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 8.52. PLATE XXIV, 8.

α - δ are from the same obverse die; α - γ are from one reverse die, and δ from another.

1011. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as on No. 1010. Apollo and tripod as on No. 991 and following. In outer r. field, FE . In inner l. field, BP .

α) American University, Beyrouth; β) Newell, gr. 16.99. PLATE XXIV, 9.

1012. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots.

Similar to No. 1010. In outer r. field, ΠΕ.
In outer l. field, ΛΡ.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 4.035; β) Newell (Hirsch's N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), gr. 4.22. PLATE XXIV, 10.

1013. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as No. 1011.

Similar to No. 1011. In outer r. field, Π.
In outer l. field, Θ.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 249), gr. 16.90; β) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2946, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 16.88; γ) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7859, Pl. 286), gr. 16.93. PLATE XXIV, 11.

1014. DRACHM.

Same die as No. 1012.

Similar to No. 1012. In outer r. field, Π.
In outer l. field, Θ.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. iii, p. 24, No. 7, Pl. lxiv, 20), gr. 3.93; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 925, Pl. 32, gr. 4.17; γ) Jameson Coll., No. 1680, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 4.07; δ) Newell (Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 651, Pl. xviii), gr. 4.16. PLATE XXIV, 12.

BRONZE COINS

GROUP A

1015. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as before. Winged Nike to l., holding wreath above large anchor in field before her. In l. hand, palm. In outer r. field, ΠΛ. In outer l. field, ΕΥ.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., p. 8, No. 25), gr. 8.55. PLATE XXIV, 13; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 40), gr. 7.00. PLATE XXIV, 14.

1016. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar, but without magistrates' letters or monogram.

α-β) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 38 and 39, Pl. i, 12 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3264, Pl. cxviii), gr. 8.60 and 9.00; γ) London (Gardner, p. 5, No. 44, Pl. ii, 3); δ) Antioch excavations; gr. 6.78; ε-ζ) Yale University; ι-η) Dura excavations; θ-ι) Coll. Poche, Aleppo; κ) Newell, gr. 7.83; λ) Newell (Prof. C. C. Torrey Coll.), gr. 7.90. PLATE XXIV, 15; μ-ν) American University, Beyrouth; ξ-ο) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; π) H. Seyrig; ρ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth; σ) Adib Coll., Antioch (there appears to be a *pi* in the exergue of this specimen), gr. 8.07.

GROUP B

1017. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as before. Tripod. In outer r. field, ΠΛ. In outer l. field, ΕΥ.

α) Newell (restruck on a coin of the preceding type), gr. 7.02. PLATE XXIV, 16; β) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9262, Pl. 336, 9), gr. 5.99; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 6.80; δ-ε) Paris (Babelon, No. 303, Pl. viii, 13, and No. 304), grs. 7.20 and 9.50; ζ-θ) London (Gardner, p. 23, Nos. 11 and 12, Pl. vii, 9); η) Sydenham Coll., gr. 7.20; θ-ι) Dura excavations; κ) Newell, gr. 6.93; λ) Newell, gr. 7.76. PLATE XXIV, 17; μ) Newell (countermarked: anchor), gr. 7.09. PLATE XXIV, 18; ν) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; ξ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth.

1018. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same magistrates' letters and monogram.

Dura excavations. PLATE XXIV, 19.

1019. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar, but with Μ on the exergue.

Newell (countermarked: anchor), gr. 7.20. PLATE XXIV, 20.

Series III, Nos. 1010-19, PLATE XXIV, 7-20, continues the issue of staters and tetradrachms, accompanied by the drachm bearing the usual Athena head. Throughout, these coins are of splendid workmanship, the portraits excellent, while the usually neglected reverses are well balanced in design, of good modelling, and the lettering of the inscriptions is neat and well-formed. Practically all the known staters of Seleucus II are of the Antioch mint,⁶⁶ which is but natural as this city was now the metropolis and capital of Seleucus' kingdom. Its mint functioned as the producer of gold in place of Bactra, lost to the empire under Antiochus II.

The accompanying bronze coins, Nos. 1015-9, PLATE XXIV, 13-20, are of two types, here divided into the two groups A and B. The responsible magistrates are the same for both groups, namely EY and Μ, the latter probably the same person who signs himself Μ on the silver coins Nos. 1013-14, while EY may be the same person as Ε of the same pieces. Group A is doubtless the earlier of the two, as one of its coins was used as a blank for No. 1017a. In fact, most of the examples of Group B use flans which are more spread than those of Group A and may well be old flans which had been hammered flat before being restruck. The anchor countermark of Nos. 1017μ and 1019 may have been applied at Antioch itself, but this must remain uncertain until specimens so marked are found in the excavations of that city.

The dies of the gold and silver pieces are regularly placed ↑; those of the bronze coins usually ↑ or ↖, more rarely ↗.

SERIES IV, c. 228-226/5 B. C.

1020. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo to l. with tripod, as before. In outer r. field, Ξ. In outer l. field, Ξ.

⁶⁶ The only other staters are E. S. M. No. 761, which has above (p. 29) been vindicated for the Ecbatana mint, where it was probably struck during Seleucus' eastern expedition, and W. S. M., No. 1147 for Apamea.

Paris (Babelon, No. 256 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3284, Pl. cxix), gr. 16.85. PLATE XXV, 1.

1021. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1020.

Similar. In outer r. field, Ψ . In outer l. field, Σ .

α) Hague, No. 6943, gr. 17.00; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 255), gr. 16.80; γ) London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 5), gr. 17.09; δ) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 418, Pl. 13, gr. 16.98; ϵ) Newell, gr. 16.89. PLATE XXV, 2.

BRONZE COINS

GROUP A

1022. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of dots.

Inscription as before. Winged Nike to l., holding wreath above anchor in field before her. In l. hand, palm. In inner r. field, Σ .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 8, No. 24), gr. 9.07; β) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2860, gr. 7.18. PLATE XXV, 3; γ) Newell (Prof. C. C. Torrey Coll.), gr. 7.16; δ) H. Seyrig (Beyrouth).

GROUP B

1023. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

Inscription as before. Tripod. In outer l. field, Σ .

α) *Arethuse*, Suppl. Comm. I, 1924, No. 598; β - γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 29, Nos. 9 and 10), grs. 8.72 and 7.52; δ - ϵ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 305 = de Luynes, No. 3293, Pl. cxx, and 306), grs. 7.60 and 7.35; ζ - η) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer, Fox and Morel Colls.), gr. 8.65; θ) London (Gardner, p. 23, No. 13); ι) Newell, gr. 6.85. PLATE XXV, 4; κ) H. Seyrig (Beyrouth); λ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth.

In artistic quality the silver coins, Nos. 1020-1, PLATE XXV, 1-2, now exhibit a slight falling off from the high level attained in preceding issues. The modelling is more perfunctory, while the figure of Apollo on the reverse is not so well-balanced and its details are more sketchily rendered. This artistic decline is not to be wondered at after the exhausting efforts of Seleucus to reweld his empire—towards the end made doubly difficult by the dangerous but abortive revolt engineered at Antioch by his aunt, Stratonice,⁶⁷ and the invasion of Mesopotamia by his brother, Hierax.

The signatures on the silver coins include the two officials Σ and Ψ , who were destined to continue in office throughout the succeeding reign of Seleucus III and far into that of Antiochus III. This Ψ is probably not the same individual who had previously signed Nos. 987-8, at the very beginning of Seleucus' reign in Antioch, but could well have been his son. The attribution to Antioch of Nos.

⁶⁷ Beloch IV², 1, p. 684.

1020-1 has already been discussed by the author in his *The Seleucid Coinage of Antioch*,⁶⁸ and the arguments need not again be presented. Fabric and style are sufficient evidence for the assignment, which is further supported by the usual provenance—Syria—of the accompanying bronze coins.

The latter, all 'doubles,' are again of two types, just as in Series III. The types themselves are likewise identical with those of Series III, but the magistrate in charge of the coinage is now Σ . Apollo and his tripod (No. 1023, PLATE XXV, 4) are, of course, definitely Antiochene in their connotation, while the recurrence of Nike holding a wreath above the Seleucid anchor, may allude to the serious events which took place either just prior to, or actually during, the course of Series IV. Nike, crowning the huge Seleucid Anchor, so conspicuously set in the field before her, would surely be an appropriate commemoration of the legitimate king's success in quelling the rebellion of Stratonice and in so completely defeating Hierax, the would-be usurper of Seleucus' remaining territories of Syria and the east.

As is the case with the preceding series, the dies of the silver are regularly placed \uparrow ; those of the bronzes, \uparrow or \nearrow .

SELEUCUS III

226/5-223 B. C.

1024. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus III to r. Circle of dots.

BAΣIAEΩΣ on r., ΣEAEYKOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, Σ .

α) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), broken; β) Proschowsky Coll., Hellerup (= Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 841, Pl. 25), gr. 16.77; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1439, gr. 17.00, Pl. 51. PLATE XXV, 5.

1025. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1024.

Similar. In outer r. field, \square (placed sideways on α). In outer l. field, Σ .

α) Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 786, Pl. 13, gr. 16.80; β) Naville Sale XIII, June 1928, No. 916, Pl. 27, gr. 16.85; γ) Jameson Coll., No. 2346, Pl. cxxiii (= Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 652, Pl. xviii), gr. 17.05; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 296, Pl. viii, 11 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3292, Pl. cxix), gr. 17.05. PLATE XXV, 6.

1026. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1024.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\Sigma\Omega$ (placed sideways). In outer l. field, Σ .

London (Gardner, p. 22, No. 2), gr. 17.07. PLATE XXV, 7.

⁶⁸ *The American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. LI, 1917, pp. 3-4.

1027. TETRADRACHM.

Similar in style to the preceding.

Similar. In outer r. field, Σ . In outer l. field, Φ .

Paris (Babelon, No. 302), gr. 17.00. PLATE XXV, 8.

1028. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus to r., of a somewhat divergent style and character from the preceding. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Apollo, with drapery over legs, seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting his l. elbow on tripod behind him and holding arrow in extended r. In outer r. field, Δ . In outer l. field, Δ . In the exergue, ELEPHANT to l.

London (Gardner, p. 22, No. 5, Pl. vii, 7), gr. 17.06. PLATE XXV, 9.

1029. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r.

Similar inscription. Apollo, with drapery over thigh only, seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer r. field, Ψ . In outer l. field, Σ .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 28, No. 1), gr. 16.68; β - γ) Berlin, gr. 17.01, 16.945; δ) Jameson Coll., No. 1682, Pl. lxxxiv (= Mathey Coll., Rollin & Feuadent Sale, June 1910, No. 330, Pl. xvii), gr. 17.06; ϵ) Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2913, Pl. xxv, gr. 16.23; ζ) Hamburger Sale 98, April 1933, No. 839, Pl. 26, gr. 16.82; η) Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 575, Pl. xvii, gr. 15.94; θ) Luneau Coll., Platt Sale, March 1922, No. 725, Pl. xv; ι) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (J. Ward Coll., No. 781, Pl. xix), gr. 16.85; κ) Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, Nos. 787 and 788, Pl. 13), grs. 15.90 and 16.80; λ) *Arethuse*, Suppl. Comm. I, 1924, p. 33, No. 597 (= Ciani, Priced Catalogue, No. 148, Pl. viii); μ) Zygmán Coll., gr. 16.91; ν) Toronto, Archaeological Museum; ξ) London (Gardner, p. 22, No. 1, Pl. vii, 6), gr. 16.96; \omicron) Newell (Zschiesche & Köder, Helbing Sale, April 1913, No. 690, Pl. ix), gr. 16.90. PLATE XXV, 10; π) Commerce, 1939, gr. 16.95; ρ) Newell, gr. 16.91. PLATE XXV, 11; σ) Gotha, gr. 16.71; τ) London, gr. 15.87; υ) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1952, Pl. 56, gr. 17.01; ϕ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2950, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 16.81; χ) Copenhagen, gr. 16.81; ψ - ω) Berlin, grs. 16.685, 17.035; $\alpha\alpha$) White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 527, Pl. v; $\beta\beta$) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 939, Pl. 33, gr. 17.03. PLATE XXV, 12; $\gamma\gamma$) Paris (Babelon, No. 298), gr. 16.80; $\delta\delta$) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 940, Pl. 33, gr. 16.45; $\epsilon\epsilon$) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), gr. 15.92; $\zeta\zeta$) Brussels, gr. 17.02. PLATE XXV, 13; $\eta\eta$) Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 657, Pl. xix, gr. 16.15. β - π are from one obverse die; ρ - ϕ from a second; χ - $\beta\beta$ from a third; $\gamma\gamma$ - $\zeta\zeta$ from a fourth, and $\eta\eta$ from a fifth.

1030. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1029, χ - $\beta\beta$.

Similar. In outer r. field, Ψ . In outer l. field, Σ above a ROSE.

α) The Hague, No. 6953, gr. 17.10; β) Newell, gr. 16.89; γ) Newell (Talbot Ready Coll., Feuadent Sale, July 1919, No. 546), gr. 16.94; δ) Newell, gr. 17.01. PLATE XXVI, 1.

1031. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ψ .

α) Berlin, gr. 16.53; β) Newell, gr. 16.25; γ) Newell, gr. 16.33; δ) London (*Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1914, p. 25, No. 24, Pl. viii), gr. 16.88. PLATE XXVI, 2.

BRONZE COINS

GROUP A

1032. BRONZE UNIT.

Bust of Artemis to r.; quiver at shoulder.
Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* as before.
In outer l. field, Ϛ. There were doubtless
also letters or monograms in the exergue,
but these are off flan on the following
specimens.

α-λ) Antioch excavations, grs. 5.46, 4.07, 3.80, 3.79, 3.48, 3.39, 3.28, 3.15, 2.98, 2.75, 2.50,
2.15; μ-τ) Tarsus excavations; υ-αα) Dura excavations; ββ-δδ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 315,
318-9), grs. 3.10, 2.80, 4.90; εε-ηη) Berlin; θθ-ππ) Newell, grs. 4.90, 4.48, 4.42, 3.22, 3.15,
5.11. PLATE XXVI, 3; ξξ-κκ) Poche Coll., Aleppo; λλ-ςς) Antioch excavations, 1937
and 1938; 4η) H. Seyrig; 4θ) M. Cuinat, Beyrouth. There were also thirty specimens
with illegible monograms in the Adib. Coll., Antioch.

1033. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ϛ (either off flan
or not present). In the exergue, Α or Δ or
Α^ρ.

α-β) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 317 and 321), grs. 5.60 and 4.70; γ) Sydenham Coll., gr. 3.95;
δ-ζ) Newell, grs. 4.19, 3.41, 3.24, 3.23; η) Adana Museum, gr. 3.94. PLATE XXVI, 4;
θ) Berlin; ι) Adib Coll., Antioch, gr. 3.60.

1034. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, Ϛ. In the exergue, Μ.

α-β) London (Gardner, p. 23, Nos. 9-10); γ-δ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 29,
Nos. 3 and 5), grs. 4.47 and 3.24. PLATE XXVI, 5; ε) Newell, gr. 4.75. PLATE
XXVI, 6; Ϛ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 2.65; ζ-η) Adib Coll., Antioch, grs. 3.86,
3.76.

1035. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ϛ. In the
exergue, Κ Α.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 29, No. 4), gr. 4.24.

1036. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ϛ. In the ex-
ergue, Α.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 320), gr. 3.25; β) Antioch excavations, gr. 3.64; γ) London (Gardner,
p. 22, No. 8, Pl. vii, 10).

1037. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In the exergue, $\Gamma\omicron$.

Antioch excavations, gr. 4.88. PLATE XXVI, 7.

1038. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, ζ . In the exergue, $\odot E$.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 314, Pl. viii, 16 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3295, Pl. cxx), gr. 3.35; β) Antioch excavations, gr. 3.77; γ) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo); δ) Dealer in Antioch; ϵ - ζ) Adib Coll., Antioch, grs. 3.63, 2.84, 2.52.

1039. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In the exergue, Ω . α) London (Rogers Coll.); β) Beyrouth Museum. PLATE XXVI, 8.

1040. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In the exergue, ΛY .

Berlin.

1041. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathcal{A} . In the exergue, (?)

Paris (Babelon, No. 323), gr. 4.60.

GROUP B

1042. BRONZE UNIT.

Diademed head of Seleucus III to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, ζ .

α) Antioch excavations, gr. 3.73; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 28, No. 2, Pl. lxxv, 5), gr. 3.92. PLATE XXVI, 9.

1043. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, Σ .

α - β) London (Gardner, p. 22, Nos. 6-7, Pl. vii, 8); γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 29, No. 12), gr. 3.24; δ - ϵ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 311, Pl. viii, 15, and 313), gr. 3.05; ϵ) Paris (Babelon, No. 312 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3294, Pl. cxx), gr. 3.30; ζ - κ) Antioch excavations, grs. 3.49, 3.04, 2.70, 2.68, 2.62; λ - ξ) Dura excavations; \omicron) Tarsus excavations; π) Yale Coll., gr. 3.21; ρ - σ) Newell, grs. 2.74, 2.48. PLATE XXVI, 10; τ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 3.20; υ - ψ) American University, Beyrouth; ω - $\alpha\alpha$) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; $\beta\beta$) H. Seyrig (from Balanea = Leucas. Countermarked: Anchor and Σ in circular depression); $\gamma\gamma$ - $\epsilon\epsilon$) Dealer in Antioch.

Despite his comparatively short reign, the Antiochene issues of Seleucus III are little short of voluminous. Upon coming to the throne, the young man's energies were entirely devoted to the preparation and prosecution of a plan (possibly already envisaged by Seleucus II before his death) of reconquering the Seleucid

possessions in Asia Minor. These had been lost through the instability of character and general incompetence shown by Antiochus Hierax who, guided thereto by his mother, Laodice, had seized the reigns of government in Anatolia while Seleucus II was engaged in a war with Egypt. For many years the two brothers carried on a disastrous fratricidal war, the principal beneficiary being the ambitious and able ruler of Pergamum, Attalus I. At the death of Seleucus II, the Pergamene king was ruling over a large portion of the former Seleucid territories in Asia Minor. Certain other autonomous city-states (Rhodes, for instance) and neighboring kings had also secured their share of the spoils. To recover the lost provinces in the face of the opposition which must thus be counted upon, was no mean task, and the preparations must have been very considerable indeed. Antioch and its surrounding district, including the great military depot of Apamea, doubtless constituted the principal area for assembling the necessary men and supplies. Hence, it is not surprising that the mint of Antioch produced at this time a large issue of tetradrachms, Nos. 1024-31, PLATES XXV, 5-13 and XXVI, 1-2. To the regular mint officials Σ and Ψ (who had been active in the last years of Seleucus II's reign), were added four further magistrates: Ω , $\Sigma\Omega$, $\Phi\chi$, and χ . A special issue, No. 1028, PLATE XXV, 9, was also coined, under the supervision of its own particular magistrates, Δ and Λ . That this was an issue of Antioch is shown by the fact that its obverse die was almost certainly engraved by the same artist who had produced the dies of No. 1029 σ and ρ , PLATE XXV, 10-11. This was a special issue as may be deduced from the observation that the dies are very carefully engraved, the coin well struck on a large flan, the Apollo type of very unusual character and design, while in the exergue may be seen a beautifully modelled Seleucid war-elephant advancing to the left. Doubtless this issue was ordered to celebrate the opening successes⁶⁹ of the young king in Asia Minor, but his sudden death, soon after, has brought it about that, until the present, but a single specimen of this splendid coin has come down to us.

Not only were the silver issues of Seleucus III at Antioch very extensive, but an enormous coinage of small copper coins was likewise produced at this time. They have been here divided into two groups, A and B, according to their types and fabric. We have seen that the bronze pieces struck at Antioch under Seleucus II were almost exclusively composed of 'doubles.'⁷⁰ Smaller denominations had not been coined there since the close of Antiochus I's reign (Nos. 960-64, PLATES XIX, 27-8 and XX, 1-11) and the beginning of Antiochus II's reign (Nos. 967-9, PLATE XX, 15-23), some thirty years previously. These must by now have been in a deplorable state of wear, and new issues were surely needed. Hence, under Seleucus III, the activities of the Antioch mint in the production of bronze pieces was apparently confined to the coinage of 'units.' The obverse type found in Group A is a bust of Artemis (here appearing for the first time at Antioch), while on the reverse is the usual seated Apollo. The flans of these coins are for the most part

⁶⁹ Seleucus III had already pushed far into Phrygia before being overtaken by the assassin's hand.

⁷⁰ Only one specimen of the 'unit,' No. 1018, PLATE XXIV, 19, is apparently known.

thick, dumpy and so carelessly made that their surfaces are almost invariably too small for the dies used. As a result, it is but seldom that more than one of the two signatures, which were supposed to mark each piece, appear on any one coin.

The coins of Group B, Nos. 1042-3, PLATE XXVI, 9-10, were much better made. Their flans are neat, round, and of the size of the dies for which they were intended, while their types were more carefully and delicately engraved than those of Group A. They possess the same reverse type as before, but their obverses display either the diademed portrait of the king, or the more usual laureate Apollo head. At first the signature of Σ (perhaps for $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$?), who had signed most of the coins in Group A, again appears, but on No. 1043 his place is taken by Ξ . The new issue seems to be slightly, but consistently, lower in weight than Nos. 1032-41, although it appears unlikely that the coins represent a different denomination. Nos. 1042-3 are of practically the same diameter as their predecessors, but their flans are usually thinner, thus accounting for their difference in weight. When considered as a whole, the coinage suggests a slow but steady diminution in weight of the individual pieces, due, perhaps, to the continued drain on the royal resources occasioned by the protracted wars, and to a change in the method of preparing the blanks. Coins of both groups have been found in large numbers in the excavations of Antioch.

Under Seleucus III, the Antiochene dies of the silver as well as of the bronze coins, are regularly placed \uparrow or \nearrow .

ANTIOCHUS III

SERIES I, c. 223-213 B. C.

1044. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., wearing side-whisker. Fillet border. The die usually shows signs of wear from long usage.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, Ξ .

- α) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9270, Pl. 337, 6), gr. 16.95; β) Munich, gr. 16.94; γ) Vienna; δ) Newell, gr. 17.00; ε) Allotte de la Fuÿe Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 790, Pl. 14, gr. 16.80; ρ) Sydenham Coll., gr. 16.88; ς) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 661, Pl. xviii, gr. 17.02; η) Hamburger Sale, May 1929, No. 408, Pl. 9, gr. 16.87; θ) The Hague, No. 6952, gr. 16.90; ι) Coll. Poche, Aleppo; κ) Zygman Coll., gr. 16.62. PLATE XXVI, 11.

All of these specimens are apparently from the same obverse die.

1045. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., of higher relief. The side-whisker is still visible. The diadem-ends hang straight, and there is a fillet border.

Similar. In outer l. field, Υ above Ξ .

- α) Berlin, gr. 17.01; β) Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 466, Pl. iv, gr. 16.91; γ) Helbing Sale, Oct. 1927, No. 3126, Pl. 59 (= Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1953,

Pl. 56 = Zschiesche & Köder, Helbing Sale, April 1913, No. 689, Pl. ix), gr. 16.61; δ) Vienna. PLATE XXVI, 12; ϵ) Newell (Urfa 1924 Hoard), gr. 17.03. PLATE XXVI, 13. α - δ are from one obverse die; ϵ from another.

1046. TETRADRACHM.

Same dies as No. 1045.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ξ above Υ .

α) Sotheby Sale, July 1899, No. 116, Pl. iii; β) Jameson Coll., No. 1686, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 16.97; γ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2952, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 17.09. PLATE XXVI, 14.

α and γ are from the same obverse die as No. 1045 α - δ ; β is from the same obverse die as No. 1045 ϵ .

1047. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but the side-whisker is no longer visible, and the design is now surrounded by a circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, Υ above Ξ .

α) The Hague, No. 6972, gr. 17.00; β) Newell, gr. 16.82; γ) Berlin, gr. 16.27. PLATE XXVI, 15.

All are from the same obverse die.

1048. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1047.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ξ above Υ .

α) The Hague, No. 6971, gr. 16.90. PLATE XXVI, 16; β) Basel Sale 10, March 1938, No. 374, Pl. xv (= Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 650, Pl. 15 = White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 514, Pl. v), gr. 16.98.

1049. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but one diadem-end rises in an 's' curve behind the head. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, Υ above Ξ .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 30, No. 3, Pl. lxxv, 7), gr. 16.74; β) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 420, Pl. 13, gr. 17.00; γ) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1954, Pl. 57, gr. 16.96; δ) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), gr. 15.78; ϵ) Newell, gr. 16.29. PLATE XXVI, 17. All are from the same obverse die.

1050. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1049. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ξ above Υ .

α) Rhodes Hoard (Wace in *Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. VI, 1903, p. 141, No. III, Pl. vii, 3, gr. 16.15); β) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 659, Pl. xviii, gr. 16.94. PLATE XXVI, 18.

1051. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Diadem-ends hang loosely. Fillet border.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ξ .

α) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2448, Pl. lxi, gr. 15.75; β) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2447, Pl. lxi, gr. 16.95; γ) Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 577, Pl. xvii, gr. 16.90; δ) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1677, Pl. 57, gr. 16.70; ϵ) Commerce 1938; ζ) Sydenham Coll., gr. 17.09; η) London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 25), gr. 17.00. PLATE XXVII, 1; θ) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 660, Pl. xviii, gr. 16.60; θ) Merzbacher

Sale, Nov. 1910, No. 823, Pl. 14, gr. 16.94. PLATE XXVII, 2; ϵ) Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1924, No. 195, Pl. viii, gr. 16.52; κ) Ratto Sale, Feb. 1928, No. 747, Pl. xi (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 975, Pl. 35), gr. 17.00; λ) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), gr. 15.93; μ) Newell, gr. 17.03. PLATE XXVII, 3; ν) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2449, Pl. lxi (= Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2920, Pl. xxv), gr. 14.58. PLATE XXVII, 4; ξ) Boston (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 974, Pl. 35), gr. 16.84; \omicron) Strozzi Coll., Sangiorgi Sale, April 1907, No. 1663, Pl. xi. PLATE XXVII, 5.

α is from the same die as Nos. 1047-8; β - ζ are from a second die; η - θ from a third; ι - μ from a fourth; ν from a fifth, and ξ - \omicron from a sixth.

1052. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but now with a circle of dots.

Similar, and with the same monogram.

α) Newell, gr. 17.04; β) Newell, gr. 16.98. PLATE XXVII, 6.

1053. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1051 ξ - \omicron , now damaged.

Similar. In outer r. field, Φ . In outer l. field, Ξ .

α) Zygman Coll., gr. 17.08; β) Van Vleuten Coll., Lempertz Sale, Feb. 1926, No. 455, Pl. 3 (= Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 663, Pl. xviii), gr. 16.69; γ) Newell, gr. 16.94. PLATE XXVII, 7; δ) American University, Beyrouth.

BRONZE ISSUES

1054. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* as before. In outer l. field, Ξ .

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 397, Pl. x, 4. The supposed letters in the exergue are corrosion spots.), gr. 13.50; β) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 13.28; γ) Berlin, gr. 10.00. PLATE XXVII, 8; δ) Adib Coll., Antioch, gr. 12.47.

1055. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram.

α - β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 35, Nos. 41-2), grs. 2.82, 2.30; γ - ϵ) Antioch excavations, grs. 3.54, 3.35, 3.34; ζ - η) London (Rogers Coll.), grs. 4.02, 3.30, 2.79; θ - κ) Newell, grs. 3.23, 3.27, 2.95. PLATE XXVII, 9; λ) American University, Beyrouth; μ - σ) Adib Coll., Antioch (on a few of these there may once have been additional letters, illegible because of corrosion).

1056. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Apollo stands to l., resting l. on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, Ξ .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 36, No. 43), gr. 2.27; β - δ) London (Rogers Coll.), grs. 1.85, 1.81, 1.30; ϵ - θ) Dura excavations; ι) American University, Beyrouth; κ - ξ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; \omicron) H. Seyrig (Beyrouth); τ - ρ) Adib Coll., Antioch.

1057. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to No. 1054.

Similar to No. 1054. In outer l. field, Ξ above Δ .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 35, No. 40), gr. 11.86; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 400), gr. 10.60; γ) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 147, No. 270), gr. 9.72; δ) Antioch excavations, gr. 13.40. PLATE XXVII, 10.

1058. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 1055.

Similar and with the same monogram and letter.

Yale Coll., gr. 3.21. PLATE XXVII, 11.

1059. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar to No. 1056, and with the same monogram and letter.

Adib Coll., Antioch, gr. 1.43.

1060. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to No. 1054.

Similar to No. 1054. In outer l. field, ☸ above I.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 399), gr. 12.60; β) Newell (Prof. C. C. Torrey Coll.), gr. 13.39; γ) Adana Museum, gr. 10.845; δ-ε) Berlin, grs. 12.75, 11.08, 9.93. PLATE XXVII, 12; ζ) London (Gardner, p. 28, No. 50, Pl. ix, 9), gr. 10.12. PLATE XXVII, 13; η) Seyrig (Beyrouth).

1061. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 1056.

Similar to No. 1056. In outer l. field, ☸ above I.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 410), gr. 1.90; β) Leningrad (*loc. cit.*, No. 277), gr. 1.62; γ-δ) London (Rogers Coll.), grs. 2.53, 1.88; ε-ζ) Antioch excavations, grs. 2.25, 1.77; ζ) Newell, gr. 1.85. PLATE XXVII, 14; η) Adib Coll., Antioch, gr. 1.62.

1062. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Similar to No. 1054.

Similar to No. 1054. In outer l. field, ☸ above O.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 398), gr. 13.00; β) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 12.25.

1063. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 1055.

Similar to No. 1055. Same monogram and letter as on the preceding coin.

Dura excavations.

1064. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 1056.

Similar to No. 1056. Same monogram and letter as on the preceding coin.

α-β) Newell, grs. 1.95, 1.66. PLATE XXVII, 15; γ) Adib Coll., Antioch, gr. 2.31.

1065. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 1055.

Similar to No. 1055. In outer l. field, ☸ above Π.

α) London (Gardner, p. 13, No. 61), gr. 3.00. PLATE XXVII, 17; β) Newell, gr. 3.42. PLATE XXVII, 16.

1066. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, A above H.

α) Dura excavations; β) Newell, gr. 2.96. PLATE XXVII, 18.

After being called to Antioch from the east, on the death of his brother, Antiochus was there proclaimed king. The war which had been commenced by Seleucus III for the recovery of Asia Minor was ably prosecuted by his cousin Achaeus, while Antiochus himself, on the advice of his minister, Hermias, prepared to take the offensive against the Egyptian possessions in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. But at this juncture Molon, satrap of Media, revolted and before long had made himself master of Babylonia. Antiochus was forced to take the field in person, was completely successful, and, towards the end of 220 B. C., returned in triumph to Antioch, where he resumed preparations for the postponed attack on Ptolemy. Having first seized Seleucia Pieria, in Egyptian hands since 246 B. C., Antiochus in 219 B. C. began the invasion of Phoenicia. The war dragged on, and although, in general, fortune favored Antiochus, at the great battle of Raphia (217 B. C.), the Egyptian army completely routed the Seleucids. Antiochus was glad to make peace on a basis of the *status quo ante*. For, in the meantime, his cousin Achaeus had raised the standard of revolt in Asia Minor and was now a menace to the empire. Having strengthened his army and repaired the losses of Raphia, Antiochus crossed the Taurus and invaded Asia Minor. For three years he prosecuted the war until, finally, the capital, Sardes, fell (213 B. C.), Achaeus was executed, and a large part of Asia Minor was re-united to the Seleucid empire.

As all of these warlike preparations and ensuing campaigns required money, the mint at Antioch was busy from the very outset of the new reign. The same two officials, Ξ and Υ, who had been active in the last years of Seleucus II and throughout the ensuing reign of Seleucus III, still continue to supervise the coinage. The first issue appears to be represented by No. 1044, PLATE XXVI, 11. Here, the portrait of Antiochus displays the side-whiskers which had been affected by both his father and his own elder brother. The features, too, are still slightly reminiscent of those of Seleucus III, and even the general appearance of the coin is similar to that of the preceding issues. An important innovation, however, is introduced on the obverse of this coin—a fillet border now takes the place of the dotted circle previously employed. This type of border was destined to enjoy a long history, not only on the coins of succeeding Seleucid kings, but also on the issues of near as well as distant states, from Rome in the west to the Greek kings of Bactria and the Saka rulers of India in the east. The reason for the sudden introduction of the fillet border is uncertain, although its general meaning seems clear. Babelon⁷¹ has pointed out the close association of the fillet with Apollo.⁷² He sur-

⁷¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. xliv, lxxvi-lxxvii.

⁷² Even at Rome, it was first used as a border surrounding the head of Apollo. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Coins of the Roman Republic*, Vol. III, Pl. xxxiii, 2.

mises that the employment of the fillet border was due, on the one hand to its apotropaic significance⁷³ and, on the other, to the claim of divine descent of the Seleucid kings from that god. Its presence on the initial issue of the new reign may have been intended to stress in the popular mind, at a time when rebellion was in the air,⁷⁴ the idea of the Apolline descent of Antiochus and his legitimate right to the Seleucid throne. The Seleucid patron god has taken the young king under his divine protection.

On the immediately following obverse dies, Nos. 1045-6, PLATE XXVI, 12-14, the fillet border is continued, and the king still wears his side-whisker. The accompanying reverses are signed by both Ξ and Υ , first one monogram, then the other being placed above its companion. On the succeeding obverse die, Nos. 1047-8, PLATE XXVI, 15-16, the side-whisker finally disappears⁷⁵ and the more usual dotted circle replaces the fillet border. Then there follows a fourth obverse die, Nos. 1049-50, PLATE XXVI, 17-18, which is similar to the preceding, but now one of the diadem-ends rises in a curve behind the king's head. It is interesting to note that on these four varieties, just as on Nos. 1045-6, the two magistrates continue to alternate the positions of their several monograms. Apparently, the two men were colleagues of equal standing. Hence, to preserve complete impartiality, the die-cutters hit upon the expedient of placing the monogram first of one, then of the other official, above that of his companion. Eventually, Ξ remains alone in office and continues the coinage, alternating the fillet (No. 1051, PLATE XXVII, 1-5) with the dotted border (No. 1052, PLATE XXVII, 6). The diadem-ends again fall loosely. Finally, a new colleague, Φ , joins Ξ on the last silver coin (No. 1053, PLATE XXVII, 7) of this issue.

A large coinage in bronze was also produced at Antioch in this period, and comprised the three denominations: 'quadruple,' 'unit' and 'half.' A laureate head of Apollo is the obverse type for all, while the two larger denominations present on their reverses a seated Apollo, the smallest, a standing Apollo. The weights are the somewhat reduced ones which appeared towards the close of the preceding reign. The coins are usually signed by two men, of whom Ξ was apparently the chief, for he invariably places his monogram above that of his colleague. It may be noted that certain varieties, which probably once existed, are still missing from our records. Thus we still lack the 'unit' in group Nos. 1060-1, and both the 'quadruple' and the 'half' for Nos. 1065 and 1066. Since the two lowest denominations are frequently struck on flans too small for the dies, usually one, sometimes both, monograms are off flan. Not only is this the case, but because of the limited surface available on the 'halves,' their monograms are so tiny that unless a piece is in almost perfect condition its monograms are often not legible. We have in-

⁷³ I. e., the king whose head it surrounds was under the especial protection of Apollo.

⁷⁴ Witness the recent murder of Seleucus III at the hands of some mutinous officers, and the disaffection of Molon and of Achaeus.

⁷⁵ At the eastern mints of Seleucia on the Tigris (cf. E. S. M., No. 240, Pl. xix, 5-6) and Susa (cf. E. S. M., Nos. 385-7, Pl. xxix, 2-3, 8-10), the side-whisker of Antiochus III appears to remain a little longer than at Antioch.

cluded in our catalogue only specimens whose monograms are tolerably certain. The 'halves' and the 'units' have been found in considerable numbers in the excavations of Tarsus, Antioch and Dura,⁷⁶ but only a few of these have been included as their monograms are for the most part illegible.

There likewise exists a parallel series of bronze coins,⁷⁷ similar in types, style and fabric to Nos. 1054-66, but signed by Ψ as chief magistrate instead of Σ . From this group the 'unit' seems to be absent. Some or all of the coins in question may actually have been a part of Series I. Here, however, the entire group, for the sake of convenience, has been catalogued under Series II, in the production of whose silver coins Ψ participated, while Σ was no longer active.

The die positions of both silver and bronze coins of Series I are regularly \nearrow , \uparrow or \swarrow .

SERIES II, c. 213-208 B. C.

1067. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. His features are now more mature. The diadem-ends hang loosely.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* as before. In outer r. field, Φ .

Gotha, gr. 16.98. PLATE XXVIII, 1.

1068. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1067. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer r. field, \odot E. In outer l. field, GRAPES.

Newell, gr. 16.90. PLATE XXVIII, 2.

1069. TETRADRACHM.

Very similar. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer r. field, M. In outer l. field, GRAPES.

Newell, gr. 16.88. PLATE XXVIII, 3.

1070. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1069, but now very much worn.

Similar. In outer r. field, I. In outer l. field, Ψ .

Newell, gr. 16.96. PLATE XXVIII, 4.

1071. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ψ .

α) American Numismatic Society, gr. 16.88; β - γ) The Hague, Nos. 6884-5, grs. 17.10 and 17.00; δ) Newell (Urfa Hoard, 1924), gr. 16.99. PLATE XXVIII, 5.

⁷⁶ At Tarsus, sixteen of the 'halves' were found; at Antioch, five of the 'units' and thirty-seven of the 'halves'; at Dura, numerous 'halves' and, in addition, a hoard of the 'halves' containing over two hundred examples, mostly in very bad condition. In the 1937 and 1938 Antioch excavations, over ninety-six 'halves' with illegible monograms were found. The Adib Collection from Antioch also contains over forty examples of the 'half,' whose monograms and letters are illegible.

⁷⁷ Cf. below, Nos. 1076-83 and 1085.

1072. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but with fillet border.

Similar. In outer r. field, \mathfrak{A} . In outer l. field, \mathfrak{Y} above \mathfrak{W} . α) Cahn Sale 65, Oct. 1929, No. 255, Pl. 8, gr. 16.80; β) Newell, gr. 16.86. PLATE XXVIII, 6.

1073. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but with circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{A} .

Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9268, Pl. 337, 4), gr. 16.93. PLATE XXVIII, 7.

1074. GOLD OCTODRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{A} . α) The Hague, No. 6964, gr. 34.15; β) Gotha, gr. 34.08; γ) Berlin (Fox Coll., from Huxtable), gr. 34.03. PLATE XXVIII, 8; δ) The Hague, No. 6963, gr. 34.00. PLATE XXVIII, 9; ϵ) London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 2, Pl. viii, 4), gr. 33.89. PLATE XXVIII, 10; ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 365, Pl. ix, 9), gr. 33.90. PLATE XXVIII, 11; η) Glasgow (Hunter, Vol. III, p. 30, No. 2), gr. 33.97.Struck from one obverse and four reverse dies. α - γ are from the same reverse die.

BRONZE ISSUES

1075. BRONZE QUADRUPEL.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as before. Nike to l., holding palm branch in l., and with extended r. holding wreath above the king's name. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{Y} .London (Rogers Coll., *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. I, 1921, p. 28, No. 3, Pl. ii), gr. 11.94. PLATE XXVIII, 12.

1076. BRONZE QUADRUPEL.

Similar.

Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{Y} above \mathfrak{A} .

Berlin, gr. 11.39. PLATE XXIX, 1.

1077. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Apollo standing to l., resting l. on bow, holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{Y} above \mathfrak{A} . α - β) Antioch excavations, grs. 1.47, 1.44; γ) Dura excavations; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 412), gr. 1.40. PLATE XXIX, 2; ϵ) Newell, gr. 1.98; ζ - θ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938. On ζ - θ only the first monogram is still visible.

1078. BRONZE QUADRUPEL.

Similar to No. 1076.

Similar to No. 1076. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{Y} above \mathfrak{A} . α - β) London (Rogers Coll.), grs. 13.74 and 10.37.

1079. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 1077.

Similar to No. 1077. In outer l. field, Ψ above Λ .

London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 2.21.

1080. BRONZE QUADRUPLÉ.

Similar to No. 1076.

Similar to No. 1076. In outer l. field, Ψ above M. α) Newell, gr. 9.07; β) Berlin, gr. 11.45. PLATE XXIX, 3.

1081. BRONZE QUADRUPLÉ.

Similar to No. 1076.

Similar to No. 1076. In outer l. field, Ψ above ϕ .

Athens. PLATE XXIX, 4.

1082. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 1077.

Similar to No. 1077. In outer l. field, Ψ above Σ . α) Dura excavations; β - γ) Newell, gr. 1.96, 1.67; δ - ϵ) Newell (Prof. C. C. Torrey Coll.), gr. 1.97, 1.26. PLATE XXIX, 5.

1083. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ψ above Δ .

Antioch excavations.

1084. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Λ . α) Antioch excavations, gr. 1.87; β - γ) Newell, grs. 1.97, 1.88; δ) Yale Coll.

1085. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Ψ . In inner r. field, Λ .

Paris (Babelon, No. 414, Pl. x, 7), gr. 1.10.

1086. BRONZE QUADRUPLÉ.

Similar.

Similar. No monograms visible.

London (Sir H. Weber Coll., No. 7875, Pl. 287), gr. 15.87. PLATE XXIX, 6.

1087. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Λ .

Newell, gr. 1.11. PLATE XXIX, 7.

The gold and silver of Series II are characterized by a more mature head of Antiochus III than is found in Series I. If we assume, as seems to be very reasonable, that the large issues of the first series probably covered a period of some ten

years, that is to say, from the beginning of the reign in 223 B. C. to *circa* 213 B. C., then the portrait used in Series II must be that of a man in his late twenties⁷⁸ or early thirties. A glance at the coins themselves, PLATE XXVIII, 1-11, would lead to the same conclusion. In our previous study of issues from the eastern mints, we have seen that at Seleucia on the Tigris the definitely youthful portrait of Antiochus persisted there until just beyond the commencement of Series III in *circa* 215 B. C.⁷⁹ In that issue the head on the gold stater No. 242, probably coined⁸⁰ about the time of Antiochus' eastern expedition in 210-9 B. C., shows considerable similarity in age and appearance with our present tetradrachms, Nos. 1067-73. Similarly, at Susa, a really youthful portrait persists throughout Series I (*circa* 220-212 B. C.), but in the succeeding Series II, although at first still youthful,⁸¹ becomes somewhat fleshy, just as in our Series II at Antioch. At Ecbatana, the very youthful head continues down to *circa* 215 B. C.,⁸² becomes only very slightly older⁸³ between that date and *circa* 209 B. C., when a definitely older portrait first comes into use.⁸⁴ Thus, it would seem that in his portraits Antiochus III retained his youthfulness until in and around 213 B. C., when he commenced to take on a maturer air. This began with the Antiochene issues of that year, and thence gradually spread, by varying degrees, to the other mints of the empire.

On the gold octodrachm No. 1074, PLATE XXVIII, 8-11, the head is still more mature, although from a stylistic standpoint the coin definitely belongs with the preceding silver pieces Nos. 1067-73. This close stylistic association also shows that these octodrachms must have been coined at Antioch, for, in fact, among the issues of no other mint will they fit. Whatever may be thought of other gold octodrachms of Antiochus III, and their authenticity has from time to time been seriously questioned,⁸⁵ no breath of suspicion can rest upon the present pieces. Their style, fabric and general appearance are in every way impeccable. No less than four different reverse dies were employed in their production, and this is enough to preclude all thought of a possible modern manufacture. Forgers of the eighteenth century⁸⁶ were not in the habit of making four different reverse dies in order to

⁷⁸ Antiochus was about eighteen years of age when he came to the throne. Cf. Bevan I, p. 300, foot-note 1, based on Polybius XX, 8, 1.

⁷⁹ E. S. M., pp. 89-91, where a youngish head is still found on Nos. 240-1, Pl. xix, 5-6.

⁸⁰ E. S. M., p. 91. Cf. Pl. xix, 4.

⁸¹ Cf. E. S. M., pl. xxx.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Pl. xlii, 5-20.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Pl. xlii, 21-2, Pl. xliii and Pl. xlii, 1-5.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. xlii, 6 and ff.

⁸⁵ The three octodrachms described below under No. 1097 must also be removed from the doubtful class.

⁸⁶ The present war has prevented the securing of definite information, but the known examples of the octodrachm No. 1074 appear all to be of old standing. The specimen published by Carmey (*A Complete Series of the Kings of Syria*, etc., London, 1761, Pl. v, 1) and Haym (*Thesauri Britannici*, Vienna, 1763, Pl. iii, 5) in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire, is probably the second one of the two pieces in the Duane Collection (*Coins of the Seleucidae*, London, 1803, Pl. v, 5), and now in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. The first one of Duane's specimens (*ibid.*, Pl. iv, 1) may be the coin later in the collection of the Bank of England and now in the British Museum. This may also be the actual specimen once in the Pembroke Collection (London, 1746, Part 2, Plate 60, No. 525). The Berlin specimen is from General Fox's collection who had secured it from Huxtable. The specimen in Gotha, like the two in The Hague, may also be from old sources. The Paris coin

produce such a small number of coins as are represented by the seven existing examples. Having thus indicated their complete respectability, let us consider their true import. So radical a departure from the usual Seleucid practice is involved in the sudden appearance of these impressive gold coins, that their issue must have been connected with some important event. When would Antiochus have brought out a large and exceptional issue of massive gold coins? Their close connection with the silver pieces Nos. 1067-73, indicates that they appeared at some point during the five years after *circa* 213 B. C. The slightly maturer appearance of their portrait suggests that they came toward the end of this period or between 210 and 208 B. C. This leads our thoughts directly to the famous spoliation of the great temple of Aene at Ecbatana (209 B. C.), from which Polybius states⁸⁷ that Antiochus took "a few gold bricks (*πλινθοὶ δὲ χρυσαὶ τινες ὀλίγαι μὲν ἦσαν*) and a considerable quantity of silver ones," sufficient "to coin money with the king's effigy amounting to very nearly four thousand talents." We have learned that the looted *silver* was turned into coin at Susa,⁸⁸ Ecbatana,⁸⁹ and Nisibis.⁹⁰ Of the last two mints, no gold coins of Antiochus III are known, while of Susa only a single specimen of this general period⁹¹ has come down to us. The inevitable deduction is that the "few gold bricks" mentioned by Polybius, which Antiochus secured from the temple, were forwarded to his capital, Antioch, there to be turned into 'commemorative' presentation pieces. That such coins were intended for general circulation is extremely doubtful.

The bronze coinage of this period continued to be composed of 'quadruples' and 'halves,' but so similar in type and general appearance to those issued under Series I, that some of them may have been coined within the period covered by Series I. As stated above, no 'units' are now known belonging to the present group. Most of the pieces are signed by our old friend Ψ , whose familiar monogram also appears on the tetradrachms Nos. 1070-2. On one occasion, there was brought out a 'quadruple,' No. 1086, PLATE XXIX, 6, having for its reverse type the standing Apollo of the 'halves.' A single example of this piece is known, but in so worn a condition that its monograms are illegible. Hence it is not certain that the coin actually belongs to Series II; it may have been coined earlier. We shall have to await the appearance of a more perfectly preserved specimen before we can feel certain on this point, or even that Antioch was its mint.

seems not to have been described by Mionnet, nor is it in the *Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique*, *Numismatique des rois grecs*, Paris, 1849. Either the piece was not yet in the French collection, or it was suspected of being a forgery. The coin is quite genuine. As regards the authenticity of such pieces, cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Zeitschr. für Num.*, Vol. III, 1876, pp. 345-7, and Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. lxxx ff. In the present writer's opinion, of all the gold octodrachms of Antiochus III, only those listed under Nos. 1074 and 1097 are above suspicion.

⁸⁷ X, 27, 12-13.

⁸⁸ E. S. M., pp. 142-8. See above, pp. 75-6.

⁸⁹ E. S. M., pp. 217-8.

⁹⁰ See above, pp. 75-6.

⁹¹ This coin, E. S. M., No. 397, Pl. xxx, 11, because of the elephant on its reverse, is more probably to be connected with the king's triumphant return from India in 305 B. C. Cf. E. S. M., p. 147.

Another and equally rare 'quadruple' (No. 1075, PLATE XXVIII, 12), associated with Series II by its monogram Ψ , was also coined. Its reverse type suggests a commemorative piece, perhaps to celebrate the successful suppression of Achaean's dangerous rebellion in Asia Minor (213 B. C.). As described on p. 21, a very similar issue, No. 243 A, PLATE II, 16, was brought out contemporaneously at Seleucia on the Tigris.

Again the dies of both silver and bronze are regularly placed in the positions \nwarrow , \uparrow , or \nearrow .

SERIES III, c. 208-200 B. C.

1088. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. The diadem-ends hang loosely, the type of portraiture is similar to that at Nisibis, Nos. 841 ff.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, as before. In outer l. field, Ψ .

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art ('Pot Hoard,' Sardes. Cf. *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 42, No. 397, Pl. i), gr. 16.72. PLATE XXIX, 8.

1089. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. New style of portraiture. Fillet border.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ψ .

a) Diadem-ends hang loosely.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 32, No. 18, Pl. lxxv, 11), gr. 16.86; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 375), gr. 16.95. PLATE XXIX, 9; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 980, Pl. 35, gr. 15.06.

b) One diadem-end rises behind the head; the other falls over shoulder.

δ) Allotte de la Fuye Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 799, Pl. 14, gr. 16.95; ε) Ciani, Priced Sale Cat., No. 149, Pl. viii; ς) Basel Sale 8, March 1937, No. 387, Pl. 15, gr. 16.90; ζ) The Hague, No. 6986, gr. 16.80; η) Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. Num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 133, No. 489), gr. 17.10; θ) Paris (Babelon, No. 374), gr. 16.15; ι) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.995; κ) Copenhagen, gr. 16.92; λ) Munich, gr. 16.70; μ) Collignon Coll., Feuadent Sale, Dec. 1919, No. 388, Pl. xix; ν) Schlössinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1443, Pl. 51, gr. 17.1; ξ) Newell (Earle Coll., Chapman Sale, June 1912, No. 252, Pl. iv), gr. 17.18. PLATE XXIX, 10.

α-γ are from one obverse die; δ from a second; ε-ξ from a third.

1090. DRACHM.

Similar, but without border.

Similar, and with the same monogram.

a) Diadem-ends hang straight.

α) The Hague, No. 6996, gr. 4.20; β) Newell, gr. 3.58. PLATE XXIX, 11.

b) One diadem-end falls straight; the other over the shoulder.

London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 16), gr. 4.21. PLATE XXIX, 12.

1091. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 1089. Fillet border.

Similar. In outer l. field, Φ .

a) One diadem-end rises behind head; the other falls straight.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 32, No. 17), gr. 17.13; β) Newell, gr. 16.84; γ) Newell (*Amer. Jour. of Num.*, Vol. LI, 1917, Pl. II, 22), gr. 16.88; δ) Sydenham Coll., gr. 16.95; ε) Basel Sale 10, March 1938, No. 372, Pl. xv, gr. 16.76; ζ) Schlessinger Sale 11, Feb. 1934, No. 330, Pl. 10, gr. 16.00; ζ) Zygmán Coll., gr. 17.08. PLATE XXIX, 13.

b) One diadem-end rises behind head; the other falls over shoulder.

η) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 32, No. 15), gr. 16.80; θ) Basel Sale 4, Oct. 1935, No. 870, Pl. 30, gr. 16.78; ι) Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1958, Pl. 57, gr. 15.66; κ) Vienna. PLATE XXIX, 14.

β-ζ are from one obverse die; ι-κ from another. Casts of α and η are not available.

1092. DRACHM.

Similar. Circle of dots.

Similar, and with the same monogram.

a) Diadem-ends hang loosely.

α) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, No. 378, Pl. xix), gr. 4.09; β) Basel Sale 10, March 1938, No. 373, Pl. xv (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 1000, Pl. 36), gr. 4.07; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 392, Pl. ix, 16), gr. 4.25; δ) Newell, gr. 4.06. PLATE XXIX, 16; ε) Gotha, gr. 4.12. PLATE XXIX, 15.

b) One diadem-end rises behind head; the other falls straight.

ρ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 999, Pl. 36, gr. 4.09.

c) One diadem-end rises behind head; the other falls over shoulder.

τ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 33, No. 29), gr. 4.03; η) London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 14, Pl. viii, 8), gr. 4.15. PLATE XXIX, 17.

1093. BRONZE HALF.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as before. Apollo standing to l., resting l. on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In inner l. field, Δ.

α) Newell, gr. 1.21. PLATE XXIX, 18; β) Newell, gr. 1.29. PLATE XXIX, 19.

1094. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 1091. Fillet border.

Similar to No. 1091. In outer l. field, above Apollo's arrow, ANCHOR.

a) One diadem-end falls straight; the other over shoulder.

α) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., No. 7869, Pl. 287), gr. 17.16. PLATE XXIX, 20.

b) One diadem-end rises behind head; the other falls over shoulder.

β) Paris (Babelon, No. 383), gr. 17.10. PLATE XXIX, 21.

1095. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 1093.

Similar to No. 1093. In inner l. field, ANCHOR.

Newell, gr. 1.08. PLATE XXX, 1.

1096. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 1094.

Similar to No. 1094. In outer l. field,
TRIPOD.

a) One diadem-end falls straight; the other over shoulder.

a) Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 474, Pl. iv, gr. 17.04. PLATE XXX, 2.

b) One diadem-end rises behind head; the other falls straight.

β) Paris (Babelon, No. 372, Pl. ix, 11), gr. 16.90; γ) Zygman Coll., gr. 16.95; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 961, Pl. 34, gr. 16.81; ε) Newell, gr. 16.88. PLATE XXX, 3.

c) One diadem-end rises behind head; the other falls over shoulder.

ζ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 31, No. 13), gr. 16.94; ζ) Boston Museum of Fine Arts, gr. 16.97; η) Newell, gr. 16.68; θ) Paris (Babelon, No. 385, Pl. ix, 13 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3302, Pl. cxx), gr. 17.05; ι) Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 791, Pl. 14, gr. 17.02; κ) Brussels, gr. 16.96. PLATE XXX, 4; λ) Istanbul ('Pot Hoard,' Sardes. Cf. *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 42, No. 393, Pl. i), gr. 16.95.

α is from the same obverse die as No. 1094 α; β-ε are from another obverse die; θ-ι from yet a third.

1097. GOLD OCTODRACHM.

Similar. Henceforth, one diadem-end always rises behind the head; the other falling over the shoulder. Fillet border.

Similar. In outer l. field, ROSE.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 33.99. PLATE XXX, 5; β) London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 1. *Head's Guide*, Pl. 38, 19), gr. 33.88; γ) Gotha, gr. 34.02. PLATE XXX, 6.

All are struck from the same obverse die; while α-β are from one reverse, γ from another.

1098. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Φ. In the exergue, φ.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 32, No. 16), gr. 17.09; β) Turin (Fabretti, No. 4589 = Lavy Coll., No. 2537), gr. 16.98; γ-δ) London (Gardner, p. 26, Nos. 22 and 23), grs. 16.52 and 17.06. PLATE XXX, 7.

β-δ are from the same obverse die.

1099. DRACHM.

Similar. Diadem-ends hang straight. Circle of dots.

Similar, and with the same monogram and letter.

α) London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 15), gr. 4.23; β) Newell, gr. 3.91. PLATE XXX, 8.

1100. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 1098. Fillet border.

Similar to No. 1098. In outer l. field,
BOW IN GORYTUS (string on l.).α-β) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 380-1), gr. 17.00; γ) Newell, gr. 16.77. PLATE XXX, 9.
Lacking casts, α and β have been placed here only tentatively. From the description, they could be specimens of No. 1116 below.

1101. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, BOW IN GORYTUS. In the exergue, AÆK or ACK.

a) With AÆK.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 31, No. 12, Pl. lkv, 9. Cf. *Amer. Jour. of Num.* Vol. LI, 1917, Pl. ii, 27), gr. 16.81; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 379), gr. 17.00. PLATE XXX, 10.

b) With ACK.

γ) Newell, gr. 15.22. PLATE XXX, 11.

α is from the same obverse die as No. 1100 γ; β and γ are from another obverse die.

1102. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ. In the exergue, H.

α) Collignon Coll., Feuadent Sale, Dec. 1919, No. 387, Pl. xix; β) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), gr. 15.79; γ) Bourgey Sale, Dec. 1932, No. 262, Pl. ix; δ) Newell (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 985, Pl. 35), gr. 16.87. PLATE XXX, 12.

β-δ are from a single obverse die.

1103. DRACHM.

Similar, but with circle of dots.

Similar, and with the same monogram and letter.

α-β) Newell, grs. 3.83 and 4.06. PLATE XXX, 13; γ-δ) Copenhagen, grs. 4.05 and 4.25. PLATE XXX, 14.

α-δ are from a single obverse die.

1104. DRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ. In the exergue, H.

London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 17), gr. 4.17. PLATE XXX, 15.

1105. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 1100.

Similar to No. 1100. In outer l. field, I-P.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 384), gr. 17.05. PLATE XXX, 16; β) The Hague, No. 6983, gr. 16.90. PLATE XXXI, 1.

α is from the same obverse die as No. 1102 β-δ.

1106. DRACHM.

From the same obverse die as Nos. 1103-4, but now in a damaged state.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ.

Newell, gr. 3.91. PLATE XXXI, 2.

1107. BRONZE QUADRUPE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., the features sometimes resembling those of Antiochus III. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ANTIOXOY in the exergue. Elephant, surmounted by his *mahout*, standing to r. Behind, TRIPOD. Between legs, ΣΦ.

α) London (Gardner, p. 27, No. 41, Pl. ix, 5), gr. 7.67; β) London, gr. 11.34; γ) Toronto, Archaeological Museum (Countermarked: anchor); δ) Newell, gr. 8.20. PLATE XXXI, 3; ε) Newell (Countermarked: anchor. Prof. C. C. Torrey Coll.), gr. 10.29. PLATE XXXI, 4; ς-ζ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 417, Pl. x, 10, and 419), grs. 10.95 and 10.25; θ) H. Seyrig (Countermarked: anchor).

1108. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

BAΣIAEQΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Tripod. No letters visible.

Adib Coll., Antioch, gr. 5.50. PLATE XXXI, 5.

1109. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as the preceding. Elephant to r. Behind, Μ.

α) London (Rogers Coll. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. I, 1921, p. 29, No. 5a, Pl. ii), gr. 2.72; β) Newell, gr. 3.34. PLATE XXXI, 6.

1110. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar, but apparently without monogram.

α) London (Rogers Coll. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, loc. cit., No. 5b, Pl. ii), gr. 1.36; β-δ) Newell, grs. 1.55, 1.52, 1.28. PLATE XXXI, 7; ε) Adib Coll., Antioch, gr. 1.29.

1111. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar. Hair long.

Similar. Behind elephant, ANCHOR.

α) London, gr. 2.66; β) Newell, gr. 2.44. PLATE XXXI, 8.

1112. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar, but with fillet border.

Similar, but elephant to l. No letter or monogram apparent.

α) Berlin, gr. 3.18. PLATE XXXI, 9; β) Newell, gr. 3.11. PLATE XXXI, 10.

1113. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar, but dotted circle again.

Similar. Beneath elephant, Δ.

Newell, gr. 2.85. PLATE XXXI, 11.

1114. BRONZE HALF.

Head of Apollo to r. with short hair, sometimes bunched at neck. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Elephant to l. In front, ANCHOR.

α) Berlin, gr. 1.86; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 437, Pl. x, 15), gr. 2.00; γ-δ) London (Gardner, p. 29, Nos. 57-8, Pl. ix, 13); ε) Tarsus excavations; ς-η) Newell, grs. 2.29, 1.50, 1.23. PLATE XXXI, 12-13; θ) American University, Beyrouth.

1115. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar, but no anchor visible. In the exergue, ΔΙ.

H. Seyrig

With Series III a completely new style for silver as well as for gold coins is adopted at Antioch. First, we note a 'transitional' tetradrachm, No. 1088, PLATE XXIX, 8, of which the general fabric and style of its reverse die are typically Antiochene in character. The magistrate's monogram is Ψ , which marks some of the coins (Nos. 1070-2, 1075-83) in the immediately preceding issue. The portrait, however, is startlingly at variance with anything we otherwise find at Antioch. In conception, it is remarkably like the tetradrachms which about this very time were being put forth at Nisibis.⁹² But our present piece must be of Antioch, as indicated by its fabric, as well as by the style and details of its reverse die.⁹³ This die appears not at all out of place when collocated with those of Antioch, but stands out as an inexplicable anomaly when associated with the contemporaneous issues of Nisibis.

The coins immediately succeeding this piece (some continuing the signature Ψ) display a style and character that soon became typical of the mint at Antioch. The portrait head is smaller than heretofore, and generally in fairly high relief. The features, while markedly idealized, are evidently those of Antiochus III's maturer years. We should note the changes which have taken place in the delineation of his features since Series I and II. The nose is now longer and more pointed, the cheek-bone more prominent, the thinning of the hair at the corner of the forehead is lightly indicated, while, below, the bony structure of the head and brow is made more evident. We have found the same general changes—but usually more realistically carried out—taking place at Seleucia on the Tigris,⁹⁴ Susa,⁹⁵ Ecbatana,⁹⁶ and Nisibis⁹⁷ between *circa* 210 and 205 B. C. The issues of Antioch are distinguished by the greater idealism of the portraits. At this mint the obverses of the tetradrachms are, henceforth, invariably surrounded by the fillet border, while the drachms still retain the dotted circle. At the beginning of Series III, some uncertainty was manifested with regard to the most acceptable arrangement of the diadem-ends. Hitherto at Antioch, under Antiochus III, the ends have been depicted as hanging loosely.⁹⁸ In Series III, on the tetradrachms, they are found in no less than four different arrangements: 1) both ends hang straight, ζ ; 2) one end is pendant, the other rises in an 'S'-like curve, γ ; 3) one end hangs straight, the other falls in a curve over the shoulder, δ ; 4) one end flies upward, the other falls in a curve over the shoulder, η . On the drachms, 1) at first alternates with 3), until both finally give way to 4). By about the middle of the issue, the fourth ar-

⁹² Cf. PLATES IX, 9-12; X, 1-9, 13-14; XI, 1-2.

⁹³ In E. S. M., p. 147, the writer, misled by the curious portrait on the obverse, tentatively suggested that the coin might belong to a mint in northern Mesopotamia. Since then, the coin itself was found to be in the Metropolitan Museum, preserved with other objects from Sardes. This fact offered a most welcome opportunity to study the coin at first hand, instead of by a mere reproduction in the Sardes publications. It was at once evident from its fabric, that the coin could not have been struck at Nisibis, but at Antioch. The flan, for instance, is smaller and not so flat on both sides as is so characteristic of the issues of Nisibis, while its reverse is faintly cupped, as is equally typical of the Antiochene issues, but not of those of Nisibis.

⁹⁴ E. S. M., Pl. xix, 8, 15.

⁹⁵ E. S. M., Pl. xxxi, 4-6.

⁹⁶ E. S. M., Pl. xlii, 5-12.

⁹⁷ Cf. PLATE IX.

⁹⁸ The only exceptions are Nos. 1049-50, PLATE XXVI, 17-18.

rangement has won out on the tetradrachms and continues unchanged throughout the remainder of the reign.

As indicated above, the connection between Series III and the preceding issues of Antioch consists in the continuation in office of the magistrate Υ . He is followed by an official who signs himself Δ on Nos. 1091-3, PLATE XXIX, 13-19, and who may have been the same person whose monogram Φ appeared on No. 1072 in Series II. Then, for the first time at Antioch, we get symbols alone marking the coins, such as ANCHOR, TRIPOD, ROSE (Nos. 1094-7, PLATES XXIX, 20-1 and XXX, 1-6), followed by more issues supervised by Δ in conjunction with Φ or H (Nos. 1098-9, 1102-4, PLATE XXX, 7-8, 12-15). These alternate with BOW IN GORYTUS and letters AΣK, Nos. 1100-1, PLATE XXX, 9-11, or with the monogram $\Gamma\Phi$, No. 1105, PLATES XXX, 16 and XXXI, 1. These several issues may not have followed, one after the other, in the sequence indicated, but some may have been coined simultaneously.

It is perhaps possible that the gold octodrachm No. 1097, PLATE XXX, 5-6, may have followed soon after the issue of the gold octodrachm No. 1074 and so, like it, have been made from the Median gold taken by Antiochus from the great temple in Ecbatana. On the other hand, there is a very considerable difference in style between these two coins, and this strongly suggests that there must have been an interval between their respective striking. Perhaps No. 1097 was coined on the return of Antiochus from the east in 205/4 B. C. and in celebration of his widely publicized victories in Bactria and Afghanistan. It has also been suggested⁹⁴ that this ostentatious issue of octodrachms may have been brought out after the conquest (201 B. C.) of the Egyptian provinces of Phoenicia and Palestine, where Ptolemaic gold octodrachms had long been coined and freely circulated. But arguments for the earlier date seem to be supported by the tetradrachm No. 249,⁹⁵ struck at the other capital, Seleucia on the Tigris, sometime between *circa* 209 and 205 B. C. Not only is this tetradrachm so similar in general appearance to the octodrachm that it might well have been copied from it, but it also is marked with the symbol ROSE, whose form is identical with the symbol on the octodrachm. Obvious differences in fabric and die-cutting, however, prove the coins to have been struck at separate mints.

Bronze coins accompanying this series were at first limited to 'halves' (Nos. 1093 and 1095) and bore the same types used in Series I and II. They are marked with the monogram Δ or the symbol ANCHOR, thus associating them with the tetradrachms and drachms Nos. 1091-2 and 1094. At some point within the period of Series III, however, an entirely new coinage in bronze was brought out. Their obverses still bear the accustomed laureate head of Apollo, at times strikingly similar in style and conception to preceding issues. The types of the reverses, however, have now been completely and significantly changed. On the largest denomination (No. 1107, PLATE XXXI, 3-4), an elephant stands to the right,

⁹⁴ *Amer. Journ. of Num.*, Vol. LI, 1917, p. 13.

⁹⁵ *E. S. M.*, pp. 93-4, Pl. xix, 15.

surmounted by its *mahout*. Behind it, is placed a tall tripod. In type, these pieces are not unlike a coinage produced, at about this very period, in the Median capital, Ecbatana.⁹⁶ These latter can be easily distinguished by their slightly divergent style, by the fact that they come in three denominations,⁹⁷ are always struck on bevelled flans,⁹⁸ and on their obverses always present the diademed head of Antiochus himself instead of the laureate Apollo employed at Antioch. Many of the Antiochene specimens seem to have found their way to Persia where, probably at Ecbatana, they were countermarked with the symbol of that mint, i. e., the horse's head, always applied to the coin just beneath the elephant.⁹⁹ Some of our coins have been countermarked with an anchor,¹⁰⁰ but this seems to have been done in the west, rather than in the east. These similar issues of Ecbatana and Antioch are probably contemporaneous; and we have had reason to believe that the former were coined about 205-200 B. C.¹⁰¹ As at Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa, Ecbatana, Nisibis, etc., so also at Antioch, the sudden appearance of the elephant on the bronze coins of Antiochus III commemorates the successful outcome of his great expedition into the east and his triumphant return, accompanied by many war-elephants wrested from his adversaries.

Judging by style and fabric, the 'quadriples' were accompanied by a small issue of 'doubles' (No. 1108, PLATE XXXI, 5) having a similar Apollo head on the obverse and a large tripod on the reverse. The smaller denominations, Nos. 1109-15, PLATE XXXI, 6-13, have only the elephant on the reverse, facing to right or to left. The Apollo head on the obverse is sometimes as on preceding issues, sometimes provided with long curls and with his hair done in a knot at the back. The latter pieces are very like certain contemporaneous coins of Seleucia on the Tigris,¹⁰² but the Antiochene weights are lower, and the coins themselves are struck on the typical, straight-edged, dumpy flans of late third century Antioch, and not on the bevelled blanks favored at the Babylonian mint. In fact, so typically Antiochene are the flans and general aspect of all these bronze coins, that we may feel practically certain of their origin in that mint. It should be noted, however, that apparently no specimens have as yet turned up in the excavations of Antioch; although an example does exist in the Adib Collection formed in that city.

SERIES IV, c. 200-187 B. C.

1116. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. One diadem-end rises up behind head; the other falls over shoulder. Fillet border.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos* as before. In outer l. field, BOW IN GORYTUS (string on r.).

⁹⁶ E. S. M., Nos. 632-7, Pl. xlviii, 2-11.

⁹⁷ In contrast to the single denomination at Antioch.

⁹⁸ In contrast to the straight-edged flans used at Antioch.

⁹⁹ E. S. M., pp. 226-7, No. 656, Pl. xlix, 12-14.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. No. 1107 γ, ε and θ.

¹⁰¹ E. S. M., pp. 219-22.

¹⁰² E. S. M., No. 253, Pl. xx, 2-3.

α) Gotha, gr. 17.04. PLATE XXXI, 14; β) Helbing Sale, Oct. 1927, No. 3127, Pl. 59 (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 962, Pl. 34), gr. 16.86; γ) Vogel Coll., Hess Sale, March 1929, No. 386, Pl. 10, gr. 16.80; δ) Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 580, Pl. xvii, gr. 16.80; ε) London (Gardner, p. 26, No. 27, Pl. viii, 7), gr. 16.96; ζ) Zygman Coll., gr. 16.90; η) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2955, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 17.06. PLATE XXXI, 15. Paris No. 378 and Glasgow Nos. 10 and 11 may belong here, or under No. 1100. The writer unfortunately failed to ask for casts of these particular pieces. α is from the same obverse die as No. 1102 β-δ and No. 1105 α; ζ and η are from a single obverse die.

1117. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, QUIVER.

α) Copenhagen (Thorvaldsen Museum, No. 1677), gr. 16.90; β) Zygman Coll., gr. 16.70; γ) Milan. PLATE XXXI, 16; δ) Brussels, gr. 16.97. PLATE XXXI, 17. β and γ are from the same obverse die.

1118. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, CORNUCOPIAE.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 373), gr. 16.90; β-γ) Turin (Fabretti, Nos. 4583-4. Cf. Lavy Coll., No. 2563), grs. 16.98 and 16.85; δ) Ratto Sale, June 1929, No. 504, Pl. xxiii (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 964, Pl. 34), gr. 17.02; ε) Florence; ζ) Zygman Coll., gr. 16.69; η) Newell, gr. 16.89. PLATE XXXI, 18. δ-η are from a single obverse die. On the reverse die used for δ and ε, the CORNUCOPIAE has been recut over a preceding BOW IN GORYTUS (No. 1116).

1119. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, HORSE'S HEAD.

α) H. de Morgan Coll., Serrure Sale, March 1914, No. 116, Pl. iv, gr. 16.93; β) Newell, gr. 16.63. PLATE XXXI, 19.

1120. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, ♂.

Newell, gr. 16.73. PLATE XXXII, 1.

1121. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ♀.

α) Turin (Fabretti, No. 4592), gr. 17.01; β) Newell, gr. 16.96. PLATE XXXII, 2. α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

1122. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ♂.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 991, Pl. 36, gr. 16.67. PLATE XXXII, 3.

1123. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, below Apollo's arrow, ANCHOR.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 31, No. 14, Pl. lxxv, 10), gr. 16.84; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 965, Pl. 34 (= Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 753, Pl. xxi), gr. 17.15; γ) Newell (Consul Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4056, Pl. lii), gr. 16.85. PLATE XXXII, 4. β and γ are from the same pair of dies.

1124. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. No monogram or symbol.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 993, Pl. 36, gr. 17.03; β) Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 582, Pl. xviii, gr. 17.03; γ) Newell, gr. 17.04. PLATE XXXII, 5; δ) Cumberland-Clark Coll., Sotheby Sale, Jan. 1914, No. 263, Pl. vii (= Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 583, Pl. xviii), gr. 16.72; ε) Gotha, gr. 16.84. PLATE XXXII, 7; ρ) Copenhagen, gr. 16.98; ζ) Zygmant Coll., gr. 16.73; η-θ) Turin (Fabretti, Nos. 4593-4), grs. 17.03 and 16.52; ι) Berlin, gr. 17.01. PLATE XXXII, 6.
 δ and ε are from the same pair of dies.

1125. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of somewhat divergent style.

Similar. In outer l. field, CORNUCOPIAE above K.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 963, Pl. 34, gr. 17.16. PLATE XXXII, 8.

1126. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ in two perpendicular lines to r. and l. of elephant standing to l. In the exergue, ΔΙ or ΙΑ or Μ.

α) Newell, gr. 1.64; β) Newell, gr. 2.29. PLATE XXXII, 9; γ) London (Gardner, p. 29, No. 56, Pl. ix, 12). PLATE XXXII, 10.

1127. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. Above elephant, Ξ or Φ. In the exergue, ΔΙ.

α) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 2.49; β) Newell, gr. 1.97. PLATE XXXII, 11; γ) Newell, gr. 1.79; δ) Newell, gr. 1.80. PLATE XXXII, 12.

Series IV constitutes a mere continuation of Series III, but, on the whole, exhibiting somewhat less careful workmanship and a slight deterioration in style. The features of Antiochus at times hint of advancing age, in spite of the marked tendency at Antioch to keep the portrait idealistically young. Aside from this, the design and fabric of the silver coins are exactly as in the preceding issue. The magistrates sign themselves either in monogram or by symbol. The ANCHOR (No. 1123, PLATE XXXII, 4) had appeared as a symbol also in Series III (No. 1094, PLATE XXIX, 20-1), but there the style is earlier and much finer, while the symbol is always placed *above* the arrow in Apollo's hand. Following the tetradrachms Nos. 1116-23, has been placed a group (assembled under the single No. 1124, PLATE XXXII, 5-7) which contains numerous tetradrachms unmarked by any symbol or monogram whatsoever. To judge by their somewhat dry style and comparatively low relief they belong to the time of this latest series of issues at Antioch. Most of their portraits are of the type prevalent in Series IV, with the exception of the head on PLATE XXXII, 7, whose angularity and general ugliness is *sui generis*. The fabric of this particular piece, however, is typically Antiochene of the period, and the coin must therefore be assigned to that mint.

The assignment of the tetradrachm No. 1125, PLATE XXXII, 8, to Antioch

must remain tentative for the present. The larger size of the fillet border, the character and type of the portrait, the form and arrangement of the diadem-ends, and the die-cutting all appear slightly at variance with the preceding coins which are definitely assignable to Antioch. But if not coined at Antioch, there is little about the piece which points clearly to any other one mint. The form of the diadem-ends on the obverse, and the style and character of the Apollo figure on the reverse, however, could perhaps be profitably compared with one of the final issues (PLATE XXXVIII, 15) assigned to Apamea. On the other hand, the use of a symbol and the form of the monogram are not otherwise known at Apamea, while at Antioch they are.

The division between the later bronze coins of Series III, and those here assigned to Series IV, is purely arbitrary. Those with the inscription arranged in two horizontal lines, the one above, the other beneath the elephant, have been assigned to Series III. In style and fabric, they seem to be closer to the bronze issues of Series II. The bronze coins of identical types but with the inscription arranged in two perpendicular lines, one to right, the other to left of the elephant, have been given to Series IV. Style and fabric of these pieces, too, point to the Antioch mint, although we possess no record of any specimens having as yet been found in the excavations of that city. Their usual provenance, however, seems to be Syria.

On PLATE XXXII, 13 has been added a drachm whose style seems too poor for the mint of Antioch. The symbol in the field, however, is the *TRIPOD* which marks certain tetradrachms (No. 1096, PLATE XXX, 2-4) of Antioch. Possibly the drachm is an ancient imitation, as it does not have the appearance of a regular issue of our mint.

As pointed out in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. LI, 1917, pp. 15-16, the Antiochene issues of Antiochus III find their direct continuation under his son and successor, Seleucus IV, in prolific issues of tetradrachms and drachms which bear the name and portrait of the latter king.

C. APAMEA

The third important foundation of Seleucus I in Syria was Apamea, in the upper Orontes valley. From early in its history, perhaps even from the very beginning of its existence, Apamea became the great military depôt and arsenal of the Seleucid army. Here were kept the war-elephants¹⁰⁸ upon which, at first, so

¹⁰⁸ According to Strabo XVI, 2, 10, five hundred elephants and over thirty thousand mares were at one time kept here. Probably it was only in the time of the first Seleucus that any such number of elephants were at the disposal of the Seleucid kings. Diodorus XX, 113, 4, states that Seleucus had some four hundred and eighty of the great beasts in the battle of Ipsus. Twenty years later a large number, if not all, of the elephants which then remained to Seleucus was taken over by his assassin, Ptolemy Ceraunus. Such others as may have stayed behind at Apamea were probably captured by the rebels soon after the accession of Antiochus I. By 277 B. C., Antiochus was glad to secure a modest twenty elephants from Bactria; and of these, he had only sixteen with which to meet the Gauls. We hear nothing of elephants in the wars of Antiochus II, Seleucus II and III. According to Polybius V, 79, 13, Antiochus III had one hundred and two elephants at the battle of Raphia in 217 B. C. One of the reasons for the attempted invasion of India by Antiochus III,

much reliance was placed and which were ever a source of pride to both king and people. Here were assembled vast military stores of all descriptions; here were barracks and military training schools, factories and workmen for the production and repair of all necessary gear. Here, finally, it became the practice of Seleucid kings to gather their armies preparatory to a forthcoming campaign.¹⁰⁴ There seems every likelihood that sooner or later mere convenience would have caused the establishment at Apamea of a local mint, which should furnish at least part of the 'sinews of war' so vital to the even and continued functioning of such an establishment. To an early mint at Apamea, may perhaps be assigned the following coins.

SELEUCUS I

At APAMEA, 300-280 B. C.

1128. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Elephant standing to r. Circle of dots.
Straight edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Bridled head of a horned horse to l. above a
Seleucid anchor.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll.); β) Walcher de Molthein Coll., No. 2869, Pl. xxiv; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 7.59; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 60, Pl. ii, 14), gr. 7.80. PLATE XXXIII, 1; ε-ζ) London, (Gardner, p. 5, Nos. 49-50, Pl. ii, 7); ζ) London (countermark: Heracles' head l. ?), ↑, gr. 9.75. PLATE XXXIII, 3; η) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 9, No. 30, Pl. lxiii, 15), gr. 8.36. PLATE XXXIII, 2; θ) American University, Beyrouth; ι-κ) H. Seyrig (one from Antioch, one from Aleppo).

Broadly speaking, the style and fabric of these pieces are Syrian. Although no actual specimens were found either in the excavations of Antioch or in those of Seleucia Pieria, one example was purchased by M. Seyrig at Antioch and another at Aleppo. A third specimen exists in the collection of the American University at Beyrouth, and so was doubtless found somewhere in Syria. The coins themselves will not fit into the known issues of Antioch, or of Seleucia Pieria. Granting the probable Syrian origin of No. 1128, there remains only Apamea—for its types are as appropriate to that great military centre as they are inappropriate to Laodicea, the only other Syrian city possessing a mint at this time. Actually, the types would seem to glorify the two most spectacular and cherished branches of the Seleucid army, the elephants and the cavalry. These, in particular, we know from Strabo were housed at Apamea. Thus, it may here be of some significance that the elephant depicted on our coin is not supplied with the customary horns, and so may be intended as the representation of an actual war-elephant and not merely as an abstract symbol of Seleucid power and majesty. On the other hand, the horse's head on the reverse does appear to be horned, though not in every case clearly so. Hence this type, accompanied as it is by Seleucus' name, may allude not so much

may have been his hope of securing a new supply of war-elephants. Of such, he did not bring back more than about one hundred and fifty.

¹⁰⁴ For the reign of Antiochus III, cf. Polybius V, 45, 7; 50, 1; 58, 2; 59, 1.

to the cavalry stationed at Apamea as to the famous horse of Seleucus, or to the fact that the latter commenced his career in the mounted body-guard of the great Alexander.

It is interesting to note that these same two types, the hornless elephant and the horned horse's head, appeared again soon after on the silver coinage issued from the mint at Pergamum during the few months (summer of 281 to early in 280 B. C.) that this city acknowledged the rule of Seleucus following the defeat and death of Lysimachus.¹⁰⁵ Our bronze coins, in spite of the similarity of their types with those of the silver pieces, could not have been struck at Pergamum, as no bronze coins of similar style, fabric or weight from that mint are known. But if our proposed assignment of the bronze coins to Apamea be accepted, they could very well have been issued while Seleucus was assembling his forces around Apamea before launching his great attack on the kingdom of Lysimachus. Specimens brought to Pergamum by some of the Syrian soldiery might have suggested the types of the new issue of tetradrachms which commemorate the decisive triumph of Seleucus in the battle of Corupedium.

ANTIOCHUS I

GROUP A, c. 280 B. C.

1129. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. on sceptre and holding eagle in extended r. In inner l. field, Π. Beneath throne, CADUCEUS and Π.

Paris (Babelon, No. 104, Pl. iv, 3), gr. 16.55. PLATE XXXIII, 4.

1130. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, and, apparently, with the same monograms.

Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 135, No. 81), gr. 3.67.

1131. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Bow in its case. In inner r. field, Π (placed sideways).

Paris (Babelon, No. 189, Pl. v, 17), gr. 3.40. PLATE XXXIII, 5.

Some general connection would seem to exist between the tetradrachms No. 1129, PLATE XXXIII, 4, and No. 931, PLATE XVIII, 1—the latter perhaps struck at Antioch.¹⁰⁶ Their inscriptions are similarly arranged, and both coins

¹⁰⁵ Cf. below, Chapter IX, pp. 316-7, Nos. 1528-9, PLATE LXVIII, 9-10. Cf., also, *The Pergamene Mint under Philetaerus*, Num. Notes and Monogr. No. 76.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. above, p. 104.

possess a feature which is not common on the western issues of the Alexander type struck by Antiochus, namely, Zeus holds the *eagle* instead of the more customary Nike. Therefore, we suggest that No. 1129 is also from the Syrian district. This is further supported by the fact that the Seleucid Alexandrine issues of another great Syrian mint, Laodicea, invariably display the eagle, instead of Nike, in the right hand of Zeus.¹⁰⁷ As No. 931 is probably of Antioch, while Nos. 1202 to 1226 are certainly of Laodicea, Nos. 1129–30 would most plausibly be assigned to Apamea, a sister mint in Syria. The bronze 'unit' No. 1131, PLATE XXXIII, 5, bears a Heracles head closely similar in style to that on the silver, and is further connected with them by the identity of its monogram $\overline{\text{H}}$. The types of this bronze coin are certainly more appropriate for a military centre, such as Apamea, than for the strictly commercial cities of Antioch, Seleucia Pieria and Laodicea—where, furthermore, Heracles' types seldom or never occur on the bronze issues.¹⁰⁸

If our suggestion that these coins were struck at Apamea is correct, their issue must have been short-lived. The Alexandrine types of the silver show that these coins must have been struck early in the reign of Antiochus I, for at other mints they do not extend much, if any, beyond *circa* 278 B. C. But late in 280 or early in 279 B. C., Apamea joined the rebels, or may even itself have begun the revolt against Antiochus.¹⁰⁹ Consonant with this, is the fact that all three varieties are so rare that they are as yet known by single specimens, only. Hence, the coinage of Nos. 1129–31 must have come to an end shortly before, or just after, the close of the year 280 B. C.

GROUP B, after *c.* 277 B. C.

1132. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Tripod on shield.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Bow in its case.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 5.00. PLATE XXXIII, 6.

1133. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙ on r., ANTI on l. Bow in its case.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 17, No. 43), gr. 2.66; β) London, gr. 2.20; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 2.40. PLATE XXXIII, 7; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 190, Pl. v, 18), gr. 3.00. PLATE XXXIII, 8; ε) Adib Coll., Antioch, †, gr. 2.58.

1134. BRONZE HALF (or QUARTER ?).

Anchor on shield.

BA on r., AN on l. Arrow-point.

London, gr. 0.67. PLATE XXXIII, 9.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. below, Nos. 1202–26. PLATES XXXIX–XLI.

¹⁰⁸ At Antioch, Heracles first appears on late Seleucid coins in the reign of Antiochus IX. Coins such as Gardner, Pl. xvi, 10 or Babelon, Pl. xvii, 14, merely depict Alexander I Bala wearing the lion's skin of Heracles in imitation of the coinages of the king's namesake, Alexander the Great. At Seleucia and Laodicea, the type of Heracles does not occur at all.

¹⁰⁹ On this rebellion, cf. Tarn in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XLVI, 1926, pp. 155–162. For our ultimate source with regard to this revolt, see Charles Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris, 1900, No. 525.

Although nowhere specifically mentioned as having participated in the Syrian rebellion, it is most probable that Apamea was involved.¹¹⁰ The defection or loss of so important a military centre would be a serious matter for Antiochus, and may largely explain both the time required to suppress this revolt and the fact that the king, soon after, was forced to lean so heavily upon Babylonia and Bactria for military supplies.¹¹¹ But by 277 B. C., at the latest, the rebellion was finally suppressed. Perhaps, and this would not be surprising, the mint was not at once re-opened. Eventually, however, it would seem to have issued Nos. 1132-4, PLATE XXXIII, 6-9, described above.

The reverse type of the bow in its case would appear to connect Nos. 1132-3 with the preceding bronze 'unit' No. 1131, which we have had reason to assign to Apamea. The type is very rare in early Seleucid numismatics and does not recur until the reign of the second Seleucus.¹¹² The coins seem to be of Syrian provenance. Their style and fabric, however, are much cruder than those of contemporary Antiochene issues, among which they seem in no wise to fit. The tiny denomination, No. 1134, PLATE XXXIII, 9, has been collocated with them because of the shield-like device on its obverse, and because its style and fabric is similarly crude. Its reverse type of the arrow-point was probably copied from the preceding Antiochene issue No. 956, PLATE XIX, 23. The attribution of all these coins to Apamea is admittedly tentative and based only on rather tenuous evidence—but nothing in our present state of knowledge appears inimical to it.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

We possess the following small but homogeneous group of tetradrachms, bearing the portrait of the second Antiochus, which are very closely modelled on contemporaneous issues of Antioch. Less ably and artistically made, and therefore almost certainly not coined at Antioch itself, they are nevertheless so similar in general appearance that their mint cannot have been situated far away. Furthermore, specimens have appeared in north Syrian or Mesopotamian hoards,¹¹³ but not in others. In the nature of things, both Seleucia Pieria and Apamea are possibilities; but for reasons stated below, Apamea is the more likely mint.

¹¹⁰ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 157.

¹¹¹ Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 150 ff.

¹¹² E. S. M., Nos. 562-5, Pl. xli, 7-12.

¹¹³ Two in the Homs 1927 Hoard, one in Gejou's Mesopotamian Hoard.

SERIES I, c. 261-252 B. C.

1135. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In outer r. field, ? . In outer l. field, M (placed sideways).

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 888, Pl. 31, gr. 16.79. PLATE XXXIII, 10.

1136. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding, but now more worn and damaged.

Similar. In outer r. field, M. In outer l. field, A.

Newell (Homs 1927 Hoard), κ , gr. 16.77. PLATE XXXIII, 11.

1137. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of somewhat better style. One diadem-end hangs loosely; the other rises behind the head. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\Delta}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\Pi}$.

α) Commerce; β) London (Elliot), \uparrow , gr. 16.86. PLATE XXXIII, 12.
 α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1138. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding, but now in a damaged and very worn state.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\Pi}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\Delta}$.

α) Newell, κ , gr. 16.90. PLATE XXXIII, 13; β) Oxford (Ashmolean Museum), \uparrow , gr. 16.44; γ) Commerce. PLATE XXXIII, 14; δ) Newell (Homs 1927 Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 16.98. PLATE XXXIII, 15.
All are from the same obverse die, while β - δ are from a single reverse die.

1139. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\Sigma}$ or $\overline{\Delta}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\Pi}$. On α and β the first monogram has been recut over an earlier $\overline{\Delta}$.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 979, Pl. 35 (= Consul Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4055, Pl. liii, gr. 16.82, sic!), gr. 17.15; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.97. PLATE XXXIII, 16; γ) Naville Sale XVI, July 1933, No. 1447, Pl. 48 (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 887, Pl. 30), gr. 17.07; δ) Newell (Gejou), \nearrow , gr. 16.52; ϵ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 20, No. 3, Pl. lxiv, 11), gr. 16.98; ζ) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (J. Ward Coll., No. 780, Pl. xix), \nearrow , gr. 17.06. PLATE XXXIII, 17; η) Zyngman Coll., \rightarrow , gr. 16.60.
All are from a single obverse die. α and β are from one reverse die; γ - η from a second, and ζ from yet a third.

1140. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. Outer r. field, off flan. In outer l. field, $\overline{\Pi}$.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 362), gr. 4.10. PLATE XXXIII, 18; β) Poche Coll., Aleppo. PLATE XXXIII, 19.

1141. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner r. field, uncertain monogram. In outer l. field, uncertain symbol or monogram.

Copenhagen, gr. 17.05. PLATE XXXIV, 1.

The coins here described may be divided into two groups, according to the varying arrangement of the diadem-ends. At first, both ends (Nos. 1135-6, PLATE XXXIII, 10-11) fall loosely, but on the succeeding coins (Nos. 1137-41, PLATE XXXIII, 12-19), the further diadem-end rises behind the head in an 'S'-like curve. In this varying arrangement, our coins coincide with the contemporary issues of Antioch, where similarly we at first find the hanging ends (Nos. 965-6, PLATE XX, 12-14) followed by the single rising end (Nos. 970 ff., PLATES XX, 24-25 and XXI, 1-14). The style of our dies is feeble; the workmanship, mediocre. The obverse dies in particular are obviously but uninspired copies of those used at Antioch. They seem either to have been made of poor metal, or to have been continued in use for so long a time that practically all the known examples of these coins reveal their dies in bad repair, worn and damaged, when the coins were struck. This clearly points to a mint other than that of Antioch, where at this time the dies were of fine, strong style, excellently made and almost invariably retired before they had even started to become unsightly through wear or damage. These various points, as stated before, proclaim a mint other than that of Antioch, yet one situated near enough to the capital to fall under its immediate influence.

Because of its proximity, Seleucia Pieria might be suggested. But that mint seems not to have coined in silver between the reign of Seleucus I and the local issue brought out in the time of Alexander I Bala.¹¹⁴ Even in bronze we possess no really certain issues of Seleucia Pieria between the reigns of Antiochus I and IV. In any case, after Seleucus I,¹¹⁵ there would scarcely have been much reason to maintain two active mints for the coining of royal silver at both Seleucia and Antioch, situated as they were almost within sight of each other. Furthermore, this close proximity would surely have enabled Seleucia to secure from the near-by metropolis, a higher grade of die-cutters than the clumsy workmen who produced Nos. 1135-41. This is certainly true of later royal issues of Seleucia, which are no whit inferior artistically to the contemporary coinages of Antioch. Seleucia may therefore be eliminated.

The third Syrian city, Laodicea, must also be eliminated—for in the next section we learn that throughout all this time Laodicea was producing its own type of coin (PLATES XXXIX-XL). There seems no possible connection between these and the coins now under discussion. Thus Apamea alone remains. That city was sufficiently close to Antioch to fall readily under the influence of the latter's coin issues, while far enough away to be more or less dependent upon its own resources in the matter of die-cutters. All that we know of Apamea suggests that it

¹¹⁴ Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 884-5, Pl. xviii, 7.

¹¹⁵ In whose time the ultimate predominance of Antioch may still have remained in doubt.

was purely a military and manufacturing centre. Hence, it was unlikely to have possessed, at any given moment, either die-cutters of ability or persons of sufficiently discriminating taste to demand workmanship of a high order. At first the soldiery and workmen would hardly have been over-fastidious as to the artistic merit of their pay-money, provided its metallic quality and content were above suspicion. In the course of the succeeding issue, Apamea had secured engravers of greater ability.

SERIES II, c. 252-246 B. C.

1142. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. The Inscription and types as on Nos. 1137-41.
 diadem-ends are arranged as on Nos. 1137- In outer r. field, φ.
 41. Circle of dots.

α) Newell (Headlam Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1916, No. 435), ♂, gr. 16.62. PLATE XXXIV, 2; β) Vogel Coll., Hess Sale, March 1929, No. 384, Pl. 10, gr. 17.05; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.73. PLATE XXXIV, 3; δ) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), ↑, gr. 15.43; ε) The Hague, No. 6966, ↑, gr. 17.10; ϕ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.64. PLATE XXXIV, 4; ζ-η) Istanbul (Sardes 'Basis-hoard,' Nos. 385-6), grs. 16.92, 17.10.

α is from one obverse die; β and γ from a second; δ from a third; ε and ϕ from a fourth. ζ and η are from the same reverse die.

1143. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. No magistrate's monogram or letter present.

α) Commerce (Urfa 1924 Hoard); β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 883, Pl. 30, gr. 16.93. PLATE XXXIV, 5; γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 33, No. 24 ? As this cast was not numbered, there remains a slight uncertainty in its identification with the coins in the catalogue), gr. 17.09. PLATE XXXIV, 6; δ) Berlin, ↑, gr. 16.83; ε) Berlin, ↑, gr. 16.55. PLATE XXXIV, 7; ζ-ι) Istanbul (Sardes, 'Basis-hoard,' Nos. 387-91), grs. 16.90, 16.92, 16.82, 16.92, 16.62.

α and β are from one obverse die; γ may be from the same obverse die (but now in a very damaged condition) as No. 1142 β-γ; δ and ε are from the same obverse die as No. 1142 δ.

Series II is but the continuation of Series I, though for the most part produced by more efficient engravers. Some of these workmen may have been imported, although there still remains a tendency, first observable in Series I, to furnish the *alphas* of the inscriptions with a curved cross-bar: Α. The dates assigned to both Series I and II remain, for the present, more or less arbitrary.

It may be noticed that while one specimen of our present group turned up in the Urfa Hoard, no less than seven¹¹⁶ come from the Sardes 'Basis-Hoard.' That need not, and in fact cannot, mean that Nos. 1142-3 were coined in the capital of Lydia. Their style and fabric are not those of western Asia Minor but, rather, of Syria and the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Possibly the Sardes specimens had been carried westward by some detachment of troops transferred to Sardes from the military base at Apamea.

¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, the outbreak of war prevented the arrival of casts of these coins. Therefore, we cannot be absolutely certain that Sardes Nos. 387-91 are all examples of No. 1143. They might also be examples of Nos. 1307, 1309-11, 1406, whose exergual monograms happened to be off flan.

INTERREGNUM

c. 246-244 B. C.

1144. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of the elderly Antiochus I to r. The diadem-ends are arranged as on Nos. 1137-43. Circle of dots.

ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. on bow and holding arrow in extended r. No monogram or letter in field.

- α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 378, Pl. 30, gr. 16.57; β) London (Gardner, p. 10, No. 22, Pl. iii, 7), gr. 17.04; γ) Newell (Gejou), ↑, gr. 16.77; δ) The Hague, No. 6897, ↑, gr. 16.90; ε) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2938, Pl. lxxxv, ↑, gr. 16.81. PLATE XXXIV, 8; ς) Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1036, Pl. 16, gr. 16.76; ζ) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), ↑, gr. 15.07; η) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 15, No. 28, Pl. lxiv, 4), gr. 16.37; θ) Paris (Babelon, No. 191, Pl. v, 19 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3277, Pl. cxviii), gr. 17.00. PLATE XXXIV, 9; ι) Jameson Coll., No. 1670, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 17.01; κ) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 647, Pl. xvii, gr. 16.75; λ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.69. PLATE XXXIV, 10; μ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 877, Pl. 30, gr. 16.97; ν) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.55. PLATE XXXIV, 11; ξ) Mrs. E. T. Newell, ↑, gr. 17.06; ο) Paris (Babelon, No. 192), gr. 17.00.

α-ε are from one obverse die; ς-θ from a second; ι-λ from a third and μ-ξ from a fourth.

1145. BRONZE UNIT.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Inverted anchor, flanked by caps of the Dioscuri. In inner r. field, Α.

- α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 17, No. 44, Pl. lxiv, 7), gr. 4.57. PLATE XXXIV, 12; β) Antioch excavations, ↑, gr. 4.28. PLATE XXXIV, 13; γ) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo).

Of similar style and fabric to Nos. 1142-3 is this issue in the name of Antiochus Soter. To be noted are: the arrangement of the diadem-ends, the die-positions, the slight crudity displayed in the cutting of the reverse dies and the somewhat clumsy and uneven lettering of the inscriptions. Like the last issue under Antiochus II (No. 1143), No. 1144 bears no magistrate's letter or monogram. Specimens of the present coins come frequently from Syrian sources, while some have actually been found in Syrian or Mesopotamian hoards.¹¹⁷ Intimately associated with these tetradrachms by its style and inscription (ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ANTIOXOY), is the scarce little bronze coin No. 1145, PLATE XXXIV, 12-13. But, unlike the silver, the bronze does bear a magistrate's monogram, Α, and this same monogram occurs again later and on coins which can only be assigned to Apamea.

The entire group of silver and bronze, Nos. 1144-5, must have been issued after the death of Antiochus I,¹¹⁸ both because of their style and because of their peculiar inscription. A reasonable explanation cannot otherwise be made for the absence of the royal title and the presence of the epithet. Further than this, and by direct comparison with the life-time issues of Antiochus II at Apamea, our coins are

¹¹⁷ One in the Homs 1934 Hoard; one in Gejou's Mesopotamian Hoard, and two in Dunne's Mesopotamian Hoard.

¹¹⁸ As already pointed out by Babelon, *loc. cit.*, p. liv and Beloch IV², I, p. 369, footnote 3.

nearest in style and appearance to the very latest of his Apamean coinages. Hence, their date of issue was probably at some period after *circa* 250 B. C. Several things about these coins, for instance their posthumous portrait of Antiochus I, their exceptional inscription, their late date, etc., suggest that there must have been some very special reason why Apamea should have struck these curious pieces. Taking everything into consideration, the most appropriate time for their coinage would seem to have been the politically agitated and extremely uncertain period which followed the sudden death at Ephesus of Antiochus II.

It will be recalled¹¹⁹ that when the news reached Syria, Berenice, the second wife of Antiochus, was residing at Antioch with her infant son. She immediately acted to secure the throne for the latter. For it had been stipulated in the recent treaty of peace between Antiochus II and Ptolemy II, sealed by the marriage of Berenice and Antiochus, that any son borne to the union was to be considered the rightful heir to the Seleucid throne. But the adherents of Laodice, first wife of Antiochus II, were also ambitious and a serious revolt broke out at Antioch which eventually cost the lives of both Berenice and her little son, and brought about the invasion of Syria by Ptolemy III Euergetes at the head of a powerful army. During these months of suspense the authorities at Apamea (so near to the scene of trouble) must have been uncertain of what course to pursue. Should they openly acknowledge Antiochus II's eldest son by Laodice, Seleucus II, still in distant Asia Minor, and so brave the imminent danger of an Egyptian attack? Or should they espouse the cause of Berenice and her child, a precarious course if help from Egypt did not arrive in time? So far as the coinage is concerned, the dilemma was apparently side-stepped by the device of issuing money bearing the portrait and name of the divine Antiochus Soter, grandparent to both rivals, Seleucus II as well as Berenice's child. Since at least four obverse and ten reverse dies were used for the production of these tetradrachms, the duration of their coinage must have been upwards of a year. Thus Apamea contrasts with Antioch, whose mint seems not to have functioned at all¹²⁰ between the death of Antiochus II and the recapture of the city about 244 B. C. That, however, is hardly surprising as the capital was in a state of serious turmoil until it was finally taken over by the Egyptian forces led by Euergetes in person. At Apamea, meanwhile, other conditions seem to have prevailed. There seems to be little reason to doubt that the city was dominated by the Seleucid soldiery permanently garrisoned there and in the regions immediately contiguous to the city.¹²¹ The coinage suggests that, politically, they marked time, awaiting the outcome of events before openly declaring for either of the factions. They themselves may have been divided in their sentiments. The arrival of Euergetes and his Egyptian army in Syria, and the continued absence of Seleucus II, probably induced Apamea eventually to side with the former. Certainly our meagre historical sources tell of no battle or siege of Apamea, but picture Euergetes'

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 121.

¹²⁰ See above, p. 121.

¹²¹ I. e., in adjacent military foundations, such as Larissa, etc.



advance from Antioch to Seleucia on the Tigris as a sort of glorified military parade. When Apamea did submit to the Egyptian, all coinage of Seleucid type ceased at its mint immediately.

SELEUCUS II

REIGNED IN APAMEA, 244-226 B. C.

1146. TETRADRACHM.


Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Diadem-ends hang loosely. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., resting l. elbow on tripod, holding arrow in extended r. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field, .

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.28; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 257, Pl. vii, 5), gr. 16.90. PLATE XXXV, 1; γ) *Arethuse, Supplem. Comm.* I, 1924, p. 33, No. 596. Illustrated.
α and β are from the same pair of dies.

1147. STATER.



Similar.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Apollo stands to l., resting l. on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, .

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 23, No. 2, Pl. lxiv, 18), gr. 8.49. PLATE XXXV, 2.

1148. TETRADRACHM.



Similar.

Inscription and type as on No. 1146. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field, .

α) London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 7), ↑, gr. 16.37; β) Munich, ↑, gr. 16.80; γ) Poche Coll., Aleppo. PLATE XXXV, 3; δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 15.94; ε) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9256, Pl. 336, 4), ↑, gr. 16.91. PLATE XXXV, 4.
α, β, ε are from the same obverse die as No. 1146 γ. γ and δ are struck from another pair of dies.

1149. TETRADRACHM.



From the same die as the preceding.

Similar. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field, .

Istanbul ('Pot Hoard,' Sardes. *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 383, Pl. i), gr. 16.90.

1150. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but one diadem-end now rises behind head. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field, .

α) Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 914, Pl. 32), gr. 16.53; β) Newell (Pozzi Coll., Neville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2947, Pl. lxxxvi), ↑, gr. 16.74. PLATE XXXV, 5.
α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1151. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but with flying diadem-ends. Circle of dots.

Similar. In inner r. field, ΑΠ (placed sideways). In outer l. field, Α.

α) Gotha, gr. 16.55; β) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. II, Part I, No. 364, Pl. xviii), ↑, gr. 16.81. PLATE XXXV, 6.
α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1152. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΙΠ (placed sideways). In outer l. field, Α.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.49. PLATE XXXV, 7.

1153. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Γ. In outer l. field, Α.

α) London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 6), gr. 16.79; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 184, No. 52, Pl. iii, 6), ↑, gr. 16.82; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.24; δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 12.74 (piece broken out); ε) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), gr. 17.05. PLATE XXXV, 8; ς) Naville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2789, Pl. lxxvii (= Brandis Coll., Canessa Sale, May 1922, No. 452, Pl. xxi), gr. 15.64; ζ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.78. PLATE XXXV, 9; η) American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.3.
α-ε are from the same obverse die as Nos. 1151-2. ς is from the same obverse die as the following.

1154. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1153 ς.

Similar. In outer r. field, Γ. In outer l. field, Α above Α.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.00; β) Florence; γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 24, No. 3), gr. 17.06. PLATE XXXV, 10.
β and γ are from a single reverse die.

1155. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots.

Same inscription and type as No. 1147. In outer r. field, Θ. In outer l. field, Α.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 926, Pl. 32, gr. 3.95. PLATE XXXV, 11.

BRONZE ISSUES

GROUP A

1156. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate, draped bust of Apollo to r., with bow and quiver at shoulder. Circle of dots. Both straight and bevelled edges are found.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath humped bull butting to l. In upper l. field, Α.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 26, No. 19), gr. 8.36; β) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 32, Pl. vi, 10); γ) Braunschweig (*Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 185, No. 58, Pl. iii, 9); δ-ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 7.61, and ↑, gr. 7.44. PLATE XXXV, 12-13; ς) Newell (countermarked: Athena head to l.), ↑, gr. 7.97. PLATE XXXV, 14; ζ-θ) Excavations of Antioch, →, gr. 8.80, →, gr. 7.87, ↗, gr. 6.86; ι-κ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938.

1157. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar, but without bow and quiver.

Same inscription. Forepart of humped bull butting to l. In upper l. field, Δ .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 26, No. 20, Pl. lxxv, 2), gr. 4.08; β) Berlin (*Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 185, No. 59, Pl. iii, 10), gr. 3.87. PLATE XXXV, 15.

1158. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Same inscription. Humped bull standing to l. To l. of bull, Δ .

α - β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 27, Nos. 21-2), grs. 4.57, 4.11; γ - δ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 281-2, Pl. vii, 15), grs. 3.65, 4.00; ϵ) Yale University Coll., \uparrow ; ζ - η) Excavations of Antioch, \uparrow , gr. 4.12, \nearrow , gr. 4.72, \uparrow , gr. 3.42; θ) Beyrouth Museum; ι) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.47; κ - λ) Berlin, \nearrow , grs. 4.03 and 3.935; μ) Berlin (*Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 185, No. 60, Pl. iii, 11), \nearrow , gr. 4.00. PLATE XXXV, 16; ν) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 33, Pl. vi, 12), gr. 5.06. PLATE XXXV, 17; ξ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; \omicron) H. Seyrig.

1159. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar. Bevelled edge.

Similar to No. 1156. In upper l. field, Δ . In the exergue, EY.

α) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), \searrow , gr. 6.43; β) London (Rogers Coll.), \searrow , gr. 9.15. PLATE XXXV, 18; γ) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo); δ) Adib Coll., Antioch, \searrow , gr. 8.20.

1160. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar to No. 1157, with the forepart of a bull to l. In the exergue, EY.

Adib Coll., Antioch, \searrow , gr. 3.69.

1161. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar to No. 1158. To l. of bull, Δ . Beneath bull, EY.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 27, No. 23), gr. 3.34; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 2.99; γ - δ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 279-80), grs. 3.55 and 4.05; ϵ) London (Gardner, p. 18, No. 34), gr. 4.03. PLATE XXXV, 19; ζ) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; η) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo).

GROUP B

1162. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Bevelled edge.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath mounted figure of king to l., wearing *causa*, diadem and flying mantle, and holding a couched spear. Beneath horse, Δ .

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 275, Pl. vii, 12), gr. 20.80; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 184, No. 56, Pl. iii, 7), \uparrow , gr. 23.86. PLATE XXXVI, 3; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 22.69. PLATE XXXVI, 1; δ) London (Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 651, Pl. xix), gr. 19.21. PLATE XXXVI, 2; ϵ) H. Seyrig (Beyrouth).

1163. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar. Straight edges.

Same inscription. Horse trotting to l.
Above horse, TWO STARS. Beneath horse,
Α.

α-β) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 276-7, Pl. vii, 13), grs. 4.00 and 3.50. PLATE XXXVI, 4;
 γ) Antioch excavations, ↑, gr. 4.17; δ) Zygmant Coll., ↗, gr. 4.03; ε) Sydenham Coll., ↑,
 gr. 4.25; ζ-θ) Dura excavations, ↗; ι-κ) Newell, ↗, gr. 3.75, ↑, gr. 3.71, ↑, gr. 3.54, ↑,
 gr. 3.54; λ) London (Gardner, p. 17, No. 16, Pl. vi, 5); μ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.
 Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 185, No. 57, Pl. iii, 8), ↑, gr. 3.445. PLATE
 XXXVI, 5; ν) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 3.535; ξ) American University, Beyrouth;
 ζ-ο) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; π) H. Seyrig (Beyrouth); ρ-υ) M. Cuinat,
 Beyrouth.

1164. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. Beneath horse, EY.

H. Seyrig (from Aleppo).

1165. BRONZE OCTUPLE.

Similar to No. 1162.

Similar to No. 1162. Beneath horse, Π.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 25, No. 8), gr. 23.59. PLATE XXXVI, 6.

1166. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 1163.

Similar to No. 1163. Beneath horse, Π.

α) Antioch excavations, gr. 4.99; β) Adana Museum, ↑, gr. 4.89; γ-δ) Berlin, ↑, grs. 3.34
 and 4.04; ε) Berlin, gr. 3.40. PLATE XXXVI, 7; ζ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III,
 p. 25, No. 13), gr. 3.47. PLATE XXXVI, 8.

1167. BRONZE UNIT.

Diademed, bearded and draped bust of
Seleucus II to r. Circle of dots.ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath.
Pegasus flying to l.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 278, Pl. vii, 14), gr. 4.70; β) London (Gardner, p. 19, No. 39, Pl.
 vi, 16); γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 27, No. 24), gr. 4.44; δ) Antioch excavations,
 ↑, gr. 3.14; ε) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; ζ-θ) H. Seyrig (one from Aleppo); ι)
 Newell, ↑, gr. 4.33. PLATE XXXVI, 9.

1168. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. Beneath Pegasus, EY.

H. Seyrig (from Hama).

GROUP C

1169. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Draped bust of Athena to r., wearing
crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of dots.ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Winged Nike standing to l., holding palm
branch in l. and wreath in extended r. In
inner l. field, Α.

α-γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 8, Nos. 19-21), grs. 10.27, 7.65, 6.35; δ-ε) Anti-
 oach excavations, ↗, grs. 10.03, 8.05; ζ) Dura excavations, ↗; η-θ) Vatican Coll.; ι)
 Berlin, gr. 9.245; κ) Sydenham Coll., ↑, gr. 7.95; λ-ξ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 33-6, Pl. i, 11),

grs. 7.20, 8.80, 9.10, 7.80; o-π) Newell, ↑, grs. 8.24, 7.56. PLATE XXXVI, 10; ρ) Newell, λ, gr. 7.36; σ) American University, Beyrouth; τ-υ) Antioch excavations 1937 and 1938; φ-χ) H. Seyrig (one from Aleppo, one from Antioch).

1170. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, ♂ above A.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 8, No. 22, Pl. lxiii, 13), gr. 6.80. PLATE XXXVI, 11; β) American University, Beyrouth.

1171. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, ♂ above EY.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 4.91 (corroded); β) Oxford, λ, gr. 6.76.

1172. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, ♂.

α-β) Tarsus excavations (countermarked: anchor in circular depression); γ) Berlin (Morel Coll. Same countermark as on α-β), gr. 9.99. PLATE XXXVI, 14; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 7.485. PLATE XXXVI, 12; ε) Yale Coll., λ, gr. 9.255. PLATE XXXVI, 13; ρ) London (Rogers Coll. Countermark as on α-β); ρ) Newell, ↑, gr. 7.81; η) Newell (countermark: horse to r. in circular depression), ↑, gr. 6.46. PLATE XXXVI, 15.

1173. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ♂.

London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 6.06.

1174. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, A.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 37), gr. 6.70; β-γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 7, No. 17-8), grs. 6.90, 8.36.

1175. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar, except that Nike rests l. hand on shield adorned with a Seleucid anchor.
In inner l. field, A. In outer l. field, ○ (?).

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 8, No. 26), gr. 7.26. PLATE XXXVI, 16.

1176. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, A or R (the letter or monogram is sometimes extremely faint).

α) Tarsus excavations; β-γ) Newell, ↑, grs. 10.10 and 7.91. PLATE XXXVI, 18; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 5.96; ε) London (Gardner, p. 4, No. 43, Pl. ii, 4), gr. 9.27; ρ) Paris (Babelon, No. 41, Pl. i, 13), gr. 7.70; ρ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 8, No. 27), gr. 7.94. PLATE XXXVI, 17; η-θ) Dealer in Antioch.

1177. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, ♂.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 8, No. 28), gr. 5.83. PLATE XXXVI, 19; β) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), ↑, gr. 7.28. PLATE XXXVI, 20.

1178. BRONZE UNIT.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r., as on
No. 1163.

Inscription and horse to l. as on No. 1163.
Beneath horse, SHIELD embossed with Se-
leucid anchor.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 26, No. 14), gr. 2.59. PLATE XXXVI, 21; β)
H. Seyrig (from Antioch).

Seleucus II recovered the greater part of Syria, including Apamea but not Seleucia Pieria, from Euergetes sometime in 244/3 B. C. A considerable number of gold, silver and bronze coins now appear at Apamea, mostly marked with the signature Δ . This same monogram had first occurred on the little bronze coin No. 1145 struck in the name of Antiochus Soter. The gold stater, the silver tetradrachms and drachm, bear the same types as at Antioch. Their style is more individual, although not so good as that found on the coins struck at the capital. The issues as a whole were probably of smaller extent, as evidenced by the fact that it was found possible to continue in use certain obverse dies from issue to issue. At first the diadem-ends hang stiffly, as at Antioch (cf. PLATE XXII), but later become more wavy, once even assuming the position Ψ . The secondary monogram of the drachm No. 1155, Θ , is probably but another way of expressing the monogram $\frac{\alpha}{\beta}$ or $\frac{\gamma}{\delta}$ so commonly found on the tetradrachms. The unusual position of the letters AII on No. 1151, and the curious combination Γ II (difficult to conceive as the initials of a man's name) on No. 1152, suggest the possibility that we have here to do, not with initials, but with the numerals eighty-one and eighty-three. Such numerals could hardly be other than dates, and if reckoned from the Seleucid era would give the eminently possible years 232/1 and 230/29 B. C. But if AII and Γ II are dates, why not also $\frac{\alpha}{\beta}$ and $\frac{\gamma}{\delta}$, which could be read (as already suggested by Leake, *Numismatica Hellenica*, Kings, p. 24, note) OI or IO, OH or HO? These would furnish the years seventy-seven or seventy-eight, i. e., 236/5 or 235/4 B. C. Unfortunately for this most attractive theory, the combination $\frac{\alpha}{\beta}$ appears again on No. 1179 struck some ten years later in the reign of Seleucus III, 226/5-223 B. C.! Thus, whatever AII and Γ II may be, $\frac{\alpha}{\beta}$ can hardly indicate a date.

The accompanying bronze coins are more interesting than the silver. They may be divided into three main groups, here designated A, B, and C, of which B and C may have been contemporaneous. Group A, Nos. 1156-61, PLATE XXXV, 12-19, present a closely knit coinage of two denominations, characterized by an Apollo head on the obverse and a humped bull on the reverse. At first, the 'units' (Nos. 1157 and 1160, PLATE XXXV, 15) display on the reverse the forepart of the butting bull which appears in full on the 'doubles.' Later, the reverse type of the 'units' is changed to the humped bull standing quietly to the left. The butting bull represents a revival of a reverse type frequently found on the coins of the first Seleucus, the present king's great-grandfather and namesake. The reference is probably to the famous exploit of the founder of the dynasty who was said, single-handed, to have dominated the angry bull escaped from its attendants.¹²²

¹²² Cf. E. S. M., p. 19.

Perhaps the implication of the revived type suggests Seleucus II's own remarkable exploit in so swiftly recovering his ancestral heritage from the powerful Euergetes.

Curiously enough, many of the flans used for the 'doubles' of this issue have bevelled edges, while those of the 'units' have straight edges. Flans with bevelled edges were indeed the general rule in the eastern mints, but in Seleucid Syria¹²³ they were most exceptional until about the time of Antiochus IV, and did not become common there until the reign of Alexander I Bala. Our coins are definitely placed at Apamea by the monogram Δ which they bear.¹²⁴ Possibly some mint workmen had followed Seleucus II from Mesopotamia and Babylonia, the districts he had recovered from Euergetes before advancing into Syria. On the other hand, it may only have been the *process* which was temporarily introduced from the east. For it was doubtless easier and more expeditious to produce the larger flans of the 'doubles' by means of casting (a process implied by the presence of the bevelled edges), than by the particular process (whatever that may have been) heretofore generally used in the west for the manufacture of coin blanks.

Group B (Nos. 1162-8, PLATE XXXVI, 1-9) is rendered notable by the presence of 'octuples,'¹²⁵ an exceptional denomination in the West, where such large bronze coins were not issued until the reign of Antiochus IV. On the obverse is a fine portrait of Seleucus II, while on the reverse is a spirited representation of the king himself,¹²⁶ mounted on a prancing horse to left. This unusual type must commemorate some victorious campaign, or signify the high hopes prevailing at its outset. It seems, indeed, to be the Greek forerunner of later *profectio* types of the Roman imperial coinages. May we not associate our coins with the preparations for the great eastern expedition of Seleucus II, or with the actual departure of the king himself, as he set out for what he expected to be his glorious re-conquest of the east? In the same connection it may be remembered that the only other such issue of large bronze coins under Seleucus II was brought out at Ecbatana¹²⁷ for this same occasion. They bear the significant types of Dionysus, mythical conqueror of India, and the elephant, to the ancients peculiarly symbolic of the orient. Mints more appropriate than Apamea and Ecbatana could hardly have been selected for the issue of two such series of coins, intended both for commemoration and for use. Was not Apamea the central military base of the Seleucid empire where the principal contingents of the royal armies were trained and equipped, and whence they

¹²³ Exclusive of Phoenicia, of course, where Egyptian practices prevailed.

¹²⁴ This also renders untenable the suggestion of Imhoof-Blumer (*Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 186) that these coins, because of their type of the humped bull, were struck at Tralles in Lydia. The style and fabric of our coins is Syrian, not Lydian; while the absence from the group of any coins of Hierax, and the presence of coins of Seleucus III (No. 1179 below, for instance) are alike fatal to Imhoof-Blumer's suggested attribution.

¹²⁵ They have been named 'octuples' by analogy with the large bronze coins issued by Seleucus II at Ecbatana about this same time (Cf. E. S. M., No. 557). The recorded weights, in comparison with those of the accompanying 'units,' are rather low for 'octuples,' but the few known examples are somewhat worn. They might be 'sextuples,' instead.

¹²⁶ Erroneously called a Dioscurus by Babelon, *loc. cit.*, pp. lxvi and 37, No. 275.

¹²⁷ Cf. E. S. M., No. 557, Pl. xl, 19.

were wont to set out on their various campaigns? And was not Ecbatana, as the capital and metropolis of Media, the most obvious forward base of supplies for Seleucus II at this time, from which he eventually proceeded to meet the Parthian armies of Tiridates?

The accompanying units, Nos. 1163-4 and 1166, display a similar portrait of Seleucus II on the obverse, while on the reverse may be seen a horse, trotting to the left. Babelon has already made the pertinent suggestion¹²⁸ that this type may have some connection with the military depôt (*haras*) of Apamea. With this we are in complete accord, especially as we now know that the pieces in question were actually coined in that city. The trotting horse, which we shall find occurring again on the coins of Apamea (both as a type and a countermark), doubtless refers to the royal stud farms, remount stations, and cavalry training fields situated in and around that city. Above the animal two stars may be seen. In these Babelon would recognize¹²⁹ an indication that our horse is Cyllarus, one of the steeds of the Dioscuri. That may be so, but to us the stars seem connected, in some way, with the magistrate Δ , whose monogram is similarly associated with the caps of the Dioscuri on No. 1145.

Finally, the bronze 'units' Nos. 1167-8, PLATE XXXVI, 9, are connected with the preceding bronze issues just described by style and fabric, as well as by the presence of the characteristic magistrate's letters EY of No. 1168. Two specimens of No. 1167 were found in the excavations of Antioch, while two more are in M. Seyrig's collection, one purchased at Aleppo. The only known example of No. 1168 is also in M. Seyrig's cabinet and was purchased at Hama. Hence, such provenance records of these particular coins as we chance to possess, point to *Syria Seleucis* as their original home, and their assignment to Apamea is well supported. The bearded portrait of Seleucus II indicates a period during or just after the eastern expedition of that king. This dating (*circa* 230 B. C.?) is based on a certain issue of Ecbatana¹³⁰ which bears a very similar portrait of Seleucus and could have been struck at this juncture only. Just what significance the Pegasus type may possess, is difficult to say. The type is unique for Seleucid coins, and in Syria is found only on coins of the later Roman period, and then but rarely.¹³¹ Whether the flying Pegasus on coins produced at Apamea, the principal military arsenal of the Seleucid empire, could have any such connotation as does a similar design on certain Roman coins of Gallienus,¹³² is at best extremely uncertain. The type as used by Gallienus appears to have celebrated the speed and élan of his newly founded cavalry corps, to which many of his most notable successes were due. Similarly,

¹²⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. lxvi.

¹²⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. lxvi.

¹³⁰ E. S. M., Nos. 563-5, Pl. xli, 8-12.

¹³¹ Antiochia ad Hippum in the Decapolis employed a walking Pegasus as a type in the reign of Elagabalus (several specimens in the writer's collection), while Samosata in Commagene adopted the flying Pegasus, apparently to typify the Euphrates River, upon which it lay. On the other hand, it may be some astrological sign, or significant of some noted spring near-by. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, etc., p. 1. In this case, too, the Pegasus does not appear until the reign of Elagabalus.

¹³² Alföldi, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXXVII, 1927, pp. 198-212.

Seleucus, for the success of his Parthian campaign, must have depended largely upon the speed and excellence of his cavalry. And we know from Strabo that Apamea was a famous cavalry depôt. This fact is doubtless exemplified by the trotting horse types of Seleucus II and Antiochus III—and possibly also by the flying Pegasus of Nos. 1167–8.

In Group B as in Group A, the 'units' are struck on the usual straight-edged flans, the larger coins on flans with a bevelled edge. In the latter case there is visible on most, if not all, of the extant specimens the additional peculiarity of a shallow, circular depression in the central portion of the obverse and reverse faces of each coin. This combination of bevelled edge with central hole was unknown to the eastern Seleucid mints, but is typical of the Egyptian bronze coinages from the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Was it Egyptian influence in general, or did the invaders leave some of their own large bronze coins in Syria, which gave to the Seleucid officials at Apamea the idea of adopting this Egyptian practice in the manufacture of their large bronze coin-blanks?

Apparently, Group C possesses only 'doubles,' with but a single exception. Because there is a single 'unit' to accompany the numerous 'doubles' of Group C, there is a possibility that some of these Group C 'doubles' were coined simultaneously with the Group B 'octuples' and 'units.' The suggestion is made the more plausible when we note recurring among the monograms of Group C the two particular monograms Δ and ∇ which mark all the issues of Group B. The latter monogram may represent the same person as the Π of the tetradrachm No. 1151. In spite of the curiously wide range in their individual weights (from gr. 10.27 down to 4.91), these 'doubles' of Group C were doubtless intended to represent but one denomination. Their types are the same throughout, and their diameters vary but little. The average of their several weights amounts to gr. 7.78—while that of the corresponding 'doubles' of Group A is gr. 7.88 although their individual weights adhere more closely to the norm. It is significant to note that these averages, in each case, approximately double the average weights of the 'units' (gr. 3.93 for Group B, gr. 4.03 for Group A).

The coins of Group C may be separated into two subdivisions according to whether the Nike figure of the reverse holds a palm branch in her left hand (Nos. 1169–74, PLATE XXXVI, 10–15), or rests this hand upon an anchor-adorned shield (Nos. 1175–7, PLATE XXXVI, 16–20). Its monograms reveal that the first of these subdivisions must have been coined in the same mint as the gold, silver and other bronzes which we have here been studying. On the other hand, the coins of the second subdivision do not display either of the two characteristic monograms, Δ or ∇ . Yet these coins, too, must have been struck at Apamea because their style and fabric are in every way identical with those of the first subdivision, and because they contain a 'unit' (No. 1178, PLATE XXXVI, 21)¹³³ bearing the same special Apamean types as the 'units' of Group B.

¹³³ That this 'unit' definitely belongs with the 'doubles' of the second subdivision, is seen by the presence on it of the same round, anchor-adorned shield which constitutes the one outstanding characteristic of Nos. 1175–7.

The issues of Group C are probably more or less contemporaneous with certain varieties of Antioch (Nos. 1015-6, 1022, PLATES XXIV, 13-15 and XXV, 3), which are of very similar types and belong to the later coinages of Seleucus II at that mint. These similar issues of the two mints bear on their obverses an Athena head wearing a crested Corinthian helmet. The coins of Apamea are distinguished from those of Antioch by their somewhat smaller, thicker, dumber flans, and by the fact that at Apamea we find a draped bust of Athena, at Antioch only her head. As regards their reverses, those of Antioch have a large Seleucid anchor in the field in front of Nike; those of Apamea at first have no anchor at all. Later, the anchor appears on the shield upon which Nike rests her left hand. While these Athena-Nike coins of Apamea doubtless commemorate the initial successes obtained by Seleucus II over Tiridates,¹³⁴ the large and conspicuously placed anchor on the Antiochene, the sudden appearance of the anchor-shield on the Apamean coins would seem to possess some particular import at this time. The very conspicuousness of the emblem at Antioch and the change in the reverse design at Apamea, so as to accommodate the same emblem, makes us think that the anchor here has special reference to Seleucus II's final defeat of his brother Hierax and the suppression of the rebellion engineered at Antioch by his aunt, Stratonice.¹³⁵ The anchor might well be taken to signify the triumph of the rightful heir to the Seleucid empire over his rebellious and ambitious relatives. Perhaps the small anchor punched into the obverses of no less than four specimens of No. 1172 (cf. PLATE XXXVI, 14), belonging to the first subdivision of Group C, may have a similar triumphant connotation. In this connection, it may be noted that at Antioch we also find an anchor punchmark only on the 'doubles' of the Apollo-tripod type (Nos. 1017 μ and 1019, PLATE XXIV, 18 and 20), coins which immediately preceded the final Athena-Nike issues at that mint. Specimens of the latter, significantly enough, seem never to have this punchmark. We do not care to attempt an explanation of the significance of the trotting horse punchmark on specimen η of No. 1172 (PLATE XXXVI, 15). That it was applied to the coin at Apamea, seems practically certain.

Throughout the coinages of Seleucus II for Apamea, the dies were adjusted as closely as possible to the upright position (\uparrow). Slight variations to right or to left of the strictly upright position do occur on the bronze coins, but rarely.

SELEUCUS III

226/5-223 B. C.

1179. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus III to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In outer r. field, \square (placed sideways). In outer l. field, \oplus .

¹³⁴ Beloch IV², 2, p. 636 places the eastern expedition of Seleucus II not before *circa* 230 B. C., at the earliest.

¹³⁵ Cf. Beyer, Vol. I, pp. 236-7; Bouché-Leclercq, Vol. I, pp. 109-110.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 15.75; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 15.70 (piece broken out). PLATE XXXVII, 1.
α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

1180. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1179.

Similar. In outer r. field, ☼. In outer l. field, ⚭.

Washington (Smithsonian Coll.). PLATE XXXVII, 2.

1181. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Ακ (placed sideways). In outer l. field, ΜΕ (placed sideways).

α) Hess Sale, Lucerne, Dec. 1933, No. 98, Pl. 4 (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 941, Pl. 33), gr. 16.90; β) Newell, ↗, gr. 16.34; γ) London (Gardner, p. 22, No. 4 = Head's *Guide*, Pl. 38, 17), ↗, gr. 16.69. PLATE XXXVII, 3.
α-γ are from a single obverse but different reverse dies.

1182. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ⚭. In outer l. field, ⚭ (placed sideways).

Paris (Babelon, No. 300 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3291, Pl. cxix), gr. 16.90. PLATE XXXVII, 4.

1183. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, ⚭ (placed sideways).

Paris (Babelon, No. 301, Pl. viii, 12), gr. 3.80. PLATE XXXVII, 5.

1184. BRONZE DOUBLE (?).

Laureate head of Apollo to r.

Inscription as on the preceding. Tripod.
In outer l. field, uncertain monogram or letter.

Newell, ↑, gr. 9.35. PLATE XXXVII, 7.

The silver issues of Seleucus III at Apamea are connected with the preceding silver and bronze issues of Seleucus II by the recurrence of the monograms ⚭, and ⚭ (always placed sideways). On No. 1180, the upper letter in the monogram on the left appears to be an *omega*, instead of the more usual *omicron*—but this may be due to a die-break. If the omega be correct, then this letter combination certainly cannot be considered as any possible numeral. The tetradrachms Nos. 1181–2 are associated with the others by similarity of style and fabric. In general, the style of these Apamean issues of Seleucus III is perhaps not quite so good as under the preceding reign, but in their fabric and low relief they remain unchanged.

The drachm (PLATE XXXVII, 6) which had been tentatively collocated on our plates with coins of Apamea is, because of its style and monogram, more probably an issue of Tarsus and will be found described as No. 1327 under the coinages of that mint.

The bronze coin No. 1184 presents the same small, thick, dumpy flan as do the coins in the Apamean Group C under Seleucus II, and it has therefore been assigned to that mint. The monogram on the single known example, however, is illegible and the attribution must still be regarded as tentative. Equally uncertain is the designation 'double' which has been given to it here. The coin is badly corroded and has surely lost much of its original weight. In general size and appearance it is much the same as the pieces which we have designated as 'doubles' in Group C of the preceding reign. Their average weight is grammes 7.85, or just the double of the pieces called 'units' in Groups A and B. On the other hand, three specimens (No. 1169 α and δ , No. 1176 β) actually weigh grammes 10.27, 10.03, and 10.10, respectively, and so, with equal propriety, might have been named 'triples.' The weights of the bronze coins at both Apamea and Antioch seem now to have become erratic. We have fixed on the term 'double' for No. 1184 because of its general similarity of type, size and appearance with preceding coins of Seleucus II and with certain succeeding coins of Antiochus III, Nos. 1188 and 1191-3.

ANTIOCHUS III

SERIES I, c. 223-208 B. C.

1186. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.
Fillet border.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
on bow and holding arrow in extended r.
In outer l. field, Δ .

α) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1444, Pl. 51, gr. 17.00. PLATE XXXVII, 8;
 β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 16.58; γ) Sydenham Coll., \uparrow , gr. 16.94. PLATE
XXXVII, 9; δ) Istanbul (Pot Hoard, Sardes. Cf. *Sardis, loc. cit.*, No. 395, Pl. i), gr.
16.56; ϵ) Munich, gr. 16.97; ζ) Allotte de la Fuy  Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 785, Pl.
13, gr. 15.95; η) Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7868, Pl. 287, \uparrow , gr. 16.97; θ)
Copenhagen, gr. 17.09; ι) Oxford, gr. 16.96; κ) Dan Fellows Platt Coll., \uparrow , gr. 17.02; λ)
Newell, \uparrow , gr. 17.03. PLATE XXXVII, 10; μ) Jameson Coll., No. 1687, Pl. lxxxiv, gr.
17.05; ν) Mario Ratto Sale, 11, No. 293, Pl. ix, gr. 16.98; ξ) Commerce 1939, \uparrow , gr. 17.08.
PLATE XXXVII, 11; ζ) Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 751, Pl. xxi, gr. 17.14; σ) Fenerly
Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 667, Pl. xviii, gr. 17.06; π) Ordo ies Coll.,
Schulman Sale, No. 347, Pl. v (= Kreling Coll., Schulman Sale, Nov. 1913, No. 529, Pl.
iii); ρ) Paris (Babelon, No. 367 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3301, Pl. cxx), gr. 17.05; σ) Phila-
delphia (University Museum); τ) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum. Bunbury Coll.,
Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 470), gr. 17.04; υ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 17.02; ϕ) Newell, \uparrow , gr.
17.14. PLATE XXXVII, 13; χ) Turin (Fabretti, *Catalogo Generale*, Vol. III, No. 4588),
gr. 16.81; ψ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.085. PLATE XXXVII, 12; ω) Ameri-
can University, Beyrouth.

β - γ were struck from one obverse die; ϵ - ζ from a second; θ - κ from a third; λ - ν from a
fourth, and δ and ξ - φ from a fifth. At least three other obverse dies were used in the
production of the remainder.

1187. BRONZE QUADRUPLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of
dots.

Same inscription as No. 1186. Tripod.
The flans are spread and are old ones of
Antioch, re-used (cf. Nos. 1054, 1057, 1062).

α) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 11.02; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.42 (visible traces of the old types). PLATE XXXVII, 14; γ) Newell, ↖, gr. 12.98; δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 11.38. PLATE XXXVIII, 1; ε) Newell, ↖, gr. 8.64 (visible traces of the old types). PLATE XXXVIII, 2; ρ) Newell, ↗, gr. 8.97; ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 416, Pl. x, 9), gr. 13.85.

1188. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. Struck on small, thick flans.

α-β) London (Rogers Coll.), grs. 7.94 and 6.94; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 8.87; δ) Newell, ↗, gr. 7.26; ε) Newell, ↖, gr. 6.16; ρ-ζ) Newell, ↑, grs. 8.55 and 8.29. PLATE XXXVIII, 3-4.

1189. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath
horse trotting to r. Thick, dumpy flan.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 334, Pl. viii, 19), gr. 4.20; β-γ) Newell (from Syria and from Prof. C. C. Torrey's Coll.), ↑, grs. 4.51 and 4.46. PLATE XXXVII, 15; δ) American University, Beyrouth; ε) H. Seyrig (from Aleppo); ρ) Amer. Num. Society, ↑, gr. 3.42.

1190. BRONZE QUADRUPLÉ.

Similar.

Similar to No. 1187. In outer l. field, M.
Spread flan.

Sir H. Weber Coll., No. 7876, Pl. 287, gr. 12.11.

1191. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, A. In outer l.
field, Π. Thick flan.

α) London, ↑, gr. 8.32. PLATE XXXVIII, 5; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 9.38; γ) London (Rogers Coll.), ↗, gr. 7.84. PLATE XXXVIII, 6.

1192. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, M (?). In outer
l. field, Π. Thick flan.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 7.45. PLATE XXXVIII, 7; β) London (Rogers Coll.), ↗, gr. 7.57. PLATE XXXVIII, 8.

1193. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Δ. In outer l.
field, Π. Thick flan.

London (Rogers Coll.), ↑, gr. 10.35. PLATE XXXVIII, 9.

1194. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Same inscription. Apollo stands to l.,
rests l. hand on bow and holds arrow in
extended r. In outer l. field, Θ.

α) Dresden, gr. 2.895; β-δ) Dura excavations, ↑, or ↗; ε) Newell, ↗, gr. 2.19. PLATE XXXVIII, 10; ρ-ζ) London (Rogers Coll.), grs. 2.14 and 2.11; η-ι) Antioch excavations, 1937 and 1938; κ) Adib Coll., Antioch, gr. 1.54.

1195. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ above A.

α) Newell, \nearrow , gr. 1.69; β) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 1.88; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 407). The letter 'A' is stated to have the form Δ , gr. 1.85.

1196. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ above Γ .

α - β) London (Rogers Coll.), grs. 1.65 and 1.75.

1197. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ above N.

α) Dura excavations, \uparrow ; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 409. 'N' is said to have the form Δ), gr. 2.20; γ) Newell, \nearrow , gr. 1.56. PLATE XXXVIII, 11.

Under Antiochus III the style of the Apamean silver issues improves greatly. The relief becomes higher and the general effect is more compact and neater. The dies, in their designs and details, follow very closely the contemporaneous tetradrachms of the Antioch mint, although now at Apamea the diadem-ends always hang loosely and there is always a fillet border to the obverse. At Antioch we have noted that throughout this period there occasionally occur variations in these details. In other words, the issues of Apamea are more uniform than those of the capital. By comparing the Apamean with the Antiochene tetradrachms, we see that at our present mint the tetradrachm issues of Series I run parallel to the issues of Series I, II and III of Antioch. Thus, for Apamea, PLATE XXXVII, 8, 9, 10, 13 are similar to and apparently copied from Antioch, PLATES XXVI, 12-13; XXVII, 1, 2 and XXIX, 8, respectively. Hence, Series I of Apamea must have covered the years from 223 to *circa* 208 B. C. It is again supervised by Δ , but whether this monogram represents the same individual who had been active throughout the reign of Seleucus II, would seem open to question. Considering the length of time over which this monogram extends, and in view of the fact that there is a hiatus in its appearance throughout the reign of Seleucus III, it would seem more probable that Δ of Antiochus III was a son or other relative (but bearing the same name) of the Δ active under Seleucus II.

The accompanying bronze coins are also somewhat similar in style to those of Antioch, but contain one more denomination, comprising 'quadruples,' 'doubles,' 'units' and 'halves.' Just as at Antioch, they all bear the same obverse type: the laureate Apollo head. With the exception of the 'halves,' their reverse types are not like those of Antioch. Thus, the 'quadruples' and 'doubles' have a tripod on their reverses, while the 'unit' has the characteristic trotting horse of Apamea. Only the 'halves' have the standing Apollo type of the contemporaneous Antiochene 'halves.' The 'quadruples' seem, throughout, to have been restruck on earlier flans. In every case where sufficient traces of the old type still remain, the coins thus re-used appear to have been the 'quadruples' with the seated Apollo type of the Antiochene Series I, under Antiochus III. Being in many cases old and worn

pieces, their weights are far from uniform. The 'doubles' present the same curious, thick, dumpy flans with which we have become familiar at Apamea under Seleucus II and III. The 'halves' are identical in appearance and fabric with those of Antioch, and differentiated from them only by the monograms which they bear. Although not at all unlike the contemporaneous bronze issues of Antioch, this group (Nos. 1187-97) cannot by any chance have emanated from that mint as it is far too closely connected with previous issues of Apamea by monograms, by the peculiar fabric and reverse type of its 'doubles,' and by the characteristic type of the trotting horse on the 'unit.'¹⁸⁷ In support of our attribution to Apamea it may be noted that, to date, none of these particular coins (with the exception of a few of the 'halves') have turned up in the excavations of Antioch.

As was now customary at Apamea, the dies of the silver coins are adjusted †, those of the bronzes †, ↖, or ↗.

SERIES II, c. 208-187 B. C.

1198. TETRDRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. Same type as No. 1186. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{AN}}$. In outer l. field, AN .

American Numismatic Society, †, gr. 16.75. PLATE XXXVIII, 12.

1199. TETRDRACHM.

Same die as No. 1198, but more worn and damaged.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{AN}}$. In upper, inner l. field, AN .

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), †, gr. 16.93. PLATE XXXVIII, 13.

1200. TETRDRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{AN}}$. In outer l. field, AN (?).

Newell, ↗, gr. 16.82. PLATE XXXVIII, 14.

1201. TETRDRACHM.

Older head of Antiochus to r., with flying diadem-ends. Fillet border.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{AN}}$. In outer l. field, AN .

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 31, No. 9), gr. 16.85. PLATE XXXVIII, 16;
β) Newell, †, gr. 16.99. PLATE XXXVIII, 15.

That the four varieties which comprise this group belong together, is rendered certain by the presence of the monogram $\overline{\text{AN}}$ in the outer right-hand field of all specimens. While of somewhat less good style, such pieces as PLATE XXXVIII, 12 and 13 are apparently modelled on preceding pieces, such as PLATE XXXVII, 8 or 13, for instance. This suggests that Nos. 1198 ff. are but the continuation of No. 1186, and were issued from the same mint, namely Apamea. However, the attri-

¹⁸⁷ To these arguments may also be added the restriking so evident on the 'quadruples.' It seems hardly likely that a great, central mint such as that of the capital, Antioch, would have had recourse to such procedure.

bution must still be regarded as tentative. The final tetradrachm, No. 1201, PLATE XXXVIII, 15-16, copies the later issues of Antioch (PLATES XXIX-XXXII) in the style and character of its portrait, the arrangement of the diadem ends, and the presence of a fillet border on the obverse.

It is curious, and perhaps significant, that of the four specimens whose die-positions we know, three should have their reverses inverted with respect to their obverses. This was an eastern, not a western, practice. This, coupled with the presence of a dotted circle on the reverses, which is also an eastern characteristic, makes the proposed assignment to Apamea open to question. The placing of one of its monograms in the inner, upper left field on No. 1199, PLATE XXXVIII, 13, reminds one of the final issues at Nisibis, Nos. 875-7, PLATE XII, 11-14. Thus, an attribution to some north Mesopotamian mint (Carrhae? Edessa?) in the future may be necessary. On the other hand, it may or may not be merely a coincidence that the constant monogram \boxtimes should appear to be composed of the four initial letters (*alpha, pi, alpha, mu*) of the name of Apamea. It would be reassuring for our proposed attribution if we could accept such a suggestion with confidence, but unfortunately it was not a general practice in Seleucid mints at this period to mark their issues by the initial letters of their city. Symbols, we know, were sometimes used (such as the forepart of a feeding horse at Ecbatana, the club at Tyre, the dove at Ascalon, the Maeander pattern at Magnesia, the feeding horse at Alexandria Troas, the eagle at Abydus, and others), but initial letters very rarely. Thus far we have noted but a single instance of the possible use of letters (EAE) to mark an issue of Edessa. In no case have we found a *monogram* so employed.

D: LAODICEA AD MARE

Laodicea ad Mare was the fourth of the great foundations of Seleucus Nicator in Syria. Because of its favorable situation, it soon became a seaport of considerable importance—an importance it maintained through Roman times and even down to the present day. To its mint may be assigned the following large group of Alexandrine-type coinages, all bearing the name of the city's founder, Seleucus.

SERIES I, c. 300 B. C.

1202. TETRADRACHM.

Head of youthful Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. on sceptre and holding eagle in outstretched r. In l. field, DOLPHIN.

A1-P1. α) Hollschek Coll., gr. 16.51; β) Newell, ←, gr. 16.83. PLATE XXXIX, 1.

P2. Newell, ↘, gr. 16.74. PLATE XXXIX, 2.

SERIES II, c. 295 B. C.

1203. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, DOLPHIN above Δ .
Beneath throne, \odot (?).

A2-P3. Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum, from the Trist Coll., No. 190). PLATE XXXIX, 3.

SERIES III, c. 295-280 B. C.

GROUP A

1204. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, DOLPHIN above $\overline{\Delta}$.
Beneath throne, $\overline{\Delta}$.

A3-P4. Newell, Δ , gr. 16.43. PLATE XXXIX, 4.

A4-P5. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 759, Pl. 26, gr. 15.97.

P6. Newell, Δ , gr. 15.50 (worn and corroded).

A5-P7. Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), Δ , gr. 16.695. PLATE XXXIX, 5.

1205. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, DOLPHIN above $\overline{\Delta}$.
Beneath throne, \odot .

A8-P8. Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, No. 347, Pl. xviii), \uparrow , gr. 16.89.
PLATE XXXIX, 6.

P9. a) Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2860, Pl. xxiv, gr. 16.73; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), Δ , gr. 16.945.

A7-P10. Newell (Hirsch Sale XXXIII, Nov. 1913, No. 882), \leftarrow , gr. 16.94. PLATE XXXIX, 7.

GROUP B

1206. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, DOLPHIN above $\overline{\Delta}$.
Beneath throne, $\overline{\Delta}$.

A8-P11. Vienna, \uparrow , gr. 16.93. PLATE XXXIX, 8.

P12. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 760, Pl. 26, gr. 16.90.

A9-P13. Newell, Δ , gr. 16.30. PLATE XXXIX, 9.

GROUP C

1207. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, DOLPHIN above $\overline{\Delta}$.
Beneath throne, $\overline{\Delta}$.

A10-P14. Vienna, Δ , gr. 16.64. PLATE XXXIX, 10.

A11-P15. London, \downarrow , gr. 16.43. PLATE XXXIX, 11.

1208. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same symbol and monograms.

α) Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2433 (= Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2854, Pl. xxxii. On this specimen the left hand monogram varies slightly), Pl. lxi, gr. 4.07;

β) Newell (Armenak Hoard), \leftarrow , gr. 4.14. PLATE XXXIX, 12; γ) Newell, \leftarrow , gr. 3.97.

1209. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above $\overline{\text{PP}}$.
Beneath throne, Θ .A12-P16. Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.72. PLATE XXXIX, 13.

SERIES IV, c. 280-230 B. C.

GROUP A

1210. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above $\overline{\text{PP}}$.
Beneath throne, Σ or Ξ .A13-P17. Athens (On this piece $\overline{\text{PP}}$ has been recut over $\overline{\text{PP}}$, and Σ over Θ). PLATE XL, 1.
P18. Istanbul (Tell Halaaf Hoard), \nearrow , gr. 15.33.

1211. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same symbol and monograms.

 α) Athens (Sophiko Hoard); β) The Hague, \rightarrow , PLATE XL, 2.

GROUP B

1212. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above Θ .
Beneath throne, Θ .A14-P19. Paris (Babelon, No. 16. Monograms have been reversed in the description), gr. 16.95.
PLATE XL, 3.

1213. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same symbol and monograms.

 α) Paris (Susa excavations); β) London (Gardner, p. 2, No. 14, Pl. i, 5), gr. 4.14. PLATE XL, 4.

GROUP C

1214. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above Θ .
Beneath throne, Ξ .A15-P20. Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), \nearrow , gr. 16.795. PLATE XL, 5.
P21. α) London (Gardner, p. 2, No. 11), gr. 16.72; β) Newell (found in Syria), \searrow , gr. 16.11; γ) Oxford, \swarrow , gr. 16.84. PLATE XL, 6.
P22. Electrototype.
There is another specimen of this variety (of which casts were not secured) in the American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.50.

1215. DRACHM.




Similar.

Similar, and with the same symbol and monograms.

 α) London (Gardner, p. 2, No. 15), gr. 4.17; β) Berlin, gr. 3.805. PLATE XL, 7.

1216. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above 
Beneath throne, .A16-P23. London (Gardner, p. 106, No. 11a), , gr. 16.54. PLATE XL, 8.

1217. DRACHM.




Same die as No. 1215.

Similar, and with the same symbol and monograms.

Gotha, gr. 3.93. PLATE XL, 9.

1218. TETRADRACHM.




Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above 
Beneath throne, .A17-P24. Newell (South Serbian Hoard), , gr. 16.85.
P25. The Hague. PLATE XL, 10.

GROUP D



1219. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above 
Beneath throne, .A18-P26. Newell, , gr. 16.92. PLATE XL, 11.
There is another specimen of this variety (of which casts were not secured) in the American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.40.

1220. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.



Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above 
Beneath throne, .

A19-P27. Athens. PLATE XL, 12.

GROUP E

1221. TETRADRACHM.




Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above 
Beneath throne, .A20-P28. Paris (Babelon, No. 15. Monograms transposed by error in text), gr. 16.80. PLATE XL, 13.
P29. Poche Coll., Aleppo.

GROUP F



1222. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above 
Beneath throne, .A21-P30. London (Gardner, p. 2, No. 10), , gr. 16.73. PLATE XL, 14.

1223. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In 1. field, DOLPHIN above 
Beneath throne, .

- A22-P31. α) Paris (Babelon, No. 13. Monograms transposed by error in text), gr. 17.00; β) Newell, ϵ , gr. 16.74. PLATE XLI, 1.

SERIES V, c. 230-223 B. C.

1224. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, DOLPHIN above Δ .
Beneath throne, A β .

- A23-P32. α) Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 730, Pl. 12, gr. 16.00; β) The Hague, No. 6847, ϵ , gr. 17.00; γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 6, No. 8), gr. 16.89. PLATE XLI, 2.

P33. Paris (Babelon, No. 14. Monograms transposed by error in text), gr. 16.30.

- A24-P34. Munich, gr. 16.95. PLATE XLI, 3.

- A25-P35. London (Sir H. Weber Coll., No. 7828, Pl. 285 = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 689), \uparrow , gr. 17.04. PLATE XLI, 4.

1225. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, DOLPHIN above Δ .
Beneath throne, A β .

- A26-P36. Istanbul (Sardes 'Basis-Hoard.' *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 37, No. 333), \downarrow , gr. 16.95. PLATE XLI, 5.

- A27-P37. London (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 428), \uparrow , gr. 16.91. PLATE XLI, 6.

1226. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, DOLPHIN above Δ .
Beneath throne, A β .

- A28-P38. Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \nearrow , gr. 16.55. PLATE XLI, 7.

These coins, all of similar types and inscriptions, are characterized by the symbol DOLPHIN, which is found on each and every specimen just beneath the outstretched right arm of Zeus. Because of the evident extensiveness of the group as a whole, and the great number and variety of the monograms used, the constancy of the DOLPHIN symbol is very striking indeed. Hence, we surely have every reason to recognize in it a true mint-mark. Unfortunately, the dolphin is an object frequently to be found on the coins of such a seafaring nation as the Greeks, and so does not immediately proclaim the particular mint in which these coins were once struck. It does very clearly suggest, however, that the issuing city was probably a seaport. Provenance records of these coins are comparatively numerous, but also embarrassingly diffuse. A drachm (No. 1211 α) was in the Sophiko Hoard¹³⁸ from the Peloponnesus, while a tetradrachm (No. 1218) comes from the South Serbian Hoard¹³⁹ of 1925. Another tetradrachm (No. 1225), was in the Sardes 'Basis Hoard,'¹⁴⁰ and a drachm (No. 1208 β) in the Armenak Hoard¹⁴¹ from Asia Minor. The tetradrachm No. 1214 (dies A15-P21), was purchased from a Syrian

¹³⁸ Noe, No. 997.

¹³⁹ Noe, No. 959.

¹⁴⁰ Noe, No. 925.

¹⁴¹ Noe, No. 67.

peasant, No. 1221 (dies A20-P29) comes from the Aleppo region, while the tetradrachm No. 1210 (dies A13-P18) was in the Tell Halaaf Hoard.¹⁴² The drachm No. 1213a, comes from the French excavations of Susa.¹⁴³ The recorded provenances of our coins are thus somewhat evenly distributed between Greece proper, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and south-western Persia. From such a record, little definite can be secured beyond the conviction that the mint of our coins must have been located in some great commercial centre, or busy seaport with trade connections reaching to all parts of the Greek world.

As stated above, the DOLPHIN symbol speaks strongly for a seaport. This and the provenance records indicate some port centrally located on the Mediterranean coast possessing sea-routes to Greece and Asia Minor, and overland trade-routes running eastwards into Mesopotamia and Iran. Only the Syrian coast would seem to answer such requirements, and this suggestion is further supported by historical considerations. To judge by the comparatively early style of Nos. 1202-3, and in view of the large number of varieties at our disposal, the mint must have been opened soon after Seleucus had won his share of Antigonos' empire at the battle of Ipsus. But the extent of Mediterranean sea-coast which he secured was at first comparatively restricted. It stretched from the neighborhood of the Bay of Issus down to a point on the Phoenician littoral between Aradus and Tripolis.¹⁴⁴ For it will be remembered that in the division of the spoils, Lysimachus was given all western Asia Minor, Pleistarchus secured Cilicia and the adjoining regions, while Ptolemy made haste to seize as much of Palestine and Phoenicia as he possibly could. Along the particular stretch of sea-coast which Seleucus held, there were only two ports of any consequence, Seleucia Pieria and Laodicea. These were both early foundations of Seleucus Nicator, and both are likely sites for his mints. The older ports such as Myriandrus, Rhosus, Posidium very soon lost their former importance and prosperity to the two new foundations, or were actually absorbed into them by the removal thither of their own inhabitants. Hence, as a possible candidate for the mint of Nos. 1202-1226, only Laodicea need be considered, for to Seleucia Pieria a markedly differing group of coins must be assigned.

In all the Hellenistic coinages of the coastal cities, stretching from western Cilicia down to Aradus and even further, only at Laodicea does the dolphin play any rôle at all in their several coin types. Thus, in the series of special municipal issues brought out by Antiochus IV, the types selected for the coins of Laodicea ad Mare consist of a dolphin (PLATE XLI, A, B), or of a standing Poseidon either holding a dolphin in his outstretched right (PLATE XLI, C)¹⁴⁵ or with a dolphin at his feet (PLATE XLI, D).¹⁴⁶ Again, on a similar series issued by Alexander Bala, we find either a seated Poseidon holding a dolphin in his extended right,¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² Noe, No. 1086.

¹⁴³ *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse; Mission en Susiane*, Vol. XXV, p. 107, No. 21, Pl. vi.

¹⁴⁴ Tschirikower, *Misiraim*, IV-V, 1937, p. 34.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Babelon, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xiv, 15. Gardner, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xiii, 5.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Babelon, *ibid.*, Pl. xiv, 14.

¹⁴⁷ Babelon, *ibid.*, Pl. xviii, 17. Gardner, *ibid.*, Pl. xvii, 3.

or the standing Poseidon with a dolphin at his feet.¹⁴⁸ Hence, the attribution of Nos. 1102-1226 to Laodicea ad Mare, appears to be about as fully supported by evidence as is possible under the circumstances. A more suitable mint for these coins would be difficult to conceive, while, on the analogy of the other members of the Syrian tetrapolis (each of which possessed an active mint under the early Seleucid kings), we have every reason for expecting to find a mint at Laodicea, the fourth of Seleucus' great Syrian foundations.

The coinage starts out with a small issue of tetradrachms (No. 1202, PLATE XXXIX, 1-2), marked only with the symbol DOLPHIN. The flans are small, the dies apparently loose, the style and details of the designs much influenced by Alexandrine coins of Cyprus.¹⁴⁹ This last fact, alone, would almost have sufficed to locate the mint at Laodicea or its immediate neighborhood, because for centuries this particular region had enjoyed the closest possible commercial ties with the island of Cyprus.¹⁵⁰ The die-cutting of No. 1202 is comparatively crude and unskilled, understandable at a newly founded mint which had had no previous tradition or trained body of engravers.

Series II (No. 1203, PLATE XXXIX, 3) shows great improvement in style and in the mechanical production of the dies themselves. The general character of the obverse closely follows an earlier Alexander issue of the flourishing Phoenician city of Byblus.¹⁵¹ Two magistrates now sign the coinage, while the symbol DOLPHIN appears again beneath the outstretched right hand of Zeus.

In Series III (Nos. 1204-9, PLATE XXXIX, 4-13), the improvement in style and technique continues, while the size of the flans tends to increase. The mint is now definitely established, functions smoothly, and is beginning to form its own stylistic tradition. Two varying officials place their monograms on each coin, of which that in the left field appears to represent the chief magistrate. At least, the coinage is divisible into several groups of issues, in each of which the monogram occupying the left-hand field remains constant, while that beneath the throne changes. The general appearance of the coinage has now become more or less uniform and progresses evenly from issue to issue. The only definite criterion of date which we secure from hoards in which specimens have turned up, is in the case of No. 1208 β which was in the Armenak Hoard. That hoard was buried about 280 B. C., or not very long afterward. The coin in question is slightly worn, so that we may say that Series I, Series II, and Series III must have been issued within the period of the reign of Seleucus I.

Series IV (Nos. 1210-23, PLATES XL, 1-14 and XLI, 1) continues the system of changing magistrates as in the preceding series, and with little difference in style.

¹⁴⁸ Babelon, *ibid.*, Pl. xviii, 18. Gardner, *ibid.*, Pl. xvii, 4.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XV, 1915, Pl. xii, 11-12; many other similar pieces are not yet published or available in illustrations.

¹⁵⁰ Near Laodicea was located the ancient Ugarit, modern Ras Shamra, which grew rich and powerful on the copper trade between Cyprus and the mainland of Syria. Its successor at Mina el Beida seems also to have been a flourishing port which in early Hellenistic times was absorbed by the newly founded Laodicea.

¹⁵¹ Cf. specimens in the author's collection, as well as M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, Vol. I, Pl. lxxxviii, Nos. 6372-90.

The flans are, perhaps, slightly larger, and the relief, if anything, slightly lower. Three specimens belonging to this series come from recorded hoards, *viz.*, South Serbian, Sophiko and Tell Halaaf. The last of these, however, is comparatively late, having been buried in the reign of Antiochus III, and so does not help us much. On the other hand, No. 1218, dies A17-P24, a somewhat worn coin, was from the South Serbian Hoard whose latest datable pieces are tetradrachms of Antiochus I (280-261 B. C.), Nicomedes I of Bithynia (278-250 B. C.), Eumenes I of Pergamum (263-241 B. C.), as well as the earliest issues of his successor, Attalus I (241-196 B. C.). The burial of that hoard may thus be dated as somewhere between *circa* 240 and 230 B. C., or within the period of Seleucus II's reign. No. 1211 α comes from the Sophiko Hoard, which was also probably buried during the lifetime of Seleucus II. While not definitely conclusive, these indications would seem to suggest that the coins of Series IV may have been contemporaneous with the Seleucid kings from Antiochus I to Seleucus II. In other words Nos. 1210-1223, although bearing the name of Seleucus I, were actually posthumous issues, like similar coinages at Susa¹³² and Pergamum.¹³³ This is supported by their style and fabric, which are evidently of a later character than the life-time Alexandrine coinages of the first Seleucus. Especially to be noted are the diminishing relief, the increasingly broader flans, the less pleasing proportions of the Zeus figure, and a perfunctory style. The continuation for purely commercial reasons of this popular type after the death of Seleucus himself, is least of all surprising at an active seaport such as Laodicea which, to judge by the find-spots of these coins, maintained widespread trade connections with all countries from Greece proper to distant Persia.

Series V (Nos. 1224-6, PLATE XLI, 2-7) is differentiated from the preceding issues by the fact that it is the monogram in the left field which changes, while that beneath the throne now remains constant. This same monogram, A δ , had appeared on the latest coin (No. 1223, PLATE XLI, 1) of Series IV, and thereby serves to indicate the unbroken continuity of these series. Only one of the known specimens (No. 1225, dies A26-P36) of Series V, has come from a published hoard. It is significant that this coin has seen but little circulation and that it comes from a hoard buried early in the reign of Antiochus III.¹³⁴ The comparatively late date of its issue is thus attested. From first to last, the die-positions of Nos. 1202-1226 remain irregular.

The long and evident continuity of these 'dolphin coins,' unbroken by any observable hiatus in their issue, disposes of the possibility that the Egyptian kings had ever secured a hold on Laodicea, such as they enjoyed for so long over Seleucia Pieria. If Laodicea remained Seleucid from the beginning (and we possess no literary evidence whatsoever to the contrary), or was early recovered by Seleucus II,

¹³² E. S. M., Nos. 342-54, 357-61, 363-4, 366, 368-9, 377, 379.

¹³³ See below, Nos. 1531-5.

¹³⁴ The hoard in question is the famous 'Basis-hoard' from Sardes which, in a manner of speaking, was 'dedicated' by being placed between the stones of the basis belonging to the cult-statue in the temple of Artemis at Sardes. The latest coin in the deposit is a bronze issue of Achaëus. The coins assigned by the publisher (Nos. 403-4, 409-413) to Antiochus III are issues of Antiochus I, Antiochus II, or Antiochus Hierax.

it may in a measure account for the surprising complacency¹⁵⁶ with which the nearest seaport to Antioch, namely Seleucia Pieria, was allowed to remain in Egyptian hands for upwards of twenty-seven years, before Antiochus III finally made a move to recover it. Throughout all this period it may have been Laodicea that served as the seaport to Antioch.

ANTIOCHUS III

SERIES I, c. 223-215 B. C.

1227. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.
Waving diadem-ends. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
hand on bow and holding arrow in extended
r. In outer r. field, $\overline{\Gamma}$. In outer l. field, Φ
above DOLPHIN.

α) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 143, No. 197), gr. 16.68; β)
Formerly in possession of Dr. Philipp Lederer (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXXV, 1925, p. 223,
Pl. ix, 3), gr. 16.88. PLATE XLI, 8; γ) American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.5. PLATE
XLI, 9.

1228. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1227 γ .

Similar. In outer r. field, \times . In outer l.
field, Φ above LYRE (?) or uncertain mono-
gram.

London (Urfa 1924 Hoard). PLATE XLI, 10.

1229. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Φ above similar
uncertain symbol or monogram.

American University, Beyrouth, gr. 4.00. PLATE XLI, 11.

1230. TETRADRACHM.

Similar in style and description to No.
1227 β .

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\Gamma}$. In outer l.
field, Φ .

α) Munich, \uparrow , gr. 16.75; β) Newell, \rightarrow , gr. 16.90. PLATE XLII, 1; γ - δ) American
University, Beyrouth.

α and β are from the same pair of dies.

1231. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Φ . In outer l.
field, $\overline{\Gamma}$.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 20, No. 2), gr. 16.64. PLATE XLII, 2.

¹⁵⁶ Bevan I, p. 312, in particular, expresses the natural surprise that the necessity for recovering Seleucia did not earlier make itself felt.

1232. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$. In outer l. field, Δ .Newell, \leftarrow , gr. 16.96. PLATE XLII, 3.

1233. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of higher relief. One diadem-end hangs straight, the other rises behind the head.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$. In outer l. field, Δ . α) Newell, \rightarrow , gr. 16.67. PLATE XLII, 4; β) American University, Beyrouth.

1234. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Δ . In outer l. field, Φ .Newell, \swarrow , gr. 16.83. PLATE XLII, 5.

Dr. Philipp Lederer has already pointed out¹⁰⁶ the close connection existing between the first of these coins bearing the types of Antiochus III (No. 1227, PLATE XLI, 8-9) and the latest of the posthumous tetradrachms of Alexandrine types (No. 1226) described above. This connection consists in the presence on the Antiochus coin of the characteristic DOLPHIN symbol, accompanied by the monogram Δ . But also to be associated with this particular Antiochus tetradrachm, is a whole series of similar pieces (Nos. 1228-34, PLATES XLI, 10 and XLII, 1-5). Of these, No. 1228 is connected by an identical obverse die with the preceding, while the remainder display the same style and are all marked by the monogram Δ , which is obviously the same as the Δ of Nos. 1226-7. Once (No. 1234), it even has that particular form.

Just as for the earlier coins of Laodicea (Nos. 1202-26), so for the present series the dies are irregularly placed. The youthful appearance of the king's features, the presence on all the portraits of a lightly indicated cheek-beard, the obvious copying on Nos. 1233-4 of early Antiochene tetradrachms, PLATES XXVI-XXVII, prove that our present coins date from the first years of Antiochus III's reign. The probable period of time covered by Series I has therefore been tentatively placed at *circa* 223-215 B. C.

On the earliest pieces of this issue the diadem-ends either wave out behind (PLATES XLI, 8 and XLII, 1-3) in a manner similar to the arrangement found on the earliest issues of Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl. xviii), or they fall stiffly (PLATE XLI, 9-10) as on the earliest issues of Antioch (PLATE XXVI, 11-16). When, however, the Laodicean die-engravers saw fit to copy such Antiochene tetradrachms as PLATE XXVI, 17-18, they carried over onto their own productions (PLATE XLII, 4-6) the diadem-end arrangement as found on their models. Thus one diadem-end now falls stiffly, while the other rises in a curve behind the king's head.

¹⁰⁶ *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXXV, 1925, pp. 223-4.

In view of the assignment of these coins to the mint of Laodicea, it is interesting to note how many are reported as present in the collection of the American University at Beyrouth. Laodicean issues ought to have been well represented among the coins once circulating in northern Phoenicia.

SERIES II, c. 215-205 B. C.

1235. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head as on PLATES XLI, 9-10 and XLII, 4-5.

Same type as on Nos. 1227-34. In outer r. field, MP . In outer l. field, A .

α) Poche Coll., Aleppo; β) Munich, gr. 16.30. PLATE LXII, 6; γ) Newell, \downarrow , gr. 16.87. PLATE XLII, 7.

1236. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, except that the diadem-ends again hang straight.

Similar. In outer r. field, A . In outer l. field, A (recut over an earlier monogram?).

London (Urfa 1924 Hoard). PLATE XLII, 8.

1237. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, A . In outer l. field, MP .

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), A , gr. 16.925. PLATE XLII, 9.

1238. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, MP . In outer l. field, MP .

Poche Coll., Aleppo. PLATE XLII, 10.

1239. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. The features are now older and the diadem-ends wave out behind. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer r. field, A or A . In outer l. field, MP .

α) Sir H. Weber Coll., No. 7872A, Pl. 287, gr. 16.54; β) Istanbul (Sardes 'Pot-hoard.' *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 43, No. 398, Pl. i), gr. 16.75; γ) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum. Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 478* = *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, Pl. v, 7), gr. 16.85. PLATE XLII, 11; δ) Zygman Coll., \uparrow , gr. 16.75. PLATE XLII, 12.

The coins of Series II continue in a general way, the same style and fabric as found towards the close of Series I. The monograms of certain new magistrates make their appearance, but the continuation in office of MP^{157} serves further to tie up Series II with Series I. At the opening of the new series (No. 1235, PLATE XLII, 6), the die-engravers were still following the diadem arrangement as found on the latest specimens (Nos. 1233-4) of the preceding issue. But soon (Nos. 1236-8,

¹⁵⁷ He appears on Nos. 1235, 1237 and 1238 of Series II, as he had on Nos. 1230-1 of Series I.

PLATE XLII, 8-10) they changed this scheme to the more simple one of the stiffly falling diadem-ends. On the last coin of the issue (No. 1239, PLATE XLII, 11-12), the ends once more wave out behind.

With Plate XLII, 10 appears a portrait which is very similar to, and possibly based on, such Antiochene issues as PLATE XXVIII, 5 and 7, which latter belong to Series II (c. 213-208 B. C.) of that mint. This portrait is soon replaced at Laodicea (PLATE XLII, 11-12) by the more rugged type, a type characterized by the long, pointed nose, the prominent cheek-bones, and the high, round forehead with the thinning hair just above the temple. The presence of these coins at the end of Series II allows us to place the close of this issue at about 210-205 B. C., namely, at a time when this particular type of portraiture was superceding the more youthful variety at Nisibis, at Antioch and at other mints of the empire.

CHAPTER IV

COELE-SYRIA¹

A: MARATHUS

Before describing the Seleucid coins struck at this Phoenician seaport, it will be necessary to review, for a moment, the Alexandrine coins which immediately preceded them. It is also imperative to cast a glance at the prolific issues coined during the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. in the island state of Aradus, mistress and metropolis of the Aradian *paralia* on the opposite mainland. Her earliest issues, from the arrival of Alexander the Great down to about 319 B. C., have been listed and discussed several times² and so can be passed over here. The succeeding issues bear the name of Philip Arrhidaeus and are represented by Müller's Nos. 1-2, 20, 54-56, 100, 108-110 (PLATE XLIII, B), and 119-120. Of these the earliest are Nos. 119-120 (PLATE XLIII, A), the final issue in the name of Philip III being No. 20 (PLATE XLIII, C). Müller's description of this particular piece should be corrected in so far as the symbol in the field is concerned. This he mistook for a club, but well-preserved specimens show it to be a long torch ($\beta\alpha\chi\chi\alpha\varsigma$?). The transition between this final Philip III issue at Aradus and the succeeding coinage (now again bearing the name of Alexander) is represented by a coin formerly in the H. B. Yakountchikoff and now in the writer's collection³ (PLATE XLIII, D). On this piece the TORCH is placed beneath the feet of Zeus in lieu of a footstool, its former position in the field being now occupied by a large ANCHOR. The coin is connected by an identical obverse die with preceding issues, while the issues which follow it continue with identically the same style and fabric. They are partially represented by Müller's Nos. 1503-7 (PLATE XLIII, E), all with the same large ANCHOR in the field of their reverses. Because of this ANCHOR, such coins have naturally and not infrequently been associated with Seleucus. But the coins are too closely connected by style, fabric and dies with the above-mentioned issues of Philip Arrhidaeus which are certainly Aradian.⁴ There also exists a more or less

¹ The term Coele-Syria is here used in its widest sense.

² Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Nos. 1360-1372; Hill, Notes on the Alexandrine Coinage of Phoenicia, *Nomisma*, IV, 1909; Newell, "Reattribution of Certain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great," *American Journal of Numismatics*, Vol. XLVI, 1912, pp. 42-44; Newell, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 19, 1923, pp. 119-21.

³ The coin will be also found reproduced in Karl Stettner's *Lagerverzeichnis I*, 1938, No. 1946, Pl. 3.

⁴ The ANCHOR in this case is probably a magistrate's, or even a local symbol, natural enough at a maritime city such as Aradus was pre-eminently. A venturesome person might still be induced to connect these coins with Seleucus I on the following grounds. The coins certainly followed closely upon those bearing the name of Philip III, and so first appeared shortly after the latter's death in 316 B. C. Now, in that very year Seleucus fled for his life from Babylon to the court of Ptolemy I in Egypt, and was appointed by the latter as the admiral

contemporaneous bronze coinage,⁵ certainly struck at Aradus. The obverse bears the usual head of the young Heracles wearing the lion's skin, while on the reverse, which is anepigraphic, may be seen an anchor above a prow—the latter being a common type of Aradian autonomous coins in the base metal. Their style and fabric is typically Phoenician, their origin is almost invariably from along the Syrian coast. Their true date, although early, is still rather uncertain. The most obvious solution would be to consider them as issued contemporaneously with the Alexandrine staters and tetradrachms, described above, which also bear the ANCHOR symbol. A contributing factor to the perpetuation of the idea that these anchor-bearing Alexandrine coins are somehow connected with Seleucus, is the fact that specimens of the tetradrachm are often found in Babylonia.⁶ Although struck at Aradus, they probably reached Babylonia largely through the ordinary channels of trade, for Aradus, together with her 'daughter cities' on the mainland, were the terminus (or gateway, if you will) to a much frequented overland trade route⁷ via Mariamme, Raphanea, Homs (or via Gabala) to Chalcis, Beroea (Aleppo), and thence along either the Euphrates or the Tigris rivers to Babylonia. By means of an interesting emendation proposed by Dussaud⁸ to the text of Strabo XVI, 2, 16, the latter is made to claim that it was the Aradians in particular who carried on the shipping traffic along the Euphrates river. If that be so, and the emendation appears eminently reasonable, then it need cause little surprise that the silver issues of Aradus and her colonies should turn up so frequently in Babylonia. It

of the Egyptian fleet. In that capacity, we know (Diodorus XIX, 58) that Seleucus harried the coasts of Antigonos' possessions, especially Syria. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he seized, or came to an understanding with, Aradus and used her maritime facilities as a base for his ships. Similarly, early in the Great War, the French fleet seized the island of Ruad (ancient Aradus) for the same purpose, namely to harry the Turk, now, as it were, in Antigonos' shoes as masters of Asia Minor and Syria. The mint of Aradus might well have struck money, with silver supplied by Egypt, for the pay of the Egyptian soldiers and sailors, and, appropriately enough, marked these coins with the signet of Seleucus, now Ptolemy's admiral. Svoronos (*Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Ἰεροκελευσίων*, Vol. I, pp. 6¹–62²) has already associated the origin of the anchor as the chosen emblem of Seleucus with this period of his command of an Egyptian naval contingent. The suggestion, however, remains only one of those fascinating possibilities which cannot at the moment be proved. We possess no literary evidence to show that Aradus ever sided with Ptolemy in his wars with Antigonos, much less that it was ever in a position to coin money bearing the signet of his admiral, Seleucus. Neither do we know that the anchor was at this early date actually used by Seleucus as his personal emblem, although the well-known story related by Appian (Syr. 56) implies that he had received from his mother a magic ring, bearing an anchor on its bezel, when he left Macedonia in the train of the great Alexander, some eighteen years before the present date. During all this time he may well have used the ring in signing documents, and the anchor came to be recognized as his personal emblem. On coins certainly issued by Seleucus, the anchor does not appear before the period *circa* 312–304 B. C. (cf. E. S. M., Nos. 8, 261 ff., 283, 290 ff., 461 ff.), and then only sporadically.

⁵ Cf. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, Nos. 921–2, Pl. xxiii, 1.

⁶ Prof. Haynes' Babylonian Hoard (Noe, No. 118) contained ten examples, while there was also one in Gejou's Hoard (Noe, No. 680). Clay impressions of such pieces have been unearthed at Seleucia on the Tigris (Cf. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia*, pp. 243–4). Single specimens sometimes reach the coin markets from Mesopotamia and Iraq.

⁷ Cf. R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, p. 432. In the course of the third century the chief Mediterranean terminus for this route gradually shifted to Seleucia Pieria (and also Laodicea), in consequence of the establishment and encouragement of those seaports by the Seleucidae.

⁸ *Ibid.*

may even be possible that in the bazaars and market places of Babylonian cities these particular Aradian coins were later generally believed, because of the anchor which they bore, to be issues of Seleucus himself, and thus enjoyed continued popularity.

Throughout all this period one of the 'daughters' of Aradus, on the mainland, also issued a long series of similar coins, beginning with those bearing the name of Philip III.⁹ Such pieces are partially represented by coins such as PLATE XLIII, F and by Müller's Nos. 111-115 (PLATE XLIII, G). In style and fabric these coins are not unlike some of the contemporaneous issues of Aradus, near enough at any rate to show that they must have emanated from the same general district. When, after the death of Philip, the mint at Aradus shifted back again to the use of Alexander's name, and at the same time placed a large ANCHOR so conspicuously in the field of its coins (PLATE XLIII, D-E)—so, too, did this numismatic imitator on the mainland (PLATE XLIII, H-I). In this latter mint were now struck coins such as Müller Nos. 1492-1501, in direct continuation of its previous coinage in the name of Philip III. These coins too, because of their ANCHOR and in consequence of the active traffic between the seacoast and Babylonia, enjoyed a certain amount of popularity in the Mesopotamian region and the east.¹⁰ Like the similar coins of Aradus, these too, because of their fabric and stylistic affinities, could have been coined in the Phoenician district only. Thus, for the period of about fifteen years preceding the battle of Ipsus, we possess two closely similar series of Alexandrine coins¹¹ issued at cities (one of which was certainly Aradus, the other, presumably one of her former dependencies) in the northern portion of what we know as Phoenicia.

Of all the dependencies of Aradus at which coins could at this time have been struck, Marathus was certainly the most important. When Alexander arrived there after the battle of Issus, it is described by Arrian¹² as a great and prosperous city. Apparently Alexander stayed here for a short time.¹³ Marathus was the most independent of the group of towns owing allegiance to Aradus. In Hellenistic times we know the city completely threw off the Aradian yoke, was her most bitter and dangerous trade rival, minted her own autonomous coins, and maintained her freedom until her final destruction by the jealous Aradians between 149 and 145 B. C. To Marathus, then, should be assigned¹⁴ the second series of coins which run so closely parallel to the issues of Aradus.

⁹ Earlier coins of this mint, in the name of Alexander, are not known. It may be pointed out that the coin issues of Aradus suggest that in the troubled period which followed the death of Alexander this city (Aradus) may actually have lost some of her prerogatives. At least, with the issues bearing the name of Philip III, her well-known monogram Λ disappears from the coins. Was it, then, in direct consequence of this loss by Aradus of some of her former power, that her one time dependency (Marathus) was able to commence her own coinage, also in the name of Philip?

¹⁰ One turned up in Prof. Haynes' Babylonian Hoard (Noe, No. 118), while another reached us from Persia.

¹¹ Inscribed either ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

¹² II, 13, 8.

¹³ Arrian II, 14, 1 and 15, 6; Curtius IV, 1.

¹⁴ Rather than to such minor places, more directly dependent upon Aradus, as Carne or Simyra.

The battle of Ipsus in the summer of 301 B. C., and the seizure of Syria and contiguous regions by Seleucus as the result of that victory, brought considerable numismatic, as well as political, changes in northern Phoenicia. Here was the borderland between the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic empires. Here met the forces of Seleucus, hastening south from Ipsus, and those of Ptolemy hurrying north to secure as much as possible of the territorial spoils of Antigonus' shattered empire.

Apparently, the respective troops were not allowed to come to serious blows, but the feelings of Seleucus were well expressed in a letter to Ptolemy, preserved for us in a fragment of Diodorus:¹⁵ Seleucus wrote that "it was only just that the victors should rule the conquered territories; so far as Coele-Syria was concerned he should for the present take no active measures because of the friendship between them, but that he should consider later how to deal with a friend who seized more than his share." Eventually, a *modus vivendi* was arranged and the boundary line set, perhaps at the Eleutherus River,¹⁶ the southern limit of Aradian territory. In any case, Aradus and her entire *paralia* at this time were directly within the sphere of Seleucid power and influence.

GROUP A

1240. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus, seated to l. on throne, resting l. hand on sceptre, and holding eagle in extended r. In l. field, ANCHOR and PELLET. Beneath throne, ΙΡ.

A1-P1. α) Newell (Angora Hoard), κ, gr. 17.20; β) Newell (Angora), κ, gr. 17.14. PLATE XLIII, 1.

P1. (ANCHOR erased from field.) Newell (Angora), ←, gr. 17.06. PLATE XLIII, 2.

1241. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1240, but now slightly worn.

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Same type as the preceding. In l. field, Γ. Beneath throne, STAR.

A1-P2. α) Newell (Angora), →, gr. 16.38; β) Newell (Angora), →, gr. 17.07; γ) Newell (Angora), ↗, gr. 16.78. PLATE XLIII, 3.

¹⁵ Fragment of Book XXI in *Excerpt. Vatican.*, p. 42.

¹⁶ So Strabo XVI, 2, 12. In XVI, 2, 21, he further states that "the seaboard from Orthosia to Pelusium is called Phoenicia," thus implying that Orthosia (in other words, the Eleutherus, for the city lay near that river) represented the northern boundary towards Seleucus. Honigsmann in Pauly-Wissowa, II, 2, p. 1207 accepts the Eleutherus as the boundary at this time. Kahrstedt, *Syrische Territorien in Hellenistischer Zeit*, pp. 29-32 places the boundary line between Paltus and Gabala, to the north of Aradus. His views have been strenuously attacked by W. Otto, *Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte des III Jahrhunderts*, *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.*, XXXIV, 1, p. 37 ff., by Laqueur, *Gnomon*, III, p. 527 ff., and by E. Bickermann, *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1927, p. 1766 ff. Recently, Tschirikower, *Misraim*, IV-V, 1937, p. 34, has advanced convincing reasons against Kahrstedt's thesis. He rather favors Tripolis as the boundary, although he announces himself as amenable to accepting the Eleutherus-Orthosia boundary instead.

GROUP B

1242. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1240.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Same type as the preceding. In l. field, ΠΡ. Beneath throne, Μ.

A1-P3. α) American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.5. PLATE XLIV, 2; β) Newell (Angora), ↘, gr. 17.22; γ) Newell (possibly from the Angora Hoard), →, gr. 17.40. PLATE XLIV, 1.

1243. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1240, but more worn.

Same inscription and type as on the preceding. In l. field, ✕ above Σ. Beneath throne, STAR.

A1-P4. α) Newell (Angora), →, gr. 17.15. PLATE XLIV, 4; β) Newell (Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 626, Pl. xviii. Probably from the Angora Hoard), ↖, gr. 16.91. PLATE XLIV, 3.

1244. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but from a new die, A2.

Same type and inscription as on the preceding, except that the title is written ΒΑΣΙΛ-ΣΩΣ. Traces of ANCHOR (erased from field), and Μ.

A2-P5. α) Hess Sale 208, Dec. 1931, No. 678, Pl. 10, gr. 16.98; β) Commerce; γ) Ciani, *Vente aux prix marqués*, No. 147, Pl. viii; δ) Newell (Angora), →, gr. 17.00; ε) Newell (Angora), ↑, gr. 17.03; ς) Newell (Angora), ↗, gr. 17.11. PLATE XLIV, 5; ζ) Newell (Angora), ↓, gr. 16.90. PLATE XLIV, 6.

1245. TETRADRACHM.

From die A1, now somewhat more worn.

Similar and with same monogram, but beneath throne, A.

A1-P5. (2nd stage). Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↘, gr. 16.565. PLATE XLIV, 7.

1246. TETRADRACHM.

From die A2.

Same as the preceding, except that ΑΣΤ has been engraved over the traces of the erased ANCHOR.

A2-P5. (3rd stage). α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 761, Pl. 26, gr. 16.98; β) Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 637, Pl. 15, gr. 17.02; γ-δ) Newell (Angora), ↖, grs. 16.83 and 16.84; ε) Newell (Angora), ↓, gr. 16.71; ς) Newell (Angora), ↖, gr. 16.32; ζ) Newell (Angora), ↗, gr. 17.20. PLATE XLIV, 8; η) Newell (Angora), ↗, gr. 17.16. PLATE XLIV, 9; θ) London (Angora Hoard? *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1914, p. 25, No. 23, Pl. viii), ↖, gr. 16.82.

1247. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but with the inscription ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ only. In field, ANCHOR (partially erased).

Newell, ↗, gr. 2.01. PLATE XLIV, 10.

1248. HEMIDRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, Σ and PELLET.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 6, No. 9, Pl. lxiii, 12), gr. 1.98; β) Newell, \rightarrow , gr. 1.78. PLATE XLIV, 11.

It is evident that No. 1240, PLATE XLIII, 1, must constitute the continuation of the coinage represented by Müller's Nos. 1492-1501 and our PLATE XLIII, H-I. We find very much the same type of Heracles head, even down to such an unusual feature as the double outline to the ear of the lion's skin, or the group of pellets to suggest the 'whiskers' on the beast's muzzle. Similar, too, is the stiff figure of Zeus on the reverse, with his parallel legs, the left foot resting on a footstool, the right jutting forward without support. Similar also is the unusually large ANCHOR in the field, as well as the complete absence of an exergual line. On a sub-variety of No. 1240, PLATE XLIII, 2, struck from the same pair of dies, the ANCHOR has been erased from the field of the reverse die before striking, but the PELLET and the magistrate's monogram remain. Again from the same obverse die (A1) is No. 1241, PLATE XLIII, 3, but the reverse is from another die which now bears the anachronistic name of Philip Arrhidaeus! In the field is the badly made monogram Ξ , while beneath the throne is the symbol STAR. This reverse die obviously represents a copy (including the king's name, a blundered monogram and the STAR) of a much earlier coin, a specimen of which is here reproduced on PLATE XLIII, F, for purposes of comparison. This latter piece is indeed to be assigned to our same mint, but to some fifteen years earlier, immediately preceding Müller's Nos. 111-115 and 128-9. And, strangely enough, there now further appear at our mint Nos. 1242, PLATE XLIV, 1-2, and 1243, PLATE XLIV, 3-4, both struck from the obverse die (A1) of Nos. 1240-1—but with the accompanying reverse dies bearing the name of Seleucus! This definitely proves No. 1241 to be a posthumous coin, issued long after the death of the king whose name it bears. In the reverse field of No. 1242 may be observed the magistrate's monogram Π of No. 1240; while beneath the throne of No. 1243 is the STAR of No. 1241. To these, succeeded a further issue of tetradrachms, Nos. 1244-6, PLATE XLIV, 5-9, for which a new obverse die (A2) was cut. The accompanying reverse die (P5) must once have borne the symbol ANCHOR in its field, for traces of this object may be still discerned, although a comparatively careful attempt had been made to remove this symbol from the die before the specimens catalogued under the Nos. 1244-6 had been struck. During the coinage of No. 1244, a blemish or fracture commenced to develop¹⁷ beneath the throne's rung. Thereupon the die was repaired, and an *alpha* engraved beneath the throne (No. 1245, PLATE XLIV, 7), all but obliterating the blemish which had begun to appear in that place. The definite proof that Nos. 1244-6 were issued from the same mint as Nos. 1240-3 is furnished by the single specimen of No. 1245 whose reverse die is the P5 of Nos. 1244 and 1246, but whose obverse die is still the same old A1 (now somewhat worn) which had been employed in pro-

¹⁷ Not yet visible on PLATE XLIV, 5 but clearly to be seen on PLATE XLIV, 6.

during the earlier pieces. Probably associated with these tetradrachms were the hemidrachms Nos. 1247-8, PLATE XLIV, 10-11, whose style is very similar to that of the larger pieces. On No. 1247 occurs the ANCHOR (here, too, partially erased) of dies *P1* and *P5*; while on No. 1248 we find the *sigma* of No. 1243 and the PELLET of No. 1240. Throughout the issue of tetradrachms and hemidrachms alike, the dies are irregularly placed.

The period of time over which these coins were struck could not have been very long. The difference in signs of wear discernible on the obverse die A1, between its use for No. 1240 and for No. 1243, is, on the whole, slight. Even in the case of No. 1245, the increased wear noticeable on this die is not very extensive; neither are new cracks many, nor are the old cracks much greater in size. Not the least curious feature about this entire group of coins is the fact that a very large proportion of the known specimens come from a single hoard, the Angora deposit.¹⁸ As most of the pieces also exhibit but few signs of extensive circulation, they must have been brought at one time, and possibly by one person (a soldier or merchant ?) from northern Phoenicia to central Asia Minor, where they were soon after buried, together with many other varieties of the Alexandrine type.

The replacement of the names of Alexander and of Philip by that of Seleucus, all within the life-time of a single die (A1), points reasonably to the disturbed period in and around 301-300 B. C. for the production of this coinage. This was the time Seleucus suddenly took over portions of Asia Minor, Syria, and Phoenicia in consequence of his decisive victory over Antigonos at Ipsus. Considering that the coins were probably struck at Marathus, they clearly reflect by their many anomalies the dangers and uncertainties of the political situation, doubtless at this time felt with peculiar intensity in the Aradian *paralia*. For it lay, as it were, between the upper and nether millstones, represented by the expanding Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires. With rival Seleucid and Ptolemaic soldiery in the immediate neighborhood, both striving to secure for their respective masters as much territory as possible and likely at any moment to come to blows, small wonder that the issues of Marathus at this time should have been of a varied and uncertain character. The first coin (No. 1240) still bore the ANCHOR symbol customary to the preceding coinage of our mint. But the anchor, as the known emblem of Seleucus, bore a connotation which might be embarrassing if an Egyptian advance guard had reached, or was within striking distance of the city. Possibly Egyptian partisans¹⁹

¹⁸ This name has been given to the hoard because it represents the most frequent, as well as the most plausible, of the many sources which have been indicated by the various dealers who have handled portions of the find. A large portion of the hoard was still in Constantinople in February 1921, and had certainly been found inside Turkish territory. Among other find-spots mentioned, was the absurd one of Ephesus, and the more plausible one of Urfa. But as another, but much later hoard (reaching down to Antiochus III), did come from Urfa (Noe, No. 1147) at about the time this source for our coins was suggested, it is probable that some confusion between the two hoards had unintentionally arisen. Judging by its contents alone, the hoard itself might well have been unearthed farther to the south or east of Angora (now Ankara), possibly somewhere in ancient Cappadocia. It is quite possible that all of the known specimens, with the sole exception of No. 1245 which comes from an old collection, may once have been in this hoard.

¹⁹ Not many years later Marathus is known to have been ardently pro-Egyptian in sentiment. Cf. Kahstedt in *Klio*, X, 1910, pp. 265-7 and 271.

had secured the upper hand. In some such way may we explain the removal of the ANCHOR from die *P1* in its second state. Why the succeeding reverse die (*P2*) should not only bear the name of the long dead Philip, but also a monogram not unlike that of a magistrate active fifteen years before, is more difficult to understand. Possibly, an old die had still been extant in the mint's 'junk box,' and was hastily put to use at this time. No political blame could possibly fall upon a mint official in using a die which bore the innocuous name of the deceased and negligible Philip Arrhidaeus. Still more likely was it that there was pressure to get out additional money as soon as possible (for the payment of troops?), and an old and discarded die was resurrected until such time as a new one could be made. This new die (*P3*) now bore the name of Seleucus, indicating that by this time the political status of the city had been settled. The succeeding dies (*P4* and *P5*) continue to bear the name of Seleucus. It may be noted that die *P5* also once possessed an ANCHOR in its field. Perhaps this symbol had been on an unfinished die and had been removed when affairs were still in an unsettled state. The die was then not put to use until the territory had become definitely Seleucidan, when it was fetched forth and the name of Seleucus engraved upon it. Some such history of the die is suggested by the difficulty of satisfactorily explaining the erasure of the ANCHOR, coupled with the pristine appearance of the letters in Seleucus' name. In passing, it may be remarked that, perhaps due to the excitement of these uncertain times, the engraver committed a blunder when he engraved the royal title on this die. It reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. The implications conveyed by this entire group seem to lead to the conclusion that here the ANCHOR symbol can have little or nothing to do with Seleucus, but may have some local significance or be the emblem of some mint official.

B: UNCERTAIN MINT IN THE ARADIAN PARALIA (?)

1249. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned to l., as before. In l. field, ANCHOR. Beneath throne, M.

Paris (Babelon, No. 21. Bears the usual countermarks of Callatis: a) Veiled head of Demeter and K in circular incuse. b) KAA above ear of wheat, all in oblong panel), gr. 16.70. PLATE XLIV, 12.

1250. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, ANCHOR and A. Beneath throne, M.

Newell, ←, gr. 3.91. PLATE XLIV, 13.

Although varying somewhat from the preceding in style, these coins should be assigned to a mint in the region of Aradus. As at both Aradus and Marathus, so here too we possess an earlier coinage of tetradrachms and drachms of the Alexander

type²⁰ (Cf. PLATE XLIV, A-B), all marked by a large ANCHOR in the field. Just as at Marathus, these are followed by an issue of similar type but now bearing the name of Seleucus, Nos. 1249-50, PLATE XLIV, 12-13. In this case, however, the ANCHOR continues to appear on the coins with the name of Seleucus. Again, like the ANCHOR-marked Alexandrine issues of Aradus and Marathus, examples of this third group turn up frequently in Babylonia.²¹ These coins are often of very poor, almost barbaric style, with clumsy die-cutting, and bad, sometimes blundered lettering. They present an appearance which is more that of ancient copies than of regularly constituted issues. But the metal of which they are made seems invariably good, and their weights approach the norm sufficiently to indicate that the coins had emanated from an official, rather than from some 'private,' mint. On the other hand, it is difficult to conceive that such pieces could have been struck, for instance, either at Marathus in succession to Nos. 1244-6, or at Aradus where the previous standard of die-cutting had been high. But so many curious things are noticeable about the coin issues assignable to the Aradian district at this time, that it would be a bold person indeed who could assert the impossibility of almost anything having taken place there. If Nos. 1249-50, together with their immediately preceding 'Alexanders,' are not assigned to Aradus or Marathus, then such neighboring towns as Paltus, Balanea, Carne, Simyra might be considered. But to make a definite choice between these several possibilities, is to go far beyond any evidence we chance to possess.

C: TYRE

On two previous occasions, the earlier Seleucid issues of the Tyrian mint have been studied and described.²² The present section is therefore something in the nature of a résumé, embodying a few changes, together with certain simplifications in the arrangement as dictated by a further study of the coins themselves in the light of contemporaneous issues from other Seleucid mints. The numbers (in brackets) following the denominations are those previously given to each variety in the studies mentioned above.

ANTIOCHUS III

SERIES I, 219-217 B. C.

1251. TETRADRACHM (7).

Diademed, youthful head of Antiochus to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
on bow and holding arrow in extended r.
In outer r. field, ☉. In outer l. field, Α.

²⁰ Müller, Nos. 1510-1, as well as several further varieties not known to him.

²¹ Two tetradrachms and a drachm were in Prof. Haynes' Babylonian Hoard (Noe, No. 118). Single specimens also sometimes reach the west from Mesopotamian sources.

²² *The First Seleucid Coinage of Tyre*, Num. Notes and Monographs No. 10; *The Seleucid Coinages of Tyre*, *A Supplement*, Num. Notes and Monographs No. 73.

α) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 145, No. 234), gr. 17.05; β) de Nanteuil Coll., No. 490, Pl. xxx (= Ciani Sale, Dec. 1921, No. 82, Pl. v), ↑, gr. 16.90; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.08. PLATE XLV, 1.
β and γ are from the same pair of dies.

1252. TETRADRACHM (6).

The same die as No. 1251.

Similar. In outer r. field, Π. In outer l. field, Α.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 336, Pl. ix, 1), gr. 17.10; β) Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 419, Pl. 13, gr. 16.48; γ) London (A. J. Wace Coll. Cf. *Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. VI, 1903, Pl. vii, 2. Rhodes Hoard); δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.05. PLATE XLV, 2; e) American University, Beyrouth.

It now seems necessary to regard Nos. 1251-2, PLATE XLV, 1-2, as the opening issue of the Tyrian mint under Antiochus III. They must have been coined during the first occupation of the city by the Syrian king in 219-217 B. C. The features of Antiochus are here quite youthful, and in general contours and expression not unlike certain issues of Antioch (cf. No. 1051, PLATE XXVII, 1-3) assigned to the period 223-13 B. C. If placed in the period after 201 B. C., as had previously been proposed, Nos. 1251-2 appear stylistically out of place, while their portraits are not in accord either with that late period nor with the remaining portraits found on the Tyrian issues with which they had been associated.

In the spring of 219 B. C., just after his reconquest of Seleucia Pieria, Antiochus received intelligence that the Ptolemaic governor of Coele-Syria, Theodotus the Aetolian, was prepared to betray Ptolemy and hand over the important city of Ptolemais-Ake to Antiochus. At the same time the Aetolian's lieutenant, Panaetolus, would similarly turn over the great fortress and naval station of Tyre. The over-joyed Antiochus hastened south and quickly secured the cities of Tyre and Ake, together with their valuable arsenals, ships, and military stores. Thereafter, Antiochus set himself to conquer, one by one, the remaining cities of Coele-Syria. The war, interrupted by an armistice of four months during the winter of 219-8, dragged on throughout 218 B. C. During all this time both Tyre and Ake remained safely in Seleucid possession. By the spring of 217 B. C., the Egyptian main army had finally completed its preparations, advanced into Palestine, and on the field of Raphia utterly defeated the Seleucid forces. Antiochus hastily retreated to Antioch, abandoning all his conquests in Coele-Syria, and was glad to negotiate a peace on the basis of the *status quo ante*. Pursuant to this, Tyre and Ake returned to Egyptian rule. The short-lived first Seleucid issues in Tyre thus came to an abrupt end.

SERIES II, c. 201-197 B. C.

GROUP A

1253. TETRADRACHM (8).

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., with features still somewhat youthful. Circle of dots. The diadem-ends hang loosely.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l., as before. In outer r. field, Π. In outer l. field, Α. In the exergue, HUMPED BULL to l.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 31, No. 7), gr. 17.07; β) Paris (Babelon No. 337), gr. 17.15; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.25; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); ϵ) London (Dunne's Mesopotamian Hoard. Glendining Sale, Aug. 1934, No. 93); ζ) London (*Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1914, p. 25, Pl. viii, \uparrow , gr. 16.98; η) Newell (Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 955, Pl. 34), gr. 17.22. PLATE XLV, 3.
All specimens are apparently struck from one obverse die.

1254. DRACHM (8a).

Similar head to r.

Similar inscription and type. The monograms are also the same, but there is no symbol in the exergue.

Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 997, Pl. 36, gr. 4.23. PLATE XLV, 4.

GROUP B

1255. TETRADRACHM (1 and 2).

Older head of Antiochus to r., with flying diadem-ends.

Similar. Apollo resting his l. hand on a bow which is sometimes of the plain, sometimes of the composite, type. In outer r. field, Δ . In outer l. field, Λ .

α) Neville Sale XIII, June 1928, No. 917, Pl. 27, gr. 17.21; β) Commerce, 1938; γ) Newell (Ordofies Coll., Schulman Sale LXII, No. 348, Pl. v), gr. 17.22. PLATE XLV, 5; δ) Toronto; ϵ) Commerce, gr. 17.23; ζ) Newell, gr. 17.01. PLATE XLV, 6.
 β - ζ are struck from a single obverse die.

BRONZE ISSUES

1256. BRONZE UNIT (3).

Similar. Circle of dots. Central hole and bevelled edge.

$\Delta\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}\text{E}\Omega\text{C}$ above, ANTIOXOY beneath ship's prow to l. The design is terminated on the r. by a downward swimming dolphin, while another dolphin is depicted beneath the ship's 'eye.'

α) Newell, gr. 6.67; β) Newell, gr. 5.37. PLATE XLV, 7.

1257. BRONZE UNIT (3a).

Similar.

Similar, except that ship's prow is of the 'swan's neck' type, and from it depends a fillet. At base of prow the Phoenician letter, X .

Newell, gr. 4.82. PLATE XLV, 8.

1258. BRONZE UNIT (4 and 4a).

Similar.

Similar, except that the Phoenician letter is now I , while above the prow is the date PIE (198-7 B. C.).

α - β) Paris (Babelon, No. 450, Pl. xi, 5, and No. 451), grs. 4.40 and 4.90; γ) Newell (ex Rouvier Coll.), gr. 4.48. PLATE XLV, 9.

1259. BRONZE HALF (5).

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Palm tree. α - β) Newell, grs. 2.50 and 2.78; γ - δ) Newell (ex Rouvier Coll.), grs. 2.65 and 3.18. PLATE XLV, 10.

This entire issue is supervised by the two magistrates Α and Β—the latter may possibly represent the same individual who had previously placed his monogram on No. 1252. On the coins of Group A (Nos. 1253-4, PLATE XLV, 3-4), the features of Antiochus still appear somewhat youthful, but the style of the reverse is later and the details of the design not quite so well carried out as on Nos. 1251-2. The figure of Apollo is still completely nude, and now even the drapery to be seen on top of the *omphalos* on certain reverses of Nos. 1251-2 (for instance, on PLATE XLV, 1) has been removed. The characteristic feature of No. 1253, PLATE XLV, 3, is the figure of the HUMPED BULL, used as a symbol in the exergue of the reverse. It may be noted that it is not actually in the act of butting, but is like the bull on certain early bronze coins of Seleucus I struck at Seleucia on the Tigris.²³ Perhaps we have here the Seleucid bull *par excellence*. Its presence may have been intended to suggest the final emergence of the Seleucid Antiochus as victor in his struggle over brute force (Egypt), and his recovery of Tyre, lost sixteen years before at Raphia.

The death of Ptolemy IV in 203 B. C., and the fact that his successor was but a child, made Egypt seem powerless. In 201 B. C., therefore, Antiochus invaded Coele-Syria and soon secured the entire country, apparently with little real difficulty. He recovered Tyre, and once more commenced a coinage there bearing his own name and types. Both Groups A and B of Series II, as indicated by their style and the date displayed by the bronze coin No. 1258, are doubtless to be assigned to the beginning of Antiochus III's second reign over the city of Tyre.

The coins of Group B (Nos. 1255-9, PLATE XLV, 5-10) now present a mature head of the king, with features typical of his other issues in the last decade or so of the third century. We recognize the tall, domed forehead and the parting of the locks which suggest approaching baldness, the long, pointed nose, and small, pursed lips. On the reverses we still have the completely nude Apollo figure seated upon the drapery-less *omphalos*. The magistrates signing Group B are still the same pair under whom Group A had been produced.

Accompanying the silver coins of Group B is an issue of bronze coins, Nos. 1256-9, PLATE XLV, 7-10, in two denominations. Both bear a portrait of Antiochus in every particular similar to the one found on the tetradrachms of No. 1255. The reverse type of the larger coin is a ship's prow, that of the smaller a palm tree—both typical of the later regal as well as autonomous bronze coinages issued from the Tyrian mint. The prow in this case is of two types, one with the ordinary backward-curving, round-topped *acrostolium* which first began to appear in the

²³ E. S. M., Pl. iii, 1-5. Cf. the discussion of this type as it appears on the coins of Seleucus I, E. S. M., pp. 18-19.

early third century B. C. The second variety is the earlier, forward-pointing, S-curved type, which reminds one so strongly of a swan's neck. The prows of this second type (Nos. 1257-8, PLATE XLV, 8-9) bear one of two Phoenician letters, *aleph* or *resh*,²⁴ at their bases, while the point of the *acrostolium* itself is adorned with a fillet, or, perhaps, the royal diadem itself.²⁵ On No. 1258 is found, for the first time in Seleucid numismatics, an unmistakable date, namely PIE, the one hundred and fifteenth year of the Seleucid era, or 198-7 B. C. It has been shown²⁶ that these prows with the pointed and fillet-adorned *acrostolium* should probably be associated with the successful naval parade, led by Antiochus himself, along the coasts of Asia Minor in the spring of 197 B. C.

It is interesting to note that all of these bronze coins present the type of flan first extensively used in Egypt, i. e., a flan with bevelled edges and provided on each side with a small, round, central depression. We have met before with bevelled flans in our studies of the Seleucid bronze coinages,²⁷ but, with only one exception,²⁸ these never possess the central hole so characteristic of the Ptolemaic bronze issues after the middle of Ptolemy II's reign. Thus, from their very inception, our Tyrian Seleucid bronzes proclaim the strength of the Egyptian mint-practices, which through many decades had become established at this old Ptolemaic mint.

Series II covers the period from the recovery of Tyre by Antiochus III in 201-200 B. C., to the year 198-7 B. C. This includes the campaign of 198 B. C., when the Egyptians under their Aetolian general, Scopas, made a nearly successful attempt to recover their Syrian possessions. Only at the decisive battle of Panium was Antiochus finally able to liquidate the Egyptian threat, and so to re-establish his rule from the borders of the Seleucis in the north to the desert below Raphia in the south. As the Tyrian issues reveal no obvious break in their continuity, it is probable that Tyre remained safely in the hands of its Seleucid garrison until relieved by Antiochus. Certainly no hint is to be found in our literary tradition of any loss of Tyre at this time, although her neighbor Sidon did for a moment succumb²⁹ to the temporary resurgence of Egyptian power.

²⁴ For a possible, though perhaps hazardous explanation of these letters, see *Num. Notes and Monographs* No. 73, pp. 4-5.

²⁵ A copy of this rare type is found at Susa. Cf. E. S. M., No. 406, Pl. xxxi, 9.

²⁶ *Num. Notes and Monographs* No. 73, pp. 3-4.

²⁷ This was the characteristic type of flan in such eastern mints as Seleucia on the Tigris, Susa, Ecbatana, Bactra. It was also extensively used at Carthage and Nisibis. But in the west it occurs at first only sporadically, i. e., at one point in the early bronze issues of Seleucus I at Antioch, and of Seleucus II at Apamea.

²⁸ The bronze 'octuples' of Seleucus II at Apamea, Nos. 1162 and 1165.

²⁹ Jerome, *In Daniel*, 11, 15.

SERIES III, c. 197-187 B. C.

GROUP A

1260. TETRADRACHM (15a).

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., with pendant diadem-ends.

Inscription and type as on No. 1255. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{N}}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{A}}$ above CLUB.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 17.12. PLATE XLV, 11.

1261. TETRADRACHM (9).

Similar. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{P}}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{N}}$.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 291, Pl. viii, 6. Erroneously attributed to Hierax), gr. 16.80; β) Hess Sale, Lucerne, Dec. 1933, No. 99, Pl. 4, gr. 17.10; γ) Hess Sale, Lucerne, March 1935, No. 414, Pl. 14, gr. 17.1; δ) Hirsch Sale XXXII, Nov. 1912, No. 581, Pl. xxii, gr. 17.07. PLATE XLV, 12; ϵ) American University, Beyrouth.

1262. TETRADRACHM (10).

From the same die as the preceding, now showing early breaks.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{E}}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{N}}$. In the exergue, BOW IN CASE.

α) Newell, gr. 15.50; β) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 952, Pl. 33 = Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April, 1921, No. 2948, Pl. lxxxvi), gr. 17.13. PLATE XLV, 13.

1263. TETRADRACHM (11).

From the same die as the preceding, now showing increasing breaks.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{N}}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{A}}$ above LIGHTED TORCH. In the exergue, CLUB.

α) London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 7, Pl. viii, 5. Cf. *Num. Notes & Mon.* No. 10, Pl. iii, 11), gr. 17.01; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 290. Erroneously attributed to Hierax), gr. 16.80; γ) Newell, gr. 17.25; δ) Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2910, Pl. xxiv, gr. 17.00; ϵ) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2949, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 17.27. PLATE XLV, 14; ζ) Brussels, gr. 17.21. PLATE XLV, 15.

1264. TETRADRACHM (12).

Mostly from the same die as the preceding.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{N}}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{A}}$.

α) Serrure Sale, Nov. 1911, No. 76, Pl. iii; β) Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 797, Pl. 14, gr. 16.93; γ) Platt Sale, May 1921, No. 106, Pl. iii; δ) Bertone Coll., Platt Sale, Dec. 1931, No. 267, Pl. vi; ϵ) Zygman Coll., gr. 17.21; ζ) Newell, gr. 17.22; η) Newell, gr. 17.24. PLATE XLV, 18; θ) American University, Beyrouth; one weighs gr. 16.3.

1265. DRACHM (13).

Similar.

Similar, and with the same two monograms.

α) Newell (style of obverse die similar to No. 1260), gr. 3.96. PLATE XLV, 16; β) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2956, Pl. lxxxvi, gr. 4.27; γ) Beyrouth Museum; δ) Newell, gr. 4.26. PLATE XLV, 17.

1266. TETRADRACHM (14).

Same obverse die as used for Nos. 1261-4, but now in a very worn and damaged condition.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΝΚ. In outer l. field, Α. In the exergue, CLUB.

α) Helbing Sale, Nov. 1928, No. 4063, Pl. 73 (= Naville Sale X, June, 1925, No. 954, Pl. 34), gr. 17.27; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 953, Pl. 33, gr. 17.26; γ) Newell, gr. 17.29. PLATE XLVI, 1.

1267. TETRADRACHM (15).

Same obverse die as the preceding.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΝΚ. In outer l. field, Α above CLUB.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); β) Newell, gr. 17.24. PLATE XLVI, 2.

GROUP B

1268. TETRADRACHM (21).

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. Circle of dots.

Same type and inscription as on the preceding. In outer r. field, ΝΚ. In outer l. field, ΣΑ above CLUB.

α) Copenhagen (Thorvaldsen Coll., No. 1676), gr. 15.70; β) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9265, Pl. 337, 1), gr. 17.17. PLATE XLVI, 3; γ) Basel Sale 4, Oct. 1935, No. 871, Pl. 30 (= Serrure Sale, Nov. 1911, No. 76, Pl. iii), gr. 17.10; δ) Dr. E. P. Robinson Coll., gr. 17.17. PLATE XLVI, 4.

1269. DRACHM (21a).

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΝΚ. In outer l. field, ΣΑ.

Newell, gr. 3.92. PLATE XLVI, 5.

1270. TETRADRACHM (21b).

Similar head to r., but of more advanced style, and with one diadem-end falling over the shoulder. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΝΑ. In outer l. field, ΣΑ.

Vienna = Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.95. PLATE XLVI, 6. One of these specimens must be a cast of the other.

1271. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΝΑ. The outer l. field is off flan. In the exergue, CLUB.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 42, No. 6. Erroneously assigned to Antiochus IV), gr. 4.04. PLATE XLVI, 7.

BRONZE ISSUES

1272. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., with sharp, elderly features. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath stern of galley. In field, PIC (= 197-6 B. C.).

α) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 7.84; β) Newell, gr. 7.73. PLATE XLVI, 8.

1273. BRONZE DOUBLE (16).

Similar.

Similar, but the date is ΠΙΞ (= 196-5 B. C.).

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 452, Pl. xi, 6), gr. 7.75; β) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 149, No. 302), gr. 6.35; γ) Newell, gr. 7.86. PLATE XLVI, 9.

1274. BRONZE DOUBLE (16a).

Similar.

Similar, but the date is ΠΙΗ (= 195-4 B. C.).

Newell, gr. 7.30.

1275. BRONZE DOUBLE (17).

Similar.

Similar, but the date is ΠΙΘ (= 194-3 B. C.).

α) Newell (ex Rouvier Coll.), gr. 7.39; β) Newell, gr. 7.22. PLATE XLVI, 10.

1276. BRONZE DOUBLE (18).

Similar.

Similar, but the date is PK (= 193-2 B. C.).

Newell, gr. 9.35.

1277. BRONZE DOUBLE (18a).

Similar.

Similar, but the date appears to be PKB (= 191-0 B. C.).

α) Berlin; β) Newell, gr. 8.18.

1278. BRONZE DOUBLE (19).

Similar.

Similar, but the date is PKΔ (= 189-8 B. C.).

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 34, No. 34, Pl. lxxv, 17. The date is not PK, as read, but PKΔ), gr. 5.96. PLATE XLVI, 11; β) London (Gardner, p. 27, No. 33, Pl. ix, 3).

1279. BRONZE HALF (20).

Similar in type and style to the preceding.

Inscription and palm tree as on No. 1259.

α) London (Gardner, p. 28, No. 48, Pl. ix, 8); β-γ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 577-8, Pl. xiii, 2. Erroneously assigned to Antiochus IV), grs. 2.00 and 3.15; δ-ε) Newell (ex Rouvier Coll.), grs. 2.34 and 2.02. PLATE XLVI, 12; f-θ) Newell, grs. 3.29, 2.36, 2.26 (Cf. *Num. Notes & Monogr.* No. 10, Pl. v, 20), gr. 2.05. PLATE XLVI, 13.

1280. BRONZE QUARTER (20a).

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Inverted club.

Newell (ex Rouvier Coll.), gr. 1.13. PLATE XLVI, 14.

The final issues of Antiochus III at Tyre are represented by Nos. 1260-80, PLATES XLV, 11-18, XLVI, 1-14. The king's portrait on the silver is now more idealized and generally similar to the type current at Antioch from *circa* 208 B. C.

to his death in 187 B. C. On the obverse of the Tyrian coins, however, the fillet border usual at Antioch is replaced by the dotted circle. The diadem-ends for the most part hang loosely, except on No. 1270 where one of them curves forward over the king's shoulder. In Group A, as had become the practice at Tyre in contrast to most of the other mints, both Apollo and the *omphalos* on which he sits are completely devoid (with one exception, PLATE XLV, 12) of any covering drapery. But in Group B a fold of cloth is again seen to cover the top of the *omphalos*. The magistrate A, active throughout Series II, continues to sign most of the coins of Series III, Group A. His assistant is usually K who replaced N (No. 1260), and is himself assisted by H or E. The former Ptolemaic practice of employing the CLUB of Tyrian Heracles (Melkart) as a symbol of the Tyrian mint is revived. In one instance (No. 1262), it is replaced by Heracles' other emblem, the BOW IN CASE. At the close of Group A, the old magistrate A finally retires and his place is taken in Group B by ΣA, who continues to be active at Tyre until well into the reign of the fourth Antiochus.³⁰ His associate is still K, together with a new individual—one A.

The bronze coinage continues from Series II, but now with a modification in that the 'double' seems to have ousted the coining of the 'unit' completely.³¹ For their reverse type these 'doubles' display the stern of a galley, to make possible a ready distinction between them and the 'units.' They all bear dates from PIC (197-6 B. C.) to PKΔ (189-8 B. C.). No coins dated in the king's final year (PKE = 188-7 B. C.) are as yet known. The portrait of Antiochus on the bronze coins is somewhat less idealized and more rugged than on the accompanying silver. The types of the 'half' (No. 1279, PLATE XLVI, 12-13) remain the same as before, the distinction between Nos. 1259 and 1279 residing in the relief and in the general character of their several portraits. To the 'doubles' and the 'half' has now been added still another denomination, the 'quarter' (No. 1280, PLATE XLVI, 14), bearing the club of Tyrian Heracles as its reverse type.

Throughout the issues of Antiochus III for Tyre, the dies of the silver coins are placed in the upright position (↑), while those of the bronzes vary between ↘, ↑, and ↗.

³⁰ Cf. *Num. Notes & Monogr.*, No. 73, p. 28, Nos. 22, 22a, 22b, 23, 28a, 29, and 30.

³¹ Unfortunately no distinction was made, in the writer's previous studies on the coinages of the Tyrian mint, between these 'doubles' and the 'units' of Antiochus III. All were equally named *chalkoi*, following Babelon and Rouvier. A careful tabulation of their respective weights reveals the error. In the succeeding coinages of Antiochus IV, Demetrius I and Demetrius II, the distinction between the two denominations continues to be maintained, not only by the difference in their weights but also by their reverse types. The 'double' is always indicated by the type of the galley's stern, the 'unit' by the prow.

D: ASCALON

ANTIOCHUS III

After *circa* 200–199 B. C.

1281. DRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the r., ANTIOXOY on l.
 Apollo seated to l., as before. In outer r.
 field, Α. In outer l. field, A above DOVE
 standing to r.

George J. Bauer Coll., π , gr. 4.26. PLATE XLVI, 15.

The great similarity existing between the style and fabric of this drachm and those of the Tyrian drachms Nos. 1254 (PLATE XLV, 4), 1265 (PLATE XLV, 16–17), and 1269 (PLATE XLVI, 5) suggests that No. 1281 must have originated in the same general district. In his complete nudity, Apollo here follows a precedent set by the Tyrian issues. This peculiarity further strengthens the assignment of our coin to some city near enough to that of Tyre for us to recognize the likelihood of its having been under the direct influence of that great mint. The bird symbol (probably a DOVE, in so far as its minuteness will allow us to judge) in the outer left field, like the CLUB on Nos. 1260 (PLATE XLV, 11) and 1267–8 (PLATE XLVI, 2–4), may represent the emblem of the mint in question. If that be so, then only Ascalon need be considered, for of that city the sacred dove of Astarte was as widely recognized a symbol as the club of Tyre. The *alpha*, here placed just above the bird, may possibly be regarded as tending to confirm the attribution.

E: UNCERTAIN MINT IN SOUTHERN COELE-SYRIA

ANTIOCHUS III

After *circa* 200–199 B. C.

GROUP A

1282. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., with
 straight diadem-ends.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
 Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
 on bow, and holding arrow in outstretched
 r. In outer r. field, ΑΤ. In outer l. field, Α.

α) Strozzi-Martinetti Colls., Sambon Sale, Nov. 1907, No. 251, Pl. 3; β) Newell, π , gr. 17.02. PLATE XLVII, 1.

1283. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monograms.
 Apollo here is completely nude.

Newell (purchased in Cairo), π , gr. 4.26. PLATE XLVII, 2.

GROUP B

1284. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r., similar in every particular to the preceding.

Similar. In outer r. field, ☉. In outer l. field, A above ATHENA HEAD to l.

London (Dunne's Mesopotamian Hoard), ↑, gr. 16.83. PLATE XLVII, 3.

1285. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus to r. One diadem-end falls over shoulder; the other curves up behind the head. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer r. field, ☉. In outer l. field, A above ATHENA HEAD.

α) Madrid (*Museo Arqueologico Nacional*, 1925, Pl. ii, 6); β) Newell (Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 966, Pl. 34), ↑, gr. 16.48; γ) Newell (purchased in Cairo), ↓, gr. 17.18. PLATE XLVII, 4.

1286. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1285.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΣΕ. In outer l. field, A above ATHENA HEAD.

Turin (Fabretti, No. 4596), gr. 17.03. PLATE XLVII, 5.

1287. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1285.

Similar. In outer r. field, A. In outer l. field, ☉.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 31, No. 8), gr. 16.36; β) London (Gardner, p. 25 No. 6), gr. 16.63. PLATE XLVII, 6.
α and β are from the same pair of dies.

Stated in general terms, the style and fabric of this compact little group of coins are perhaps nearer to the Seleucid issues of Tyre than to those of any other single mint. Drachm No. 1283, reminds one most strongly of the Tyrian drachms Nos. 1265 and 1269 (PLATE XLV, 17, and PLATE XLVI, 5), as well as of the Ascalonian drachm No. 1281 (PLATE XLVI, 15). The broad, flat surface of such tetradrachms as PLATE XLVII, 1 and 3, lacking all trace of either a dotted or a fillet border, is not unlike the Tyrian tetradrachms PLATE XLV, 1-2 and 5-6. Unfortunately, we have as yet little more than these meagre indications on which to go in our search for the probable mint of Nos. 1282-7. The small ATHENA HEAD symbol of Nos. 1284-6 may be nothing more than the emblem of the magistrate whose monogram is A, obviously standing for AΘ or ΘA. If the former, then his name would probably have been one of the common compounds of 'Αθηνη, such as 'Αθηναγόρας, 'Αθηναδωρος, or the like. Hence, an Athena head would have constituted a most appropriate signet for a person possessing such a name. It must be noted, however, that the symbol appears also on the tetradrachm No. 1286, accompanied not by A, but by the monogram A. Perhaps, therefore, the symbol in question is not an individual's signet but rather the emblem of some mint, or even the special mark of an issue comprising both Nos. 1285 and 1286. If it be a mint-symbol, we are thereby little further advanced, for no likely city in the broad

districts of Coele-Syria seems ever to have particularly favored Athena in its coin types.³²

If struck within the confines of the former Ptolemaic possessions in Coele-Syria, Nos. 1282-7 could not have appeared until after Antiochus III's final conquest of that district. With such a date the type of portrait appearing on PLATE XLVII, 1-3, would well accord. The general effect of the succeeding issues, PLATE XLVII, 4-6, particularly with regard to the arrangement of the diadem-ends, the size of the portrait-head, the character of the reverse type, would suggest that they were, on the whole, inspired by the later Antiochene issues, Nos. 1089 ff, PLATES XXIX-XXXII. Our present mint, however, like that of Tyre, did not adopt the fillet border used at this time by Antioch, but adhered to the old and more universal dotted circle. If one were willing to hazard a guess as to the actual mint, in the light of what little has been brought out above, one might be tempted to suggest the great seaport of Sidon, or the Ptolemaic *chef-lieu* of Coele-Syria, Ake-Ptolemais, both of which cities had possessed very active mints under preceding Egyptian kings. The great desert metropolis of Damascus might also be a somewhat doubtful possibility. But in view of the distressingly scant evidence available, such suggestions must for the present remain only interesting speculations.

The issue continued under Seleucus IV, as shown by the tetradrachm in the Hunterian Collection, p. 38, No. 9, Pl. lxvi, 3, which displays the same symbol of the ATHENA HEAD, the letters ΣΑ and a monogram evidently made up of the letters ΑΘΗ.

F: DAMASCUS (?)

The mint of Damascus in early Seleucid times constitutes a knotty problem. Historians have assumed either that the Seleucids held the city from the beginning,³³ or that it was first taken from the Ptolemies by Antiochus I.³⁴ Evidence for either theory is scant. Only two historical notices with regard to Damascus in the third century B. C. have been transmitted to us. Polyaeus IV, 15 states that 'Antiochus, son of Seleucus' captured the city by stratagem from Dion, a general of Ptolemy. Historians have generally, and probably correctly, assumed that this can be Antiochus I only, and so have assigned the incident to the First Syrian War. Later, Eusebius I, p. 251 states that in Olym. 134.3 (= 242-1 B. C.), Ptolemy

³² To be sure, Athena's head or bust is a fairly common obverse type on the late Hellenistic or early Roman autonomous coins of both Apamea and Laodicea (Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, etc., pp. 234-5, Nos. 7-8, 10, 15; p. 250, Nos. 25-9), while on one of our Seleucid bronze coins (No. 1156 f, PLATE XXXV, 14), we have noted the presence of a countermark consisting of an Athena head. An Athena bust is also used in late Hellenistic times at Balanea and Epiphanea (Brit. Mus. Cat., *loc. cit.*, p. 242, No. 2). A possible attribution of Nos. 1282-7 to Apamea was indeed at first considered, but stylistically our present coins seem to have little in common with the known issues of the north-Syrian city. Such indications as we do have, appear to favor a more southerly mint.

³³ So Beloch, IV², 1, p. 585 and IV², 2, pp. 323 and 499-500.

³⁴ So Bevan, I, p. 234, but he is careful to add: "Whether the Seleucid kings kept their hold on this important place all the time from its capture by Antiochus till that date (i. e., 242 B. C.), or whether it changed hands with the varying fortunes of war we do not know."

(necessarily the third) was besieging Orthosia and Damascus; while Porphyry, *Fragm.* 6.9, has Damascus captured by Ptolemy III (called Typhon by Porphyry). In general, historical opinion has inclined to the belief that Damascus was Seleucid from Antiochus I to some time in the reign of Seleucus II. Kahrstedt points out³⁵ that Damascus was certainly Egyptian by the time Antiochus III came to the throne. In a recent summing up of his own and others' criticisms of Kahrstedt's proposed delimitations of the boundaries between Seleucid and Ptolemaic territories, Tscherikower³⁶ presents reasons for believing that: "the city of Damascus, associated economically and strategically with Transjordan and the Massyas valley, belonged from the very beginning to the Ptolemies; the Zenon papyri indicate its belonging to the Ptolemaic kingdom in the year 259; it remained under the rule of the Ptolemies presumably up to the end of the third Syrian war, aside from a brief episode during the first Syrian war when it may have been temporarily in the hands of Antiochos I."

Numismatic evidence adducible in support or rejection of the various opinions expressed by historians with regard to Damascus, is both scant and uncertain. If Damascus had been continuously held by the Ptolemies,³⁷ as Tscherikower believes, one might have expected a considerable coinage in this desert metropolis. But of the various assignments of Ptolemaic coins to Damascus proposed by Svoronos,³⁸ only his No. 1289, a tetradrachm of Ptolemy V, can lay any acceptable claim to probability. Either the city was not held for any extensive period by the Ptolemies,³⁹ or its commercial importance had greatly declined, as recently suggested and explained by Prof. Rostovtzeff.⁴⁰ If Damascus were Seleucid, we should expect some, if not necessarily extensive, Seleucid coinage in that city. But early Seleucid coins which can offer any apparent claim to a Damascene origin, are still fewer than are similar Ptolemaic issues. In fact, among the coinages of the first Seleucid kings there is but one specimen which presents any evidence at all, and that of the slightest, which might lead one to suppose it to have been coined at Damascus. Its description is as follows:

³⁵ *Syrische Territorien in hellenistischer Zeit*, p. 23.

³⁶ *Misraim*, Vol. IV-V, 1937, pp. 34-6.

³⁷ Who at this period enjoyed the inestimable advantage of also owning the nearest available seaports such as Sidon, Tyre and Ake-Ptolemais—although they did not possess in Mesopotamia and Babylonia the ultimate termini of the route from the sea to the east.

³⁸ Τὰ Νομισμάτα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, No. 1116, 1289.

³⁹ That it was held by the Ptolemies for at least a brief period has been shown by Kahrstedt, *loc. cit.*, p. 23, and is also proved by the statement *donec sub Macedonibus et Ptolemaeis rursum instauraretur* made by St. Jerome, in *Jes.* 28.

⁴⁰ *Caravan Cities*, pp. 95-6.

ANTIOCHUS I

1288. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue, ANTIOXOY (reading from the outside) on the r. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. on sceptre, and holding eagle in his extended r. Beneath throne, uncertain monogram, perhaps Θ (partially erased). In l. field, Σ (?).

Newell, \leftarrow , gr. 16.54. PLATE XLVII, 7.

The coin shows evident similarities in fabric and style with certain Alexandrine tetradrachms struck at Tyre by Demetrius Poliorcetes.⁴¹ One of these is illustrated, PLATE XLVII, A. On the obverse, note particularly the similarity in size of the Heracles head, its relief, its contours, and especially the curious expression and treatment of the eye, including the sharply angular break in the eyebrow and the manner in which the iris and pupil are placed beneath this break. So generally similar are the two heads, that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the obverse of No. 1288 was actually copied from, or at least strongly influenced by, the Tyrian coin of Poliorcetes. Such a procedure, in view of the rather homely appearance of the model, could be expected only at some mint either situated close to Tyre or enjoying intimate commercial connections with that city. But as the Phoenician and Palestinian seaports, from Orthosia to Gaza, were at this time held by Ptolemy, they cannot be considered. The ports of the Seleucis were geographically too far removed, and their known issues are of very different style and fabric. On the other hand, Damascus was ever the terminus of an important trade route which ran from Tyre, via Beth-shan (Scythopolis) to the interior. The seizure of Damascus by Antiochus I, as reported by Polyaeus, furnishes the occasion on which our coin might have been issued at that city. Obviously, the attribution can only be considered as still tentative.

For other early Seleucid coins possibly struck in this mint, we have no evidence. Perhaps some of the uncertain tetradrachms of Seleucus II⁴² may have been coined at Damascus during the time the city was held by his forces, as recorded in Eusebius.

In the latter portion of Antiochus III's reign, after his successful seizure of Coele-Syria, Damascus again became a possession of the Seleucid empire. The attribution to this time and mint of Nos. 1282-7, PLATE XLVII, 1-6, described above, could also be considered. But evidence, other than the apparent stylistic influence exerted on the die-cutters of these coins by contemporary Tyrian issues, we have none.

⁴¹ Cf. Newell, *Tyrrus Rediviva*, New York, 1923, Pl. iii, 6-8, and *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, Pl. iii, 12-14.

⁴² For instance, Nos. 1641-2, PLATE LXXX, 4-5?

CHAPTER V

CILICIA

A: TARSUS

To the Seleucid empire, Cilicia Pedias was of vital importance, not only because of its far-famed fertility and wealth, but especially because through it ran the principal high-road connecting the eastern Seleucid dominions with their western in Asia Minor.¹ That this was fully appreciated may be seen in the numerous new foundations or revivals of older cities which were effected in this one province by various Seleucid kings, starting with Seleucus I himself. We know of Aegae, Alexandria ad Issum, Seleucia on the Calycadnus; while the ancient cities of Tarsus, Adana, Mopsuestia and Castabala were given the new names of Antioch on the Cydnus, Antioch on the Sarus, Seleucia on the Pyramus and Hieropolis on the Pyramus.²

About 294 B. C., Seleucus managed, by a *coup de main*, to wrest the coveted district of Cilicia from his father-in-law, Demetrius Poliorcetes. It is possible that the following coins were struck at this time in the district's principal city and capital, Tarsus.

SELEUCUS I

SERIES I, AFTER 294 B. C.

1289. STATER.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a serpent.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on l. Winged Nike standing to l., holding *stylis* in l. and wreath in extended r. In inner r. field, ΑΙ. In inner l. field, Θ.

R. Jameson Coll., No. 1650, Pl. lxxxii, gr. 8.52. PLATE XLVII, 8.

1290. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. on sceptre, and holding wreath-bearing Nike in extended r. In l. field, Θ. Beneath throne, ΑΙ.

α) Berlin, ↑, gr. 17.22; β) The Hague, No. 6858, ↑, gr. 17.10; γ) Commerce, 1929, \, gr. 17.12; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 780, Pl. 27 (= Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2917, Pl. lxxxv), gr. 17.16; ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.24. PLATE XLVII, 9. α-ε are struck from the same obverse die. α, δ, and ε are struck from the same reverse die; β and γ from other reverse dies.

¹ Cf., for instance, A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 199.

² Jones, *loc. cit.*, 198-201; Tescherikower, *Hellenistischen Städtegründungen*, pp. 39-41.

The attribution rests upon but a slender foundation. Demetrius Poliorcetes had previously coined at Tarsus a series of silver tetradrachms bearing the name and types of Alexander the Great.³ These were followed by gold Alexandrine staters, together with silver tetradrachms and drachms of Demetrius' own Nike and Poseidon types, accompanied by numerous bronze coins.⁴ The break would, supposedly, be more or less complete. Yet the monogram most commonly employed at Tarsus under Demetrius was Ⓢ, together with its variants ΑΙ, Ⓢ, and ΑΙ.⁵ Hence, the monogram behind the Nike on No. 1289, and beneath the throne on No. 1290, is highly suggestive, although there is no proof that it necessarily belongs to the same individual who had supervised the coinage under Demetrius. Again, the style and fabric of our present coins are not unlike those of their immediate predecessors, while, as a group, they will not readily fit among the contemporaneous issues of the mints in the Syrian Seleucis, their nearest neighbors. The presence of the Seleucid gold stater at Tarsus would also be appropriate, not only because Demetrius had previously struck numerous examples of this denomination there, but a further issue might well have been brought out by Seleucus to commemorate his acquisition of this famous city and of the, to him, vitally important province whose capital and metropolis it was. As was the case with the Demetrian issues of Tarsus, the coins are struck from loose dies.

SERIES II, c. 290-280 B. C.

1291. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r. Circle of dots.

Same type and inscription as on No. 1290. Beneath the throne, ΑΙ. Originally, there may have been another monogram in the l. field, but this place is badly corroded on the single known example.

Istanbul (Tell Halaaf Hoard), ♂, gr. 15.40. PLATE XLVII, 10.

1292. TETRADRACHM.

Die of No. 1291.

Similar. In l. field, Ⓢ.

Newell, →, gr. 16.83. PLATE XLVII, 11.

1293. TETRADRACHM.

Die of No. 1291.

Similar. In l. field, Ⓢ. Beneath the throne, Ⓢ.

Berlin (von Gansauge Coll.), ↓, gr. 16.96. PLATE XLVII, 12.

There has been here a slight change in the character and details of the Heracles head, but the style of the reverse, as well as the general fabric of the coins, remain

³ Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, p. 48, No. 32, Pl. iv, 1-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-58, Pl. iv, 3-16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

as before. The monogram Λ beneath the throne, like the Λ on Nos. 1289-90, serves to retain the link with the previous issues at Tarsus under Demetrius. The line of locks, extending straight downwards from the ear of the lion's skin on the obverse, is to be particularly noted. This peculiarity in the arrangement of the lion's locks is met here for the first time on the Alexandrine issues of Seleucus. It is a definite indication that we have now left Syria and the east, and that we are making contact with Asia Minor where this particular scheme was of common occurrence in the third century, B. C.

ANTIOCHUS I

SERIES I, c. 280-278 B. C.

1294. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., similar to Nos. 1291-3 in the arrangement of the lion's locks. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. on sceptre, and holding eagle in outstretched r. In inner l. field, BUNCH OF GRAPES. Beneath throne, Λ above Φ .

a) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 14.94 (piece broken out); β) Vienna, gr. 16.78. PLATE XLVIII, 1.

The lion's skin of No. 1294 again shows the line of locks extending in a more or less straight line downwards from the beast's ear. The profile and general character of the Heracles head is also very close to that found on Nos. 1291-3. On the reverse, an eagle, as is frequently the case on the Alexandrine tetradrachms of Antiochus I, replaces the Nike of Seleucus' issues. Likewise, the inscription is arranged in two parallel and perpendicular lines, to right and left of the reverse type. A similar arrangement of the inscription has previously been noted on an Alexandrine tetradrachm of Antiochus I from Antioch on the Orontes.⁶

The symbol, BUNCH OF GRAPES, perhaps celebrates the far-famed vines of Cilicia which produced a muscatel greatly appreciated by the ancients.⁷ It will be remembered that a bunch of grapes is almost invariably held by Baaltars, or placed in the field before him, on the Persian satrapal issues of Tarsus.⁸ Later, a similar bunch of grapes occurs as an accessory symbol on tetradrachms of Alexander the Great also struck in that mint.⁹

⁶ See above, No. 931, PLATE XVIII, 1.

⁷ A. H. M. Jones, *loc. cit.*, p. 192.

⁸ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lycania*, etc., Pls. xxix-xxxi; Babelon, *Traité*, Vol. II, Pls. cxi-cxiv.

⁹ Newell, *Tarsos under Alexander*, Amer. Jour. Num., Vol. LII, 1919, Pl. v, 5-10.

SERIES II, c. 278-261 B. C.

1295. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow (plain on α; composite on β-ε), and holding two arrows in extended r. In inner r. field, ⌘. In outer l. field, Η.

α) Oxford, ↓, gr. 17.16. PLATE XLVIII, 2; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.67; γ) Berlin, ↑, gr. 16.93; δ) Berlin, ↑, gr. 16.93. PLATE XLVIII, 3; ε) Tortose (Antaradus) Hoard of May, 1940.

α-ε are struck from the same obverse die.

1296. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1295.

Similar (with composite bow and single arrow). In inner r. field, ⌘. In the exergue, Η.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.085. PLATE XLVIII, 4.

1297. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of lower relief.

Similar. On α and β, Apollo holds single arrow and composite bow; on γ-δ, two arrows and plain bow; on ε-ζ, single arrow and plain bow. In the exergue, Η ⌘.

α) Copenhagen, gr. 17.15; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.13. PLATE XLVIII, 7; γ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.195; δ) Cambridge (Lewis Coll.). PLATE XLVIII, 6; ε) Newell (Hirsch Sale XXIX, Nov. 1910, No. 821, Pl. xii), ↑, gr. 17.10. PLATE XLVIII, 5; ζ) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1671, Pl. 57, gr. 17.18.

α-ζ are from a single obverse die.

1298. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but from another die.

Similar. Apollo holds single arrow and plain bow. In the exergue, ⌘ Η.

Newell, ↑, gr. 17.08. PLATE XLVIII, 8.

1299. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath caps of the Dioscuri. Below caps, CLUB. In the exergue, ⌘.

Adana Museum, ↓, gr. 6.10. PLATE XLVIII, 9.

1300. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. Between the caps, ELEPHANT'S HEAD. In the exergue, ⌘.

α) Vienna. PLATE XLVIII, 10; β) London (on helmet: countermark, perhaps a horse's head to r.), ↓, gr. 6.64. PLATE XLVIII, 11.

1301. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar, but without symbol. In the exergue, Φ .

α) Tarsus excavations; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 691, Pl. xv, 5), gr. 6.20; γ) Newell, \downarrow , gr. 6.56; δ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2900), \downarrow , gr. 7.38. PLATE XLVIII, 12; ϵ) London, \downarrow , gr. 7.18. PLATE XLVIII, 13.

1302. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar, but monogram appears to be H.

Adana Museum, \swarrow , gr. 6.575. PLATE XLVIII, 14.

1303. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar, but monogram appears to be Π (or Θ , or Ξ ? The cast is not clear).

London, \swarrow , gr. 6.28. PLATE XLVIII, 15.

1304. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

BA above, AN beneath two sixteen-pointed stars.

α) Beyrouth Museum. PLATE XLVIII, 16; β) Newell, \swarrow , gr. 3.56. PLATE XLVIII, 17.

In conformity with most of the other issues of Alexandrine type brought out in the name of Antiochus I, the coinage of No. 1294 (PLATE XLVIII, 1) may be assigned to the first two years of his reign. This coinage was immediately followed, as at Ecbatana, Seleucia on the Tigris, and Antioch, by an issue (Nos. 1295-8, PLATE XLVIII, 2-8) bearing the personal types which Antiochus I adopted early in his reign. This new issue is supervised by the same magistrate, Φ , who had placed his monogram on No. 1294. This particular monogram must be carefully distinguished from the somewhat similar one (i. e., Φ) employed by a certain monetary official active at Susa¹⁰ in the period from Seleucus II to Antiochus III. The assistant of Φ on the silver is now one H. At first the two monograms are variously placed in the field, but finally, on Nos. 1297-8, they appear side by side in the exergue, as on the contemporaneous silver issues of Sardes.¹¹ Thus, again, the Seleucid coinages of Tarsus reveal a tendency to be influenced by the coin issues of Asia Minor.

Accompanying our tetradrachms appears a bronze coinage brought out in two denominations, Nos. 1299-1304, PLATE XLVIII, 9-17. The obverse type for both denominations is a head of Athena wearing a crested Corinthian helmet. The reverses display the caps of the Dioscuri on the 'doubles,' their twin stars on the 'units.' The monograms are usually Φ or H, as on the silver. No less than three examples of the 'doubles' have turned up in Cilicia, one actually in the excavations of Tarsus itself. As no other provenances are recorded, we propose to

¹⁰ E. S. M., Nos. 366-70, 377, 379-91.

¹¹ Cf. PLATE LV, 1-8.

accept this as a definite indication of the true origin for the entire group. Further support for a Cilician origin may be recognized in the fact that the same Dioscuri caps, similarly accompanied by an Athena head on the obverse, constituted the ordinary types of second century autonomous issues of the nearby city of Soli.¹² But a possible assignment of our coins to that particular mint appears to be unlikely, as an additional mint to that of the capital, would hardly have been needed in Cilicia under the early Seleucids. There seems to be no obvious reason why Soli, rather than Tarsus, should have issued Nos. 1294-1304. In fact, there are several cogent objections. Tarsus had possessed an active royal mint ever since the coming of Alexander the Great. It was more centrally located and was the focal point of several important highroads. Soli, lying as it did upon the sea coast, was far too exposed to the dominant Egyptian sea power to render it a suitable place for a central mint. That this threat was very real we learn from the vivid Gurob papyrus which relates how, in 246 B. C., Soli was one of the very first cities of Cilicia Pedias to succumb before an Egyptian thrust from the sea. The mint of Soli seems to be definitely excluded by the symbol CLUB, which appears beneath the Dioscuri caps on No. 1299. For at Tarsus, Heracles, the Greek counterpart and successor of the native Sandan, was greatly revered and to him, indeed, the founding of the city itself was sometimes ascribed.¹³

Why the Dioscuri in particular should have been selected for honor on these bronze coins of Antiochus, is not very clear.¹⁴ Possibly it may have had to do with the very active trade between east and west, as also between north and south, which long flowed through the great commercial metropolis of Tarsus. More probable is perhaps the fact that in Hellenistic times Tarsus was also a seaport, and to the Seleucids (before their acquisition of Phoenicia) an important one because of its available supplies of timber from the forest-clad slopes of the Taurus. In antiquity the Dioscuri were ever held in great honor where sailors were wont to congregate.

The dies of the tetradrachms are, in general, adjusted to the ↑ position, those of the bronze coins to the ↓ position, with sometimes slight variations to right or to left.

¹² Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lycania*, etc., pp. 151-2, Nos. 42-4, Pl. xxvi, 14.

¹³ So, Dio Chrysostom, *or.* XXXIII, 1, 45, 47. The club of Heracles appears as symbolic of Tarsus on certain Persic staters coined there under Alexander. Cf. *Tarsos under Alexander*, Amer. Jour. Num., Vol. LII, 1919, pp. 16-21.

¹⁴ Just as it still is uncertain why Soli should later have employed the same types, except that Soli was also a seaport like Tripolis and Ake-Ptolemais in Phoenicia, which likewise adopted for their coins the types of the Dioscuri.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

1305. STATER.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Nike standing to l., holding palm branch in l. and wreath in extended r. In inner r. field, Η. In inner l. field, ⌘.

Newell, ↑, gr. 8.58. PLATE XLIX, 1.

1306. STATER.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, monogram? (off flan). In outer l. field, ⌘.

London (*Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII, 1913, p. 15, Pl. xiii, 12), ↑, gr. 8.61. PLATE XLIX, 2.

1307. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Large head on α-γ; smaller head on δ-ε.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In the exergue, ⌘ Η.

α) Cahn Sale 60, July 1928, No. 1038, Pl. 16, gr. 17.14; β) London (Urfa Hoard? *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. V, 1925, p. 18, No. 53, Pl. ii), ↑, gr. 17.09. PLATE XLIX, 3; γ) Newell (Homs 1927 Hoard), ↑, gr. 17.10. PLATE XLIX, 4; δ) Newell (Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 885, Pl. 30), ↑, gr. 16.62; ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.12. PLATE XLIX, 5.

α-γ are from one obverse die; δ-ε from another. The reverses are all from varying dies.

1308. STATER.

Similar to Nos. 1305-6.

Similar to Nos. 1305-6. In inner r. field, ⌘ (placed sideways). In inner l. field, Ν (recut over ⌘ ?).

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 11, No. 2, Pl. lxiii, 21), gr. 8.55. PLATE XLIX, 6.

1309. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 1307.

Similar to No. 1307. In the exergue, Ν ⌘.

α) London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 4, Pl. vii, 2. Monograms are off flan, but judging by the pristine state of the obverse die the specimen is probably of this variety), gr. 17.11; β) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1440, Pl. 51, gr. 16.9. PLATE XLIX, 7.

1310. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding, but now showing fractures.

Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, Ν ΔΙ (or ΑΙ).

α) Berlin, ↑, gr. 16.87; β) Munich, gr. 17.02. PLATE XLIX, 8.

1311. TETRADRACHM.

Die of No. 1309 but the fractures have now grown larger. Similar. In the exergue, Ν ϣΡ.

Copenhagen, gr. 17.06. PLATE XLIX, 9.

1312. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Dioscuri, wearing pointed caps surmounted by stars, and holding their spears upright, mounted on prancing horses to r. Circle of dots. Straight or slightly bevelled edges.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Athena, with spear and shield, standing in fighting attitude to r. upon anchor. In inner l. field, Μ.

α) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 7.97; β) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2900), ρ, gr. 7.35. PLATE XLIX, 10; γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 15, No. 30. The monogram is here in the inner r. field. Countermarked: eagle to r.), gr. 5.80. PLATE XLIX, 11.

1313. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar to the preceding.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the l., ANTIOXOY on the r. Same type. No monogram.

α) Adana Museum, ς, gr. 6.97; β) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 7.61; γ) Berlin (*Zeit. f. Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 93, No. 10, Pl. iv, 10), gr. 8.29; δ) Zygmán Coll., ↑, gr. 8.94; ε) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 21, No. 28), gr. 8.40; ς) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.); ζ) Specimen in commerce, described by Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, gr. 7.90; η) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 15, No. 29, Pl. lxiv, 5. Countermarked: eagle to r.), gr. 9.27. PLATE XLIX, 12.

1314. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, and usually without monogram.

α) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 3.63; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 694, Pl. xv, 8), gr. 3.70; γ) Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 519, Pl. 27 (this specimen may have a monogram in inner r. field), gr. 4.21; δ-ε) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 21, No. 29), grs. 4.40 and 2.85; ς) Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 3007, Pl. xxvii; ζ) Newell, ↑, gr. 4.08. PLATE XLIX, 13.

The coinage continued uninterruptedly under Antiochus II, some of it still supervised by the two magistrates ϣ and Η. The silver now bears the well-known portrait of the second Antiochus. The earliest and finest of these portraits (PLATE XLIX, 3-4) was evidently copied from the splendid heads found on the initial tetradrachm issues of this ruler at Antioch.¹⁵ A coinage of gold staters, Nos. 1305-6 and 1308 (PLATE XLIX, 1-2, 6), bearing the old Alexander types, was also inaugurated. Of these, No. 1308 is closely associated by its monograms Ν and ϣ with the tetradrachm No. 1309, which is dated by its portrait of Antiochus II. Nos. 1305-6, on the other hand, are marked by the monograms ϣ and Η appearing on tetradrachms of both Antiochus I and II. That these latter staters almost certainly belong to Antiochus II's reign is suggested both by their stylistic similarity to No. 1308 (certainly of the time of Antiochus II), and by their generally

¹⁵ Cf. PLATE XX, 12-14.

late style. Their Athena heads, for instance, can in no wise compare with the much finer heads appearing on the bronze coins Nos. 1299-1304 (PLATE XLVIII, 9-17) of Antiochus I's reign. The Nike on these gold coins presents the unusual feature of holding a palm-branch, instead of the more common *stylis*. This peculiarity, however, our coins share with other Alexandrine stater issues of Asia Minor,¹⁶ confirming the tendency we have found on the Seleucid issues of Tarsus to copy coinages of Asia Minor as well as of Syria. In other words Tarsus, as an important intermediary between the eastern and western portions of the Seleucid empire, would naturally have felt the artistic influence of coins flowing through her busy markets from west to east, as well as from east to west.

The sudden appearance of a considerable gold coinage in Tarsus at this time may have been occasioned by the Second Syrian War, which continued with varying fortunes throughout the first half of Antiochus II's reign until finally liquidated by the peace of 253 B. C. between the two principal antagonists, Antiochus II and Ptolemy II. As most of the military operations of the war took place along the coast from Cilicia to Ionia, it is but natural that Tarsus, as the most important mint situated close to the eastern end of this 'battle line,' should have been active in producing gold as well as silver money for the payment of troops and supplies. Since Cilicia Tracheia was among the conquests of Ptolemy II,¹⁷ doubtless a strong Seleucid force was necessarily maintained in the adjoining Cilicia Pedias to protect this rich and vitally important district from further Egyptian encroachment.

With the nearly contemporaneous deaths of Ptolemy II and Antiochus II, and the accession to the Egyptian throne of the more energetic Ptolemy III Euergetes, a new war (known as the Third Syrian or Laodicean War) broke out. It was at first marked by extensive Egyptian successes. At the very outset, the Gurob papyrus describes the attack on Cilicia by an Egyptian naval force, the capture of some Cilician town whose name is missing, the revolt of Soli to the Egyptian side, the fall of Seleucia on the Calycadnus, the flight and death of the Seleucid governor, Aribazus, and the capture of the large treasure of fifteen hundred talents which he had intended for shipment to Sardes. Tarsus also was taken.¹⁸ At once a new coinage, now naturally with Ptolemaic types and on the Ptolemaic standard, was brought out there. Three typical examples are pictured on Plate XLIX, A, B, C.¹⁹ It is to be noted that A and B are closely associated with each other by the use of an identical obverse die, while all three coins are united with the preceding Seleucid issues by the continued functioning of the old magistrates Φ , H , N , and, possibly, A as well. On the obverses of these coins is a splendid likeness of Euergetes, revealing indeed his family tendency to corpulency but here redeemed by the prominent nose and the strength of character inherent in the portrait. That this is

¹⁶ Cf., for instance, certain issues of Miletus, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, Pls. iv, 17, 18, 22 and v, 1.

¹⁷ Cilicia is mentioned by Theocritus as among the countries under Ptolemaic influence or power in the time of Ptolemy II.

¹⁸ Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. IV, 2, p. 2418, based on Köhler, *S-Ber. Akad. Berl.* XXV, 1894, p. 446.

¹⁹ An additional example is pictured in Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xxvii, 17.

certainly a portrait of the third, rather than of the second Ptolemy, may be recognized when we compare the head on the well-known octodrachms picturing Euergetes (PLATE XLIX, D) with that of Ptolemy II on the ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ octodrachms (PLATE XLIX, E). The portraits of A, B, C, and D belong obviously to the same individual. The features are somewhat softened on the posthumous gold coin (D), where the nose is a little straighter and more idealized, as behevoh a divinity such as Euergetes had become by the time these octodrachms were being coined. On the Tarsian issues he is still human, and the portrait therefore more life-like.

As under Antiochus I, so also under his son, there was a coinage in bronze, Nos. 1312-4, PLATE XLIX, 10-13, to accompany the gold and silver issues of our mint. Again the Dioscuri are honored, this time by their mounted figures appearing on the obverses. Athena, too, again appears, but now on the reverse and depicted in a full length figure and in fighting attitude. The connection with the preceding issue under Antiochus I is obvious, and an assignment to Tarsus clearly suggested. The monogram Μ of No. 1312 does not occur on any of the known gold and silver coins, but the proposed attribution is definitely supported by Imhoof-Blumer's statement²⁰ that in his experience specimens of this type generally come from Asia Minor. It is practically proved by the additional fact that the single recorded provenance which we possess is the presence of an example of No. 1313 in the Adana museum, a collection which is known to have been formed by a Turkish gentleman residing in Tarsus. The further assignment of our bronze coins to the reign of Antiochus II²¹ is assured by the presence of the anchor beneath the feet of Athena. This peculiar placing of the anchor is paralleled by the similar position for that object beneath the tripod on issues of Antiochus II at Antioch (Nos. 982-5, PLATE XXII, 3-7) and at Sardes (Nos. 1389-96, PLATE LVI, 6-17; Nos. 1398-1400, PLATE LVI, 19-20; Nos. 1402-5, PLATE LVII, 3-6, etc.). Above all, the presence on Nos. 1212γ and 1213η of an unusual countermark depicting the common Ptolemaic type of an eagle, suggests its application upon coins of Antiochus II during the immediately following occupation of Tarsus by the Egyptian forces.

Under Antiochus II, the die-positions of the Tarsian issues appear to have been generally ↑, with occasional slight variations to right or to left of this upright position.

²⁰ *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, p. 21.

²¹ Babelon, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, No. 694 gives these coins to the Phoenician mint of Tripolis under Antiochus IV, which is understandable at his time of writing (but is now seen to be both improbable and impossible. Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, proposed Antiochus I, and this was later accepted by Sir George Macdonald, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, p. 93, No. 10. Mattingly and Robinson (*The Date of the Roman Denarius*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 1932, p. 56, No. 15) agree with the present writer in assigning these coins to Antiochus II; while Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 204, believes that the adoption of the Dioscuri type by Antiochus II was due to his acquisition of Samothrace, home of the Cabeiri. This deduction may be questioned, as Antiochus I before him had placed the caps or the stars of the Dioscuri on his bronze coins issued from Tarsus.

SELEUCUS II

AFTER *circa* 243 B. C.

It is generally assumed that the Egyptians did not long retain their hold on the recently acquired portion of Cilicia.²² Their issues in Tarsus, in whose production but two obverse dies are known, certainly present little evidence of any long continued coinage. Perhaps it lasted for only three years, as represented by the three major varieties indicated by the three changing symbols, shield, owl, pomegranate, together with the corresponding three changes in the college of moneyers. It is probable that Seleucus II, after his triumphant ejection of the Ptolemaic forces from Mesopotamia and the greater portion of Syria (in 244/3 B. C.), was able also to recover the vitally important districts of eastern and central Cilicia.²³ If so, then the mint of Tarsus was in a position to commence a coinage in his name and with his types. And such a coinage we apparently possess in the following pieces:

SERIES I, *c.* 243-240 B. C.

1315. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Arrangement of the diadem-ends is uncertain.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., resting l. elbow on tall tripod behind him, while he holds arrow in his extended r. In inner l. field, ΑΙ above Ν.

Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 913, Pl. 32, gr. 16.57. PLATE L, 1.

1316. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet. Circle of widely spaced dots.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Apollo standing to l., resting l. upon bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In outer r. field, ΠΡ. In outer l. field, Ι.

α) Newell (Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 646, Pl. 15 = Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 924, Pl. 32), ↓, gr. 3.96. PLATE L, 2; β) Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7861, Pl. 286, gr. 3.87.

It will be noted that each of the monograms on the tetradrachm No. 1315, PLATE L, 1, appear on the Ptolemaic tetradrachms, PLATE XLIX, B and C. Of these, Ν had previously also appeared on the Tarsian issues of Antiochus II, Nos. 1308-11. The style of the new Seleucid coin is not unlike that found on the initial issues for Seleucus II at Sardes.²⁴ Either it was copied directly from them, or the Sardinian engraver himself had been sent to Tarsus to initiate there the

²² Beloch IV², 1, p. 677, points out that the Egyptians maintained their hold only on certain seaports.

²³ The seaports of Mallus and Soli appear not to have been recovered by the Seleucids until the reign of Antiochus III. Cf. Livy, XXXIII, 20 and St. Jerome, *in Daniel*, 11.

²⁴ Cf. PLATE LVIII, 1-4.

revived Seleucid coinage after the Egyptian occupation of the city and its mint. On the drachm No. 1316, PLATE L, 2, the only legible monogram (on the extreme right), is identical with the second monogram ($\Psi\Psi$) in the exergue of the Antiochus II tetradrachm, No. 1311. The wide spacing of the dots surrounding the obverse is a further exaggeration of a similar peculiarity seen on the Egyptian tetradrachm PLATE XLIX, A. The drachm is noticeable because on it Athena is seen to wear the Corinthian, instead of the Attic helmet, which is the more usual form to be found on the drachms of Seleucus II.²⁵ Perhaps here the die-engraver was influenced in his choice by the practice prevailing on the preceding Seleucid gold and bronze issues of Tarsus.

SERIES II, c. 240-230 B. C.

1317. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r., one Same inscription and type as on No. 1315.
diadem-end hangs loosely, the other rises In outer l. field, ∇ .
in a curve behind the head. Circle of dots.

α) Cahn Sale 66, May 1930, No. 366, Pl. 11 = Löbbecke Coll., Hess Sale, Jan. 1926, No. 414, Pl. vii, gr. 16.47; β) Drowne Coll.; γ) The Hague, \uparrow , gr. 16.75. PLATE L, 3.
 $\alpha-\gamma$ are from the same obverse; $\beta-\gamma$ from the same reverse die.

1318. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Both diadem-ends hang loosely. Similar. In inner l. field, ∇ .
Circle of widely spaced dots.

The Hague, No. 6938, \uparrow , gr. 16.35. PLATE L, 4.

The attribution of these particular tetradrachms to Tarsus is still conjectural. The monogram ∇ may be but a variant of the \mathbf{N} found on preceding Ptolemaic and Seleucid issues of this mint, or it may be a variant form of the ∇ of No. 1318 and the \mathbf{A}^* of succeeding issues. The wide spacing of the surrounding dots on No. 1318, PLATE L, 4, reminds one of the similar feature found on the drachm No. 1316, PLATE L, 2, and on the Ptolemaic tetradrachm A of PLATE XLIX. It could also have been derived from such tetradrachms of Antioch as PLATE XXIII, 1. Stylistically, Series II as a whole would seem to form a suitable transitional issue between Series I and Series III.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 228 B. C. (?)

1319. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, slightly bearded, draped bust of BAEIAEQE on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Hierax to r. Circle of dots. Apollo, seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
upon bow and holding arrow in extended r.
In outer r. field, \mathbf{A}^* . In the exergue, Σ .

²⁵ The only other known instances of the Corinthian helmet on the drachms of Seleucus II are represented by the Ecbatana issue No. 547 B, PLATE III, 6, and the two Tarsian drachms, Nos. 1323-4, PLATE L, 10-11.

α) Berlin, ↑, gr. 16.89. PLATE L, 5; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 217, Pl. vi, 12), gr. 16.25. PLATE L, 6.

1320. TETRADRACHM.

Die of No. 1319.

Similar. In the exergue, \mathcal{R} (placed sideways) and \mathcal{A}^P .

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.25. PLATE L, 7.

The proposed assignment of these tetradrachms to Hierax, and to the mint of Tarsus, rests almost entirely upon the attributions of the succeeding Nos. 1321-2. We can, however, present certain indications which point in that direction. In the first place, and most important, is the portrait. All will agree that it cannot possibly represent Antiochus II, to whom the Paris specimen was assigned by Babelon. We now know with certainty²⁶ the true likeness of the second Antiochus, but a comparison between the latter's many portraits²⁷ and the one before us, reveals not a single feature in common. There remains the distant possibility that in the head on Nos. 1319-20 we should recognize the portrait, although perhaps a most unusual one, of Antiochus III. But even here, and allowing for the vagaries of a local die-cutter, certain salient features do not at all agree with the known portraits of the third Antiochus. Babelon himself obviously saw little or no similarity to the latter or he would not, without a single explanatory word, have assigned the Paris example of No. 1319 to Antiochus II. At the outset, it is evident that the head on Nos. 1319-20 presents the likeness of a youngish man, one in his late twenties. But as such he bears no resemblance whatever to the youthful portraits of Antiochus III.²⁸ Nor does it actually resemble the later portraits of Antiochus III,²⁹ whose nose is longer, more pointed, and has a protrusion at the centre.³⁰ And almost invariably, in conjunction with this more mature Antiochus III, do we find a tall, dome-like forehead, made the more conspicuous by fast receding and diminishing locks of hair, especially about the region of the temples. But of this thinning hair and of the bony and dome-like structure of the forehead, there is not even the slightest indication on our present coins. Furthermore, many if not most of the youthful portraits of Antiochus III possess traces of a nascent cheek-beard, just in front of the ear. The particularly well-preserved specimen of No. 1319, PLATE L, 5, reveals the fact that a well developed beard follows the line of this person's jaw, from before the ear to just short of the point of his chin. Such a full beard occurs on no known coin of Antiochus III. The shape of the nose, the slightly protruding

²⁶ Thanks to the initial discoveries of Sir George Macdonald. Cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, p. 108 ff.

²⁷ Cf. E. S. M., Pls. xxvii, 8; xxxix, 20, 24-5; xl, 2; lii, 17, 21; liii, 1-4. W. S. M., PLATES XX, 12-14, 24-5; XXI, 1-14; XXII, 1-2; XXXIII, 10-19; XXXIV, 1-7; XLIX, 3-5, 7-9, etc.

²⁸ Cf. E. S. M., Pls. xviii, 1-5, 11-16; xix, 1-6; xxix, 2-14; xlii and xliii. W. S. M., PLATES VIII, 15-16; IX, 1-3; XXVI, 11-18; XXVII, 1-7; XXXVII, 8-12; XLI, 8-11; XLII, 1-9; XLV, 1-4.

²⁹ Cf. E. S. M., Pls. xix, 7-8, 15; xx, 1, 4-8, 11, 13; xxx, 1-12; xxxi, 1-6; xliv to xlix, inclusive. W. S. M., PLATES IX-XII and XXVIII-XXXII.

³⁰ There is indeed a fundamental difference in the character of the nose on Nos. 1319-20 and in the later portraiture of Antiochus III.

upper lip, the gently backward sweep of the line of the chin, resemble far more the same features in the portraits of Seleucus II than they do those of Antiochus III.

The portrait before us certainly cannot be either Antiochus II or Antiochus III. Neither can it be Antiochus I or Antiochus IV—and later than this we need not go. Thus only Hierax remains. If this be Hierax, then he certainly resembled his own brother to a considerable degree—a highly probable conclusion. What faint similarities to Antiochus III he possessed, might well be those existing between uncle and nephew. The historical implications of this attribution, the purely technical numismatic proofs in support of it, and the exceptional feature of the draped bust at this early time, will all be discussed in the next section.

The connection between our present coins and those immediately preceding, lies in the monogram $\Delta\Phi$, found on both No. 1319 and No. 1320; this is probably but a variant of the \mathcal{H} found on No. 1318. Furthermore, Σ may be the $\Delta\Phi$ of Nos. 1311 and 1316 placed sideways, as in the corresponding monogram \mathcal{R} on No. 1320.

SELEUCUS II

SERIES III, c. 228–226/5 B. C.

1321. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed bust of the bearded and draped Seleucus II to r. Circle of dots. The diadem-ends hang loosely.

Same inscription and type as on Nos. 1315, and 1317–18. In outer r. field, \mathcal{M} . In outer l. field, $\Delta\Phi$.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 923, Pl. 32, gr. 16.21. PLATE L, 8.

1322. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1321.

Similar. In outer r. field, Θ or Θ . In outer l. field, $\Delta\Phi$.

London (Gardner, p. 19, No. 35, Pl. vi, 14), gr. 16.74. PLATE L, 9.

1323. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., $\Sigma\text{ΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ}$ on l. Apollo standing to l., resting l. on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, \mathcal{R} .

Jameson Coll., No. 1678, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 3.38. PLATE L, 10.

1324. DRACHM.

Similar. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathcal{R} .

Newell, —, gr. 3.85. PLATE L, 11.

The draped bust, a very exceptional feature at this early period, unmistakably associates the tetradrachms Nos. 1321–2, PLATE L, 8–9, with the preceding tetradrachms which we have assigned to Hierax. This association is proved by the presence on all four specimens (Nos. 1319–22) of the same monogram $\Delta\Phi$. Furthermore,

while the obverses of all coins are remarkably fine in style, their reverses are rendered the more conspicuous by the comparative feebleness of their die-cutting and the curious irregularity of the letters in their inscriptions.³¹ There can thus be little doubt but that these four tetradrachms of Hierax and Seleucus II followed each other closely, in point of time, and emanated from one and the same mint.

This mint we believe was Tarsus. Why? Principally, because it constitutes the only likely place left at our disposal, and because the monogram Λ^P seems to be but a variant of the Λ found on an earlier issue (No. 1318), which itself appears to have come from the Tarsian mint. The long and somewhat straggling beard worn by Seleucus II on Nos. 1321-2 places this issue after the time of his Parthian expedition. The date is indicated by certain bronze coins of Ecbatana,³² bearing a similarly bearded head of Seleucus on the obverse, but whose reverse types definitely associate their coinage with the Parthian war.³³ In other words, Nos. 1321-2 could not have preceded 235 B. C.,³⁴ and were probably considerably later.³⁵ But after the Parthian expedition, there is no mint beyond the Taurus, in Asia Minor, where Hierax and Seleucus II could *both* have issued money, for Seleucus thereafter had no opportunity to invade Asia Minor, while we do possess indications that Hierax did invade the dominions of his brother.³⁶

That the date of these coins of Hierax must come at this particular juncture, rests upon two observations. The first is their obviously close connection with Nos. 1321-2 of Seleucus II, which coins must come late in his reign because of the long beard which he wears. The second reason rests upon the features of Hierax himself, as he appears upon the tetradrachms Nos. 1319-20. It is the portrait of a young but fully grown man, not that of a boy. Justin XXVII, 2, 7 states that Hierax was fourteen years of age at the time Seleucus II, but recently routed by Ptolemy and driven into Antioch, sent letters imploring the aid of his younger brother. This occasion is placed³⁷ at *circa* 242-1 B. C., after Seleucus had successfully recovered his Syrian and Mesopotamian possessions, and was attempting to attack the original Ptolemaic domains in Coele-Syria. Hence, when Hierax invaded the dominions of Seleucus II, he was about twenty-six years of age, if that event be

³¹ This observation definitely precludes the very problematic assignment of Nos. 1319-20 to Antiochus III, mooted above but then discarded. A comparison of the illustrations on PLATE L will clearly show that any such attribution would break the stylistic progression of the coins in question. Thus, Nos. 8-9 of PLATE L (Seleucus II) surely belong with Nos. 5-7 (Hierax) of the same plate. They are followed by the better styled reverses of Seleucus III, now for the first time signed by Λ^P (Nos. 12-13 of PLATE L). These are followed, in turn, by the similarly good reverses of Antiochus III, also signed by Λ^P (Nos. 14-15 of PLATE L). If now the 'Hierax coins' were placed at this point (the only possible place for them, if they had been struck by Antiochus III, because of the slightly older appearance of the king's portrait), all rules of stylistic, type, and monogram progression would be broken.

³² E. S. M., Nos. 563-5, Pl. xli, 8-12.

³³ E. S. M., p. 202.

³⁴ The date assigned to the Parthian expedition by Bouché-Leclercq, I, p. 108.

³⁵ Beloch IV², 2, p. 636, dates the Parthian expedition of Seleucus II about 230 B. C.

³⁶ Deduced from the notice in Polyaeus IV, 17 that Hierax at first fought against the *generals* (Andromachus and Achaëus) of Seleucus, but according to Trogus, *Proh.* 27, was finally defeated *in Mesopotamia* by Seleucus in person.

³⁷ Cf. Bevan I, pp. 190-1; Beloch IV², 1, pp. 678-9.

placed in *circa* 230 B. C. Earlier it could not have been—probably it was a year or two later. In other words, Hierax was then about twenty-eight years old, an age that admirably suits his appearance as given on Nos. 1319–20.

A mint coining for Hierax on the southern side of the Taurus mountains is historically interesting. There is a passage in Bevan I, p. 195, in which he states that after the disastrous defeat of Seleucus II at Ancyra "Antiochus (Hierax) came out of his retirement, offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his brother's welfare, decreed public festivities in the cities subject to him, and sent an army to cross the Taurus and crush Seleucus before he had time to recover." This suggested crossing of the Taurus so soon after Ancyra is a deduction made by Bevan himself, for it is not mentioned in that connection by any of the ancient authorities adduced by him. Beloch,³⁸ more convincingly, puts this invasion at a much later date. Justin XLI, 5, 1 states that Seleucus was called back from the Parthian war by *novis motibus in Asiam*. This incident must have been fraught with grave dangers to Seleucus, to have induced him to relinquish a very promising campaign in which he was successfully driving the Parthians back into their native steppes. Some historians³⁹ have supposed that Justin by his *novis motibus* meant the rebellion engineered by Stratonice, the aunt of Seleucus, who was at that time residing in Antioch. Such a rebellion was probably dangerous enough, but Beloch supposes that the rebellion was not confined to Stratonice alone⁴⁰ but that it was made the more serious by a simultaneous and coordinated incursion of Hierax into the dominions of Seleucus. The knowledge that a coinage of Hierax exists, brought out in this period at Tarsus, suggests that he commenced his attack by first invading Cilicia, or that, while he himself crossed the upper reaches of the Euphrates into Mesopotamia,⁴¹ another of his forces entered Cilicia, or that certain partisans of his in Cilicia revolted and seized Tarsus.

The actual words of Justin in the passage quoted are: *Revocato deinde Seleuco novis motibus in Asiam etc.* If in this instance Justin uses *Asiam* as a synonym for the kingdom of Seleucus or for Syria, then the passage conveys the meaning that Seleucus was called back from his Parthian campaign by new disturbances against Asia, i. e., by the attack of Hierax on Cilicia and Syria. By combining Justin XLI, 5, 1, Polyaeus IV, 17, and Trogus, *Procl.* 27 with the coins, we may justifiably picture the sequence of events as follows: Hierax commenced an attack on the kingdom (Justin) by invading and over-running Cilicia (the coins), was at first successful against the generals of Seleucus (Polyaeus), and got as far as Mesopotamia where he was met and finally overcome by Seleucus in person (Trogus) hastening back from the Parthian campaign (Justin). Eventually, Seleucus recovered Cilicia and his coins (Nos. 1321–2) supplanted those of Hierax (Nos. 1319–20). The usual translation of the passage is: 'Seleucus being then recalled into Asia by new disturbances, etc.' If Justin's *Asiam* means Syria, the outline

³⁸ IV², 1, pp. 684–5.

³⁹ So, Beloch, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ Her forces might, conceivably, have been suppressed by the generals of Seleucus guarding Syria.

⁴¹ So, Bevan I, p. 202, and Beloch IV², 1, p. 684.

of events as just given would still hold good. As a rule, however, the term Asia in Justin means Asia Minor only.⁴² If we assume that in this case (as in so large a proportion of others) Justin by the term 'Asia' meant Asia Minor, and if to him the term coincided with our own conception of Asia Minor as also including Cilicia, then the passage in question and the coins described above reciprocally support each other—for Cilicia was at this time the only portion of Asia Minor subject to Seleucus. In other words, Seleucus is stated to have been called back by disturbances in Cilicia, disturbances which are now elucidated by our coins as having been an invasion of the province by Hierax, or a rebellion brought about there by his adherents. In any case, the coins of Hierax and Seleucus, now known to have been struck at Tarsus, have added a new element to the scanty and fragmentary historical sources which cover his final war with Hierax.

The interesting and unusual feature of the draped bust (PLATE L, 5-9) appears to represent an innovation on Seleucid silver coins, although it had previously occurred, also in the reign of Seleucus II, on certain bronze coins⁴³ of the mint at Susa. In the Seleucid empire, the draped bust had hitherto been confined to the portrayal of divine beings,⁴⁴ and then, almost invariably, when represented *en face*. In the representation of the living person, even though he be a king, the head alone was preferred⁴⁵ throughout Seleucid dominions, down to the reign of Alexander I Bala.⁴⁶ Even then, it was adopted at the Phoenician mints only⁴⁷ and under direct Egyptian influence. For in that country the draped bust commenced to be commonly employed for the royal portrait under Ptolemy III Euergetes (the ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ octodrachms and the coins of Berenice), followed by his successors.

The circulation of Ptolemaic gold coins (now generally provided with the draped portrait bust) in Cilicia during the Egyptian occupation of that province, may have furnished the Seleucid die-cutters of Tarsus with their prototype. Fur-

⁴² Of this there are scores of instances throughout his work. But whenever he wished to convey the idea of Asia more in our modern sense, he added qualifying adjectives, such as *maiores Asia* (XV, 4, 1) or *totam Asiam* (XXXVIII, 7, 2). In but one instance of the use of 'Asia' alone (XIII, 6, 13), the context would seem to imply that Justin meant Phoenicia and Syria, rather than Asia Minor.

⁴³ E. S. M., Pl. xxviii, 5-6, 8-9.

⁴⁴ Cf., for instance, Apollo under Antiochus II and Seleucus II at Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pls. xvi, 3-6; xvii, 4-5, 7-10); the divine Seleucus (*ibid.*, Pl. xvii, 2); Athena, under Antiochus I, Antiochus II and Seleucus II (*ibid.*, Pl. xvi, 17-18, and W. S. M., PLATES I, 19; LIV, 11-15; LXI, 4-6 and LXII, 10-11); Dionysus, under Seleucus II at Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pls. xi, 19 and xli, 1-5); the Dioscuri under Antiochus I at Susa (*ibid.*, Pl. xxvi, 9), and under Antiochus II and Seleucus II at Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATES VII, 6-13 and VIII, 11); Hermes under Antiochus II at Nisibis (*ibid.*, PLATE VII, 4-5 and E. S. M., Pl. iv, 17-20); while the portrayal of a draped Apollo or an Athena bust in profile may be found at Apamea under Seleucus II (W. S. M., PLATES XXXV, 12-14, 18 and XXXVI, 10-20). Except for Susa, only at Apamea (and that contemporaneously), do we find another draped bust of Seleucus II (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVI, 9).

⁴⁵ The knotted animal's paws about the neck of a Heracles or of a Seleucus (E. S. M., Pl. xxxii, 1-18), or the aegis about the neck of Ptolemy I, do not enter the picture except possibly as presenting the germ of the idea of depicting the draped bust.

⁴⁶ The only exceptions, aside from Nos. 1167-8 and 1319-22, are the two gold and silver coins of Achaeus struck at Sardes (see below, Nos. 1439-40, PLATE LX, 1-2), and the tetradrachms of Timarchus—the latter, however, copied directly from the Bactrian coins of Eucratides.

⁴⁷ The remaining mints of the empire still clung to the head alone until the days of Antiochus XII and Tigranes.

thermore, the appearance of the draped bust on Seleucid coins of Tarsus, about 230 B. C., suggests the probable source whence certain artists of Cappadocia and Pontus now drew their inspiration. Examples of these Tarsian Seleucid issues bearing the draped busts of Hierax and of Seleucus II may have passed along the immemorial and much-frequented highroad which ran from Tarsus northwards over the Taurus mountains, thence via Tyana and Mazaca through central Cappadocia into Pontus, ending at Sinope or Amisus on the Black Sea. It is therefore interesting to note that the sole appearance of the draped bust on silver coins of the Cappadocian kings was in the reign of Ariarathes III, who ruled *circa* 230-220 B. C. Similarly, the draped bust also occurs but once on the silver issues of the Pontic kings, on the issues of Mithradates II who is known to have been in power at the time of the battle of Ancyra (*circa* 235-4 B. C.) and is mentioned for the last time by Polybius in 220 B. C.⁴⁸ It is surely of significance that these rare appearances of the draped bust on Cappadocian and Pontic silver issues should have come, contemporaneously with, or in the decade immediately following, the use of the draped bust on the issues of Hierax and Seleucus II at Tarsus. Both Mithradates II and Ariarathes III were intimately associated with these Seleucid kings. Soon after his accession, Seleucus II had given his sister Laodice to Mithradates in marriage, his other sister, Stratonice, to the young Ariarathes. Later, Mithradates had actively aided Hierax in the struggle with his brother.

The drachms Nos. 1323-4, PLATE L, 10-11, have been assigned to the mint of Tarsus because of the unusual feature of the Corinthian helmet worn by Athena. This has appeared once before (No. 1316, PLATE L, 2) at our mint. The somewhat rough style of these coins is similar to that found on the reverses of Nos. 1319-22, while the monogram *R* of No. 1323 has appeared previously on the tetradrachm No. 1320, and the monogram *R* of No. 1324 recurs again on a later drachm (No. 1327) of Seleucus III.

SELEUCUS III

226/5-223 B. C.

1325. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus III to r. Circle of dots. One diadem-end hangs loosely, the other rises behind the head.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand upon bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer r. field, APT. In outer l. field, AF.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.58. PLATE L, 12.

1326. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1325.

Similar. In outer r. field, APT. In outer l. field, AF.

London (Gardner, p. 22, No. 3), ↑, gr. 16.88. PLATE L, 13.

⁴⁸ For illustrations, descriptions and discussion of these coins of Cappadocia and Pontus, see T. Reinach, *Trois royaumes de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1888, the text of which was reprinted from articles first appearing in the *Revue numismatique* for 1886 and 1888.

1327. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathcal{A} .

London (= Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7867, Pl. 287), gr. 4.01. PLATE XXXVII, 6.

Their broad flans, general appearance, and the continued presence of the monogram \mathcal{A} (elaborated into \mathcal{A} on No. 1326), serve to unite these issues of Seleucus III with the preceding ones of his father. For the portrait and the arrangement of the diadem-ends, our artist seems to have copied coins such as Nos. 1024-7, PLATE XXV, 5-8, of Antioch. The drachm No. 1327, PLATE XXXVII, 6, appears to be associated by its style with the preceding tetradrachms, while the monogram which it bears presents the form \mathcal{A} , as found on the drachm of Seleucus II, No. 1324. It is quite possible, however, that \mathcal{A} may actually represent the new magistrate APT, who appears on the tetradrachms for the first time in this issue.

ANTIOCHUS III

SERIES I, c. 223-218 B. C.

1328. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head of Antiochus III to r. The diadem-ends hang loosely. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. as before. In outer r. field, \mathcal{A} . In outer l. field, APT (recut over a preceding A) above PROW to l.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 16.85. PLATE L, 15.

1329. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, \mathcal{A} . In outer l. field, APT above NIKE WITH ACROSTOLIUM ON PROW to l.

Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 16.72. PLATE L, 14.

These interesting tetradrachms of Antiochus III, by their broad flans, general style and fabric, and the letters APT, are obviously closely connected with the preceding tetradrachms of Seleucus III, Nos. 1325-6. They were for the first time published and discussed by Dr. Philipp Lederer in the *Berliner Münzblätter*, Vol. 52, Nos. 349/50, January 1932, pp. 390-3. He clearly recognized their connection with the afore-mentioned coins of Seleucus III. His able and thoroughgoing discussion of the entire group precludes the necessity for repetition here. Suffice it to say, that Dr. Lederer took the occasion to insist that the naval symbol PROW, made the more pointed in one instance by the addition of Nike holding the *acrostolium*, could hardly represent some mint- or magistrate's mark but doubtless refers to some naval success. With this we heartily agree as we now know that the mint of Tarsus, with but one minor exception early in the reign of Antiochus I,⁵¹ never

⁵¹ Cf. No. 1294, PLATE XLVIII, 1.

placed symbols of any kind upon its silver issues. Hence, the two symbols on Nos. 1328-9 stand out the more insistently. Dr. Lederer would connect these symbols either with the successful naval operations of Antiochus III along the Phoenician coast in his first war (219-218 B. C.) with Egypt, or with the alliance made by him at this time with the wealthy and powerful maritime state of Aradus, whose patron goddess (to judge by so many of that city's coin issues) was a Nike bearing the *acrostolium* in her hand.⁵² Dr. Lederer has questioned and then discarded the possible suggestion that our coins could have been struck in Aradus itself. We now know certainly that they were not. No mint along the entire Phoenician coast was in a position to strike a continuous series of Seleucid issues stretching from about the middle of Seleucus II's reign to the early years of Antiochus III. Proceeding, northwards, we have seen that Laodicea possessed her own issues of coins throughout this period. Seleucia Pieria was also certainly in no position to strike such pieces, as for some twenty-eight years she was held by Egyptian forces. Similarly, the coastal cities of Cilicia (such as Mallus, Soli, Aphrodisias, and the like) were all in Ptolemaic hands from the beginning of Euergetes' reign until freed by Antiochus III in 197 B. C.⁵³ Only Tarsus remains, and this city alone, in all these regions, could have produced such a lengthy series of Seleucid coins.⁵⁴

But why should Tarsus in particular, have issued these commemorative pieces? It is quite possible that the city at this time constituted the principal Seleucid naval station. Tarsus was directly connected with the sea by the river Cydnus, which we know was navigable in antiquity.⁵⁵ Along the maritime basin of the *Rhagma*, not far from the city, Strabo in his day could still see the remains of extensive naval arsenals (*παλαιὰ νεώρια*).⁵⁶ Tarsus in the early years of Antiochus III was the only city held by the Seleucids which was favorably situated for ship building, because of her proximity to the cedar and pine clad slopes of the Taurus mountains. The fleet with which the young Antiochus dared face the sea power of Egypt was probably based principally on Tarsus. Conceivably, Tarsus would thus have had a direct and personal interest in the naval operations of Antiochus in his first Egyptian war; and the presence on her issues of the naval symbols in question would be both likely and appropriate. After the final acquisition of Phoenicia in 201 B. C., it was probable that Tyre became the principal naval base of Antiochus III.

⁵² Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia*, Pl. iv, 10-16.

⁵³ Livy XXXIII, 20. Cf. also, Beloch IV², 1, p. 677.

⁵⁴ We shall see below that Seleucia on the Calycadnus had its own issue of coins under Antiochus III.

⁵⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. IV, 2, p. 2435.

⁵⁶ Strabo XIV, 5, 10.

B: SELEUCIA ON THE CALYCADNUS

The city is stated by Stephanus Byzantinus and Ammianus Marcellinus to have been founded by Seleucus Nicator.⁵⁷ Heretofore, it has not been found possible to segregate any coins of the earlier Seleucid kings which could plausibly be assigned to this city's mint. Ptolemy III's successful sweep of the Seleucid coastal possessions in Syria and Asia Minor all but certainly secured Seleucia as well.⁵⁸ How long the city remained in Egyptian power, we do not know. It is not mentioned by Livy XXXIII, 20, as among the coastal cities which Antiochus III with his fleet in 197 B. C. delivered from Egyptian domination. Hence, doubtless, it had been recovered by the Seleucids long before, perhaps by Seleucus II, or even as late as Seleucus III. In any event, it is possible that the following coins were struck here.

SELEUCUS III

226/5-223 B. C.

1330. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus III to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, lower limbs draped, seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. elbow on tripod and holding bow in extended r. In outer l. field, FOREPART OF HORSE above Α (or Λ?).

Paris (Babelon, No. 295, Pl. viii, 10 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3290, Pl. cxix), gr. 17.15. PLATE LI, 1.

ANTIOCHUS III

AFTER 223 B. C.

1331. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, FOREPART OF HORSE above Ν.

α) Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 132, No. 487), gr. 16.83. PLATE LI, 2; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 382, Pl. ix, 12), gr. 16.85. PLATE LI, 3; γ) Berlin (Lobbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 15.45. PLATE LI, 4.

α-γ are from the same obverse die; α and β from the same reverse die.

⁵⁷ Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen*, p. 39.

⁵⁸ As appears to be stated by the Gurob papyrus, although scholars are somewhat at variance in their reading and interpretation of the particular passage which may refer to Seleucia on the Calycadnus. The *Monumentum Adulitanum* and St. Jerome merely state in general terms that Ptolemy secured Cicilia, along with many other districts.

By their style and by the symbol representing the forepart of a springing horse, these two varieties are closely connected. On later, autonomous coins of Seleucia, the same forepart of a springing horse, symbolic of the rushing, torrential river upon which the city lay, constitutes a common reverse type.⁵⁰ This similarity of symbol and type may represent something more than a mere coincidence, and at the very least suggests an attribution of Nos. 1330-1 to Seleucia on the Calycadnus. This is supported by a vague similarity of style and fabric which exists between our pieces and the contemporaneous issues of Seleucus III and Antiochus III at Tarsus. Just as we have had occasion to note was the case at Tarsus, so does our present mint also look to the capital Antioch for inspiration and models. Thus, the unusual type of the partially draped Apollo, holding a bow in his outstretched right hand and seated on an *omphalos* placed in front of the tripod, was obviously copied from the remarkable tetradrachm of Antioch reproduced on PLATE XXV, 9. The accompanying portrait of Seleucus III is likewise copied from another Antiochene tetradrachm of that king, PLATE XXV, 7. But a suitable and convincing place for our coins among the issues of any of the Syrian cities cannot be found. This is still more the case with mints yet further to the east, whose coinages are of an entirely different style and fabric. Thus, of all the territories under the jurisdiction of Seleucus III, only Cilicia remains as the most probable home for coins such as Nos. 1330-1.

⁵⁰ Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lycaonia*, etc., pl. xxiii, 5.

CHAPTER VI

CAPPADOCIA AND NORTHERN SYRIA

This chapter comprises several groups of coins, Alexandrine in type, but bearing the names of either Seleucus I or Antiochus I. The mints which once struck them are still extremely uncertain, as the coins themselves present practically no clues whatsoever. Their general appearance and fabric seem to point to the north central portion of Seleucus' dominions. This vague indication is supported by the fact that the coins offer no very evident stylistic affinities with issues from the east of the Zagros range, nor with those from Mesopotamia and Babylonia, nor, again, with those from Syria Seleucis, Coele-Syria, or Cilicia. Furthermore, we have been led to assign other coins to most of the important cities in these regions which are at all likely to have possessed mints in the reign of Seleucus I. It is, of course, possible that some such traffic centre as Arbela might have once possessed a mint; or that Nisibis, Edessa, or Apamea coined silver preceding the bronze coinages which we have been able to assign to them. But neither the style nor the fabric of the coins now under discussion indicate their probable origin.

Mint: A

SELEUCUS I

1332. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. on *diphros*, resting l. on scepter and holding eagle in outstretched r. In l. field, χ .

A1—P1. Newell (Angora Hoard ?), χ , gr. 17.08. PLATE LI, 5.

1333. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, χ . Beneath throne, Δ I.

A1—P2. α) Newell (Angora Hoard), χ , gr. 17.19; β) Newell (Angora Hoard), \leftarrow , gr. 16.98. PLATE LI, 6.

A2—P3. Newell (Angora Hoard), \leftarrow , gr. 16.83. PLATE LI, 7.

P4. Newell (Angora Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 17.14.

P5. Newell (Angora Hoard), \nearrow , gr. 17.04.

A3—P6. Newell (Angora Hoard), χ , gr. 17.05. PLATE LI, 8.

1334. DOUBLE STATER.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l. Winged Nike standing, facing l., holding *stylis* in l., and wreath in outstretched r. In inner l. field, Α.

In commerce, PLATE LI, 9.

1335. STATER.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Similar to the preceding. In inner l. field, Α. In inner r. field, ΔΙ (?).

Newell (Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 625, Pl. xviii = Late Collector Sale, Sotheby, May 1900, No. 415, Pl. viii), Α, gr. 8.53. PLATE LI, 10.

1336. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. on throne, resting l. on sceptre, and holding eagle in outstretched r. In l. field, Α. Beneath throne Δ.

A4—P7. Newell, Α, gr. 17.19. PLATE LI, 11.

1337. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ perpendicularly on l. Zeus seated on *diphros* to l., holding winged Nike in outstretched r. In inner l. field, Α. Beneath throne, Δ.

A5—P8. α) London, Α, gr. 16.21; β) White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 481, Pl. v; γ) Newell (a copy, cast from this specimen, exists in Berlin, Prokesch-Osten Coll., gr. 14.59), Α, gr. 16.82. PLATE LII, 1.

1338. TETRADRACHM.

Die very similar to that of No. 1337.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on the r. In the exergue, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (?), off flan. In l. field, traces of uncertain monogram or symbol.

A6—P9. Newell, Α, gr. 17.04. PLATE LII, 2.

1339. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1337, but now more worn.

Traces of ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in curve on l. Zeus Nicephorus as above, on *diphros* to l. Beneath, Θ.

A6—P10. Newell, Α, gr. 16.32. PLATE LII, 3.

1340. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1337, but now worn and damaged.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ curving upwards from the exergue to meet the name. In l. field, Θ.

A6—P11. Newell (Florange Sale, Oct. 1923, No. 42), Α, gr. 16.85. PLATE LII, 4.

The earliest members of this group, Nos. 1332-3, PLATE LI, 5-8, are linked by the curious monogram R , as well as by close stylistic affinities, with a group of Alexander tetradrachms of which Müller's No. 1622 appears to be the only published example. Other specimens of this scarce but actually extensive Alexander group are pictured on PLATE LI, A and B. Their usual provenance and general appearance suggest an origin somewhere in eastern Asia Minor, or in the contiguous regions to the south and east. Several examples of these Alexander tetradrachms, and every specimen cited under No. 1333, can be directly traced to the Angora Hoard.¹ Many of the remainder may also have come from this same deposit. This further suggests some close geographic or trade connection between the mint of our coins and central Asia Minor.² It also furnishes us the reason for believing that Nos. 1332-3 must have been coined before *circa* 295 B. C., about which time the Angora Hoard was apparently buried.

It is far from certain that Nos. 1334-40, PLATES LI, 9-11 and LII, 1-4, actually form the continuation of Nos. 1332-3 and were struck in the same mint. Here they have been associated with the latter pieces because of their somewhat crude style and because they bear the monograms Δ or Q , both suggestive of the letters Δ I which mark No. 1333. The group is made remarkable by the presence of the only known example (No. 1334) of a gold distater to bear the name of Seleucus. The distater is accompanied by a stater, and the presence of these gold coins suggests that our series probably originated in some centre of commercial or strategic importance. But, unfortunately, their evidence does not go so far as to give us the name of such a conjectural metropolis. In Nos. 1337-40 the influence of contemporary Alexandrine issues of Seleucus from Syrian or Cilician mints may be recognized, while Nike replaces the more usual eagle in the right hand of Zeus.

Considering as a whole the generally crude style of Group A, the origin of many of the earlier specimens in the Angora Hoard, certain vague indications presented by the preceding Alexander coins, and, finally, the impossibility of closely associating the entire group with any of the known issues of Cilicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, etc., one would like to see in Nos. 1332-40 an issue originating in the Cappadocian region. For this district appears to represent the only one still remaining at our disposal. Some such centre as Tyana or Mazaca comes to mind. Both cities were situated on important trade and military high-roads, connecting Cilicia and the east with Pontus on the one hand, and with western Asia Minor on the other. The district of Cappadocia was certainly traversed by Seleucus in 302/1 B. C., on his great march from the east to join hands in Phrygia with his ally Lysimachus against their common enemy Antigonus. In consequence of their decisive victory at Ipsus, the allies divided the possessions of their vanquished foe, Lysimachus taking the west, Seleucus the east. Just where the new boundary line ran, we do not know. Earlier historians, basing their opinion on the statement of Appian (*Syr.* 55) that "Inner

¹ Noe, No. 51.

² Although we must not forget that a surprisingly large number of examples of certain issues (Nos. 1240-6) of Marathus in northern Phoenicia also turned up in the Angora Hoard.

Phrygia" and "Cappadocia Seleucis" fell to Seleucus after the battle of Ipsus, believed that he possessed southern Cappadocia as early as 302/1 B. C. But Bevan I, p. 323, Appendix D, takes occasion to point out the unreliability of Appian in this particular connection. With this opinion Ernst Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, p. 39, fully agrees. Both scholars assume that to Lysimachus fell all of Asia Minor down to the Taurus Mountains, that his brother Pleistarchus secured Cilicia, and that Seleucus at first gained only Syria and some contiguous regions. Cilicia was recovered from Pleistarchus by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 299 B. C. Whether the ephemeral kingdom of Pleistarchus had also contained any of the territory on the northern side of the Taurus Mountains is uncertain.³ If so, it may have fallen eventually to Seleucus when the latter in 294 B. C. took Cilicia away from Demetrius. But such a suggestion conflicts with Plutarch's description⁴ of Demetrius' final campaign of 286 B. C. in Cappadocia and Cilicia, from which it would appear that all of Asia Minor, down to the Taurus Mountains, at that time belonged to Lysimachus.

When Seleucus in 282 B. C. invaded Asia Minor at the request of Philetaerus of Pergamum and his fellow conspirators against the rule of Lysimachus, he naturally seized Cappadocia first. But the two years which intervened between that date and his death in the opening months of 280 B. C., seem all too short a time for the coinage of Group A. In any event, the presence of Nos. 1332-3 in the Angora Hoard proves that these varieties, at least, could not have been coined at so late a date. If, however, we were to consider Nos. 1334-40 as separate from Nos. 1332-3, their obviously late date in the coinages of Seleucus would make it possible to assign them to some such Cappadocian mint as Tyana. But here we are in serious danger of losing ourselves in hazardous and probably profitless conjecture, based on far too little evidence. Hence, we must await further discoveries before proposing any definite attributions for Nos. 1332-40.

MINT: B

SELEUCUS I

1341. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus seated to l. on throne, resting l. upon sceptre, and holding eagle in outstretched r. In l. field, ☉. Beneath throne, ⚡.

Newell, *✓*, gr. 16.95. PLATE LII, 5.

³ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 28, considers that eastern Cappadocia, better known as Cataonia, became part of Pleistarchus' kingdom.

⁴ Demetrius, 47.

1342. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1341.

Similar, but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is on the l. In inner l. field, Ξ. Beneath throne, ☉ or ☉.

α) London, ←, gr. 16.83. PLATE LII, 6; β) Berlin. PLATE LII, 7.

1343. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, ☉. Beneath throne, ΑΡΧ.

Newell, ↙, gr. 15.72. PLATE LII, 8.

Of entirely different style from Mint A coins are the three varieties of this issue. The eagle is again found on the right hand of Zeus, but the varying arrangements of the inscription are those which appear elsewhere towards the close of the reign. The monogram Ξ is identical with the monogram which accompanies the ♂ on Müller's No. 1622, while the ☉ reminds one of the Μ found on certain bronze issues of Edessa (Nos. 797-8) under Antiochus I. This similarity of monograms, however, is hardly sufficient to warrant an assignment of Nos. 1341-3 to either of those groups. Especially is this the case as the style of the coins is quite unlike that found either in Mint A or at Carrhae, the mint nearest to Edessa. In fact, the style and general appearance of the Heracles head is unlike anything we have yet met either in east or west.

MINT: C

SELEUCUS I

SERIES I, BEFORE c. 295 B. C.

1344. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. upon sceptre and holding eagle in outstretched r. In l. field, ☉. Beneath throne, Π.

Newell (Angora Hoard), ↙, gr. 17.17. PLATE LII, 9.

1345. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, ☉. Beneath throne, Π.

Newell, ↙, gr. 17.18. PLATE LII, 10.

SERIES II, c. 281-280 B. C.

1346. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, except that Zeus now holds a Nike in his outstretched r. In l. field, ΣΙ.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.61. PLATE LII, 11.

ANTIOCHUS I

Circa 280-278 B. C.

1347. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1346, but now recut.

ANTIOXOY on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus Nicephorus seated to l. as on the preceding. In l. field, ΣΙ. Beneath throne, Τ.

Newell, κ , gr. 16.60. PLATE LII, 12.

1348. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die.

Similar. In l. field, ΣΙ. Beneath throne, Χ.

London. PLATE LII, 13.

1349. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of poorer style.

Similar, but with no monograms at all.

Berlin (v. Knobelsdorf Coll.), gr. 17.12. PLATE LII, 14.

That Nos. 1346-9, PLATE LII, 11-14, belong to the same mint as Nos. 1344-5, PLATE LII, 9-10, is still very uncertain. Their association has been suggested here only because of the vague similarity between the obverses of Nos. 1344-5 on the one hand, and that of No. 1346 on the other. This uncertainty is made the greater by the fact that some time must have elapsed between the issue of Series I (Nos. 1344-5) and Series II (No. 1346). For Series I cannot be later than *circa* 295 B. C., as one of its specimens turned up in the Angora Hoard, while Series II must date from the very end of Seleucus I's reign. Not only does Zeus now hold the Nike, but the same magistrate, ΣΙ, signs the succeeding two coins inscribed with the name of Antiochus I. The two coins, Nos. 1347-8, are closely tied to No. 1346 by the continued use of the same obverse die, now apparently worn and retouched in several places. No. 1349 has been included with this group because its reverse is very similar to Nos. 1347-8 in style and in the character of its inscription. As yet no mint can be suggested for these coins. But several distant possibilities exist, such, for instance, as Edessa or Nisibis, two important centres under Seleucus I and Antiochus I to which no silver coins have as yet been found assignable for those reigns. It is even possible that other mints might have been temporarily established by Seleucus in the populous districts of north-eastern Syria, or even in Caesarea and Melitene, to which also no coins have as yet been assigned.

CHAPTER VII

LYDIA

A: SARDES

In 282 B. C., probably in the summertime,¹ Seleucus with a powerful army invaded the dominions of Lysimachus and made straight for Sardes, the capital of his foe's Asiatic provinces. The city itself fell at once; Polyaeus² recounts the stratagem by which Seleucus secured the strongly fortified citadel and the treasure there deposited. In the summer following the fall of Sardes, the decisive battle of Corupedium took place and the life and rule of Lysimachus ended. All Asia Minor was now at Seleucus' feet. The next seven months were fully occupied in regulating its affairs before he proceeded with the invasion of Europe, only to meet his death, near Lysimachia in Thrace, at the assassin's hands.

Meanwhile the mint established under Lysimachus at Sardes, had commenced to coin in the name of its new master. To it, may be assigned the following:

SELEUCUS I

RULED IN SARDES, 282-280 B. C.

1350. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Laureate Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. upon sceptre, and holding Nike in extended r. In l. field, ☐ on SHIELD. Beneath throne, ΑΣ.

- A1—P1. α) London (Gardner, p. 2, No. 21, Pl. i, 4), gr. 17.06; β) Newell (Armenak Hoard), ㄨ, gr. 17.17. PLATE LIII, 1.
 P2. α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.00. PLATE LIII, 2; β) Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1061, Pl. 37, gr. 17.10.
 P3. Newell, ㄨ, gr. 16.63. PLATE LIII, 3.
 P4. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 777, Pl. 26, gr. 17.06. PLATE LIII, 4.

1351. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1350, but now slightly worn.

Similar. In l. field, ☐ on SHIELD. Beneath throne, ΑΣ.

- A1—P5. Newell (Headlam Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1916, No. 431), ↓, gr. 16.70. PLATE LIII, 5.
 P6. Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 7, No. 15), gr. 16.97. PLATE LIII, 6.

¹ Cf. Beloch IV³, 2, § 211 and § 43.

² IV, 9, 4.

1352. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar. In l. field, Ε. Beneath throne, ΑΣ.

A1—P7. Florange-Ciani Sale, Oct. 1923, No. 43, Pl. ii.

A2—P8. α) London, ↑, gr. 17.03; β) Cahn Sale 68, Nov. 1930, No. 1515, Pl. 33 = Vogel Coll., Hess Sale, March 1929, No. 381, Pl. 9), gr. 16.91; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.85. PLATE LIII, 7.

1353. DRACHM.

Similar to die A2.

Similar. In l. field, Ε. Beneath throne, Α.

Berlin, gr. 4.12. PLATE LIII, 8.

1354. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In l. field, Ε. Beneath throne, Η.

A2—P 9. Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 7, No. 16, Pl. lxiii, 11), gr. 17.06. PLATE LIII, 9.

A3—P10. α) Berlin (Morel Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.07; β) Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 130, No. 476), gr. 16.95. PLATE LIII, 10.

P11. Vienna, ↑, gr. 16.78.

P12. α) Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 633, gr. 16.51; β) Riechmann Sale 30, Dec. 1924, No. 755, Pl. xxx, gr. 16.98.

P13. Newell, ↑, gr. 17.02. PLATE LIII, 11.

1355. TETRADRACHM.

From die A2, but now slightly damaged.

Similar. In l. field, Ε. Beneath throne, Ι.

A2—P14. α) Copenhagen, gr. 16.95; β) Brussels, gr. 17.12. PLATE LIII, 12.

1356. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but of different style. In l. field, ΑΣ. Beneath throne, Ζ.

A4—P15. Empedocles Coll. PLATE LIII, 13.

1357. BRONZE UNIT.

Winged head of Medusa to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath bull butting to r. Between hind legs, ΣΙ.

α-γ) Sardes excavations (*Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 38, Nos. 342-4), grs. 2.32, 2.60, 1.78; δ-ε) Sydenham Coll., Κ, and ↑, grs. 2.81 and 2.52; ζ-ι) London (Gardner, p. 7, Nos. 65-66), grs. 2.01, 2.95; η) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7841, Pl. 286), Ν, gr. 2.52. PLATE LIII, 14.

1358. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

BA above bull's head facing.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., cf. his *Zur griech. und röm. Münzkunde*, 1908, p. 234, No. 2, Pl. viii, 23 = *Rev. suisse de numismatique*, Vol. XIV, 1908), gr. 1.85; β-γ) London, Λ and Κ, grs. 1.08 and 0.89. PLATE LIII, 15-16.

The style and fabric of the silver coins described above are typically those of western Asia Minor; and Sardes in all that region is the only likely situation for their mint. The proposed attribution of these coins is also supported by a study

of their successors which could only have been struck in the ancient Lydian capital and the administrative centre of Asia Minor. These coins of Seleucus have come down to us in comparatively large numbers, especially in consideration of the short time (i. e., summer of 282 to spring of 280 B. C.) during which they could possibly have been coined. It is therefore important to remember that Sardes was the first really large city of Lysimachus' realms to fall into the hands of Seleucus. It was the capital of Asia Minor, and the residence of its satrap.³ Here was located one of the treasuries of Lysimachus and one of his most active mints.⁴ Seleucus had doubtless brought a large military chest with him on his march from the east, but it could hardly have been sufficient to cover his continued needs and the vast expenses of his new regime in the west. There is thus every reason to expect the mint of Sardes, now supplied by the recently captured treasure of Lysimachus, to have continued at once its operations for Seleucus. It is probable that some day there will also come to light gold staters, to accompany the silver tetradrachms and drachms described above. Seleucus appears to have appointed new magistrates to supervise the issues now commenced in his name—unless in the monogram Ε' we recognize the official who had placed his monogram Ε' on the final issues of Lysimachus⁵ at Sardes.

Three specimens of the accompanying bronze coin No. 1357, PLATE LIII, 14, were found in the American excavations of Sardes, thus assuring the correctness of their attribution, although the letters ΣΙ do not occur on the silver. As we proceed with our study of the Seleucid coinages of Sardes, we shall find it to be generally characteristic of this mint that its bronze coins were brought out under magistrates other than those who supervised the accompanying silver issues. The types, Medusa head and butting bull, are familiar to us from contemporary issues of other mints, such as Seleucia on the Tigris,⁶ Susa,⁷ Ecbatana,⁸ Antioch on the Orontes⁹ and Magnesia on the Maeander.¹⁰ The style of our present coins varies somewhat from that of all the others except Magnesia, being rather more delicate in execution and of lower relief. Like all of the bronze coinages from Asia Minor, the edges are straight. We have definitely left the bevelled edge technique of the east. Because of its style and fabric, and because the Medusa head of its obverse is identical with that on the larger coin, it is here suggested that No. 1358, PLATE LIII, 15-16, probably accompanied No. 1357. No examples are recorded as having been found at Sardes, but their origin was doubtless Asia Minor, as Imhoof-Blumer states¹¹ that his specimen reached him in a parcel largely composed of Pisidian coins.

³ For the Seleucid period, see Bevan I, p. 151 and p. 324, Appendix G.

⁴ These will be found described and discussed in the author's forthcoming work on the coinages of Lysimachus.

⁵ Müller, *Die Münzen des thracischen Königs Lysimachus*, Nos. 405-7.

⁶ E. S. M., Pl. xii, 1-3.

⁷ E. S. M., Pl. xxv, 19.

⁸ E. S. M., Pl. xxxvii, 14-15.

⁹ W. S. M., PLATE XVII, 10-22.

¹⁰ W. S. M., PLATE LXII, 6.

¹¹ *Revue suisse de numismatique*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 122, No. 2.

ANTIOCHUS I

SERIES I, c. 280-278 B. C.

1359. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed and horned head of Seleucus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on l., ANTIOXOY in the exergue. Horned head of horse to r. In r. field, ☿ above Ⓢ.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 11, No. 1, Pl. lxiii, 20), gr. 16.28. PLATE LIV, 1.

1360. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., as on Nos. 1354-5.

ANTIOXOY on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus Nicephorus enthroned to l., as on Nos. 1350-5. In l. field, ☿ above Ⓢ.

A5—P16. Newell (Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 839, Pl. 28 = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1897, No. 324), ↑, gr. 17.04. PLATE LIV, 2.

1361. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1360, but now in a slightly damaged state.

Similar. In l. field, ΔΙ. Beneath throne, Ⓢ.

A5—P17. α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.86; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.98. PLATE LIV, 3.

1362. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of variant style.

Similar. In l. field, ΑΣ. Beneath throne, Ⓢ.

A6—P18. Newell (Kreling Coll., Schulman Sale, Nov. 1913, No. 524), ↑, gr. 15.56.

P19. Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9247, Pl. 335, 13 = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 691, Pl. ix), ↑, gr. 17.09. PLATE LIV, 4.

When Seleucus was struck down by his assassin, early in 280 B. C., the empire which he had so laboriously and successfully built up devolved upon his son Antiochus. As a consequence, the Sardian coinage now began to bear the name of the new ruler. It was at first issued in two types. The bulk of the coinage, Nos. 1360-2, PLATE LIV, 2-4, retained the accustomed Alexandrine types of his father. Even the majority of the monetary magistrates remained the same, and we find ΑΣ, Ⓢ, and Ⓢ continuing to place their signatures upon the new coins. A special coinage (No. 1359, PLATE LIV, 1), however, was also brought out at this time, honoring the sacred memory of the empire's great founder. On the obverse, we find a splendid portrait of the divine Seleucus. His rugged and compelling features are admirably rendered. Long, thin bull's horns,¹⁹ symbols of divine power, rise from the diadem, just above the ear. On the accompanying reverse, we see the spirited head and neck of a horned horse, whose forelock rises in flame-like waves. This type was one of the well-known emblems of Seleucus himself, and is of frequent

¹⁹ As on the Persepolitan issues of Seleucus, E. S. M., Pl. xxxii.

occurrence as a symbol on his own coins,¹³ and as a type on those of his son.¹⁴ That this remarkable coin must be an issue of Sardes, follows from the fact that it bears in its upper right field the same complicated and otherwise unknown monogram \mathfrak{Z} as does the Alexandrine tetradrachm No. 1360. Its fabric and style, too, is that of western Asia Minor, and not of northern Mesopotamia or Bactria, where the other coins with the portrait of Seleucus or with the horse's head have been struck.¹⁵

The period covered by Series I was probably about two years, just as we have found to be the case at other mints where the Alexandrine type coinage of Antiochus I was issued.¹⁶ More than this brief extent of time can hardly be postulated, as in each case the issue in question was obviously of short duration as compared with the succeeding issues bearing the personal types of Antiochus I.

SERIES II, c. 277-272 B. C.

1363. TETRADRACHM.

Horned and diademed head of Seleucus I
to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, completely nude, seated to l. on
omphalos, upon which he rests his l., and
holds a bow in his extended r. In inner l.
field, ΔΙ. In the exergue, ΑΣ.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 822, Pl. 28 = Mathey Coll., Rollin & Feuardent Sale, June 1913, No. 329, Pl. xi), gr. 16.05; β) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum Coll.). PLATE LIV, 5.

α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

1364. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Α. In the exergue, ΑΣ.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll. Cf. *Archaeol. Zeit.*, 1867, Pl. 17, and *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. i, 18), gr. 17.06; β) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2929, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 17.08. PLATE LIV, 6.

α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

1365. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Δ (recut over a preceding monogram?). In the exergue, Ι.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 821, Pl. 28 (= Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 443, Pl. iii), gr. 16.98. PLATE LIV, 7.

¹³ E. S. M., Pls. xxi, 19-21; xxii, 2-8, 20; xxxv, 1-9. As a type the horned horse's head also occurs on the coins of Seleucus. Cf. E. S. M., Pl. vii, 8-9; lv, 8-12; and W. S. M., PLATES V, 4; XIII, 11; XXXIII, 1-3 and LXVIII, 9-10.

¹⁴ E. S. M., Pls. li, 1-22; lii, 1-3; lv, 16. W. S. M., PLATES VI, 2-7 and XIII, 1-4, 9-10, 13-15.

¹⁵ For instance, our coin will in no wise fit in with the other issues of Bactria, as was attempted in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 435.

¹⁶ Cf. E. S. M., Seleucia on the Tigris, pp. 52-4; Ecbatana, pp. 183-5; W. S. M., Carrhae, p. 49; Antioch on the Orontes, p. 108; Tarsus, p. 218.

1366. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1364.

Similar. In inner l. field, Σ . In the exergue, Π . α) Jameson Coll., No. 2344, Pl. cxxiv, gr. 17.07; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 17.02. PLATE LIV, 8. α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

1367. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, Σ . In the exergue, Π or Σ . α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. The exergual monogram is somewhat uncertain on this specimen. *Monnaies grecques*, Pl. H, 10), \uparrow , gr. 16.56; β) London (Whittall Coll.). PLATE LIV, 9; γ) Brussels, gr. 17.10. PLATE LIV, 10. α to γ are from the same obverse but from different reverse dies.

1368. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Bust of Athena, facing and wearing triple-crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Winged victory to l., holding long palm branch in l., and wreath in extended r. In outer l. field, Θ . α) Paris (Babelon, No. 184), gr. 5.55; β) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), \uparrow , gr. 5.24. PLATE LIV, 11.

1369. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram.

 α) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 2.34; β - ϵ) Sardes excavations ('Basis Hoard.' Cf. *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 40, Nos. 370-5), grs. 2.33, 2.00, 2.59, 2.59, 3.30, 2.33; η) Sardes excavations (*Loc. cit.*, No. 376), gr. 1.84; θ) London (Gardner, p. 13, No. 58, Pl. iv, 13); ι) Berlin, gr. 2.38; κ) Berlin, gr. 2.40. PLATE LIV, 12.

1370. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Θ . In inner r. field, Θ , or Δ in WREATH. α) Berlin, gr. 4.90 (?); β) Berlin, gr. 4.90. PLATE LIV, 13.

1371. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same two monograms.

 α) Berlin, gr. 2.85; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 185, Pl. v, 14), gr. 2.75; γ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), \uparrow , gr. 2.81. PLATE LIV, 14; δ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 2.35. PLATE LIV, 15.

When the old Alexandrine type coinage was finally discarded by Antiochus I at the various mints of his empire, types more personal to himself and to his dynasty were selected to replace it. We have seen that at such mints as Seleucia on the Tigris,¹⁷ Ecbatana,¹⁸ Antioch,¹⁹ and Tarsus,²⁰ the coins at this time displayed a por-

¹⁷ E. S. M., p. 54 ff.¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183 ff.¹⁹ W. S. M., p. 108.²⁰ W. S. M., p. 218.

trait of Antiochus himself on the obverse, and on the reverse the patron god of the Seleucid line, Apollo, seated upon his *omphalos* and holding one, two, or three arrows in his outstretched right hand. At Sardes, however, somewhat different types were now chosen to replace those of Alexander. An arresting portrait of Seleucus I, perhaps even more individual and more powerful in its general effect than the one which had appeared on the special issue (No. 1359, PLATE LIV, 1) of Series I, once more occupies the obverse. The head is diademed (PLATE LIV, 5-10) and is again provided with the symbolic bull's horn. This time, however, the horn is shorter and more substantial than on the earlier issue. It juts forward from in front of the ear, following the line of the diadem,²¹ instead of curving upwards from the ear and above the head. On the accompanying reverses we find the seated Apollo, as on the issues of the other mints, but now differently portrayed. Here, the god is completely nude. His left hand rests upon the *omphalos* itself and not upon his bow, as elsewhere. The strung bow is now grasped by Apollo in his extended right hand, somewhat raised so that he may glance along the line of the string, perhaps to judge the straightness of the bow itself.

Signing this silver coinage, we find many of the monograms and initials (such as ΔΙ, ΑΞ, Α, Ξ, Ζ, Ξ) which occur on the preceding issues, both of Seleucus I and of Antiochus I. Obviously, they were coined in the same mint as were Nos. 1350-6 and 1359-62. Imhoof-Blumer has already pointed out²² that Nos. 1363-7 were surely minted in Asia Minor, while the identity of monograms and letters now shows their mint to have been Sardes—if our attribution of the preceding numbers be correct. That is now made even more probable by the accompanying bronze coins Nos. 1368-71. Many of these coins bear a second monogram, Δ (surrounded by either a circle or a wreath)—probably the same individual as the ΔΙ (once ΔΙ) of Nos. 1361, 1363, and 1365. No less than seven examples of these bronze coins have turned up in the excavations of Sardes itself, thus practically assuring their assignment to the Lydian capital.

The number of known varieties suggests that the issue of Series II may have lasted for several years at least, perhaps until *circa* 272 B. C. For the greater part of this time Antiochus himself was in Syria, engaged in suppressing the dangerous rebellion which had broken out in that district. Later, he was concerned with the various military operations connected with the First Syrian War. About 277 B. C. he crossed the Taurus to deal with the troubles in Asia Minor, but in 276 B. C. he was again called back to Syria by the invasion of Ptolemy II. According to the now famous Babylonian tablet,²³ he "left his court, his wife, and the crown prince in Sapardu (Sardes) to keep a strong guard (276 B. C.)." Perhaps the use by the mint of Sardes of the portrait of the divine Seleucus (in contradistinction to that of Antiochus himself, as in the remaining mints) was motivated by the fact that the Seleucid title to Asia Minor, of which Sardes was the capital, rested directly upon

²¹ As on the well-known portrait coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

²² *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 179.

²³ Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 152 ff.

the right of conquest. This right had been secured by the decisive battle of Corupedium, a victory won by Seleucus in person. Doubtless, the population of Asia Minor still looked upon Seleucus as their liberator²⁴ from the exactions and oppressions of Lysimachus. That Antiochus in these difficult times might need every possible device to maintain his hold on his father's empire, is obvious.²⁵ It is interesting to note that Philetaerus of Pergamum, protagonist and mainstay of the Seleucid power in north-western Asia Minor, also about this time (*circa* 275-4 B. C.) placed the portrait of the divine Seleucus²⁶ on the obverses of his tetradrachms. In so doing, he would seem to have acknowledged his allegiance to the Seleucid empire, and his debt to Seleucus who had been his saviour from the revenge of Lysimachus. So far as Antiochus is concerned, the use of his father's portrait on his own money intended for circulation in Asia Minor, would serve to crystallize the potential loyalty of its inhabitants to his cause and to remind them of the grounds upon which he laid claim to this loyalty.

SERIES III, c. 272-261 B. C.

1372. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. On α and β , the head is large and in low relief. On γ -s, the head is smaller but in high relief. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, with drapery on the *omphalos* and over r. thigh, seated to l. He wears sandals, rests l. hand on bow and holds sometimes one, sometimes two arrows in extended r. In the exergue, AΘ ΑΣ.

α) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.63; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.67. PLATE LV, 1; γ) Otto Coll., Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 644, Pl. 15 = Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 886, Pl. 30, gr. 17.09; δ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 17.13. PLATE LV, 2; ϵ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , 16.82. PLATE LV, 3.

α and β are from one pair of dies; γ - ϵ are struck from another obverse die and two different reverse dies.

1373. TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as No. 1372 γ - ϵ .

Similar. Apollo holds two arrows. In the exergue, ΑΣ ΨΗ.

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 17.12. PLATE LV, 4.

1374. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1373.

Similar. In the exergue, ΑΝ ΨΗ.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 17.16; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 181, No. 37, Pl. ii, 11), \uparrow , gr. 17.02; γ) London (Wace Coll. = *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. V, 1925, p. 18, No. 52, Pl. ii), \uparrow , gr. 17.07. PLATE LV, 5; δ) Newell (Homs 1934 Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 15.82.

α - γ are from the same pair of dies.

²⁴ Bevan I, p. 129.

²⁵ We have seen (pp. 50-3) that at yet another mint, Carrahae, the memory of Seleucus was also invoked upon its coins during the same period of stress and uncertainty for Antiochus. Dura, too, uses the head of Seleucus upon its issues at this time (pp. 79-80).

²⁶ Newell, *The Pergamene Mint under Philetaerus*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 76, p. 23 ff.

1375. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but from another die.

Similar. Apollo again holds only one arrow.
In the exergue, AΣ AΘ.α) Copenhagen, gr. 16.85; β) Zygman Coll., ↑, gr. 16.78; γ) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.),
↑, gr. 17.085. PLATE LV, 6.

α-γ are from a single obverse die but different reverse dies.

1376. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1375.

Similar. In the exergue, AN AΣ.

London, ↑, gr. 17.10. PLATE LV, 7.

1377. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1375.

Similar. In the exergue, AN AΘ. The
theta has been recut over a preceding *sigma*.Private Coll. in Egypt (photograph sent through the kind offices of Messrs. Spink and Son).
PLATE LV, 8.

1378. BRONZE HALF (or QUARTER ?).

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots.

BA above, AN beneath arrow-point to r.
In the exergue, AΘ.

Paris (Babelon, No. 415, Pl. x, 8), gr. 1.25. PLATE LV, 9.

ANTIOCHUS I OR ANTIOCHUS II

1379. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., with short
locks.BAΣIAEQΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Tripod. In the exergue, ANCHOR. In outer
r. field, A. In outer l. field, E.α) London, gr. 4.11; β-γ) Berlin (Fox and Löbbecke Colls.), ↑; δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 3.82.
PLATE LV, 10.

1380. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, A (?).

Newell, ↑, gr. 3.75.

1381. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar, but the locks are slightly longer.

Similar. In outer r. field, Δ. In outer l.
field, A.

Newell, ↑, gr. 3.70. PLATE LV, 11.

1382. BRONZE HALF.

Laureate head of Apollo three-quarters fac-
ing to l.

Similar. In outer r. field, A (?).

Berlin, gr. 1.75. PLATE LV, 12.

1383. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, P (or is it φ ?).

Berlin, gr. 1.65. PLATE LV, 13.

1384. BRONZE HALF (cf. E. S. M., No. 200).

Similar, but the head faces three-quarters to r. Similar. No letters or monogram visible to r.

α-β) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 182-3, Pl. v, 13), grs. 0.90 and 1.00 (E. S. M., Pl. xvi, 20);
γ) Berlin, gr. 1.65. PLATE LV, 14.

Eventually, the mint at Sardes adopted the types current throughout the remainder of the empire: Diademed head of Antiochus I on the obverse, seated Apollo on the reverse. Instead of the bow (Nos. 1363-7), Apollo now holds either one or two arrows, as was the practice at almost all of the other mints. This change from the Seleucus head to the portrait of Antiochus himself, may have come at some time after 272 B. C., the year in which a general peace between the Seleucid empire, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonos of Greece, and the Northern League had finally been negotiated and ratified.²⁷ The stability and permanency of Antiochus' rule in Asia Minor was thereby assured. No longer need he call upon the prestige of his divine father and, by placing the latter's portrait upon the coins, remind his subjects that they owed allegiance to the Seleucid empire by right of conquest, to himself by right of inheritance. His own portrait upon the coinage was now sufficient.

The silver coins are again for a large part supervised by our old acquaintance ΑΣ. The ΞΗ of Nos. 1373-4 may be the Ξ who had previously signed Nos. 1365-6; while the Α of No. 1364 may be either the ΑΘ or the ΑΝ of the present series. Whereas at Sardes the die positions of the silver coins under Seleucus I had at first (Nos. 1350-1) been somewhat erratic, towards the end, the upright (↑ ↑) position had come to be the most favored. For Series I, II, and III of Antiochus I, that particular position seems to have been adopted as the regular practice, even for the bronze coins.

To Series III may be assigned the rare little bronze coin No. 1378, PLATE LV, 9, because of the magistrate's letters ΑΘ which so frequently occur on the tetradrachms. Perhaps before the close of the reign, came also the bronze coins Nos. 1379-81, PLATE LV, 10-11. On their obverses, we again find a youthful head of Apollo with short curls;²⁸ on the reverses, the god's tripod standing above the Seleucid anchor. Not only does the short hair of Apollo differentiate these pieces from the later coins with the long hair,²⁹ but the tripod also differs in minor details³⁰ from that found on the more prolific issues generally, and doubtless correctly, given to Antiochus II.³¹ To be grouped with them as a smaller denomination, are Nos. 1382-4, PLATE LV, 12-14.³² On these pieces Apollo's head is in the

²⁷ Beloch IV², 1, p. 586 and IV², 2, p. 502.

²⁸ The assignment of this group, marked by the short-haired Apollo, to Antiochus I was first suggested to the writer by Rev. Edgar Rogers.

²⁹ See below, Nos. 1389-1405; PLATES LVI, 6-20 and LVII, 1-6.

³⁰ For instance, the ring-like handles are not so clearly marked.

³¹ Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, pp. xxiv and 15, Nos. 13-17; Babelon, *loc. cit.*, pp. lxiiv-lxiv and Nos. 224-35.

³² In E. S. M., p. 72, No. 200 was wrongly assigned, though doubtfully (*ibid.*, p. 75), to the mint of Seleucia on the Tigris, largely because of the facing head. See above, p. 16.

three-quarters facing position, but the tripod is identical with that found on the larger coins. The style and fabric of all varieties, both that of the long- as of the short-haired Apollo, are typically those of Asia Minor. Specimens almost invariably reach the coin-market from that region, while the many specimens found in the excavations of Sardes³³ assure their attribution to that mint. The magistrate A of Nos. 1379-82 may represent the same individual as the ΑΣ, ΑΝ or ΑΘ of the silver tetradrachms.

ANTIOCHUS II

SERIES I, c. 261-250 B. C.

1385. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of the elderly Antiochus I to r., in high relief.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, wearing sandals, seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand upon bow, and holding two arrows in extended r. In the exergue, ΑΣ ΑΝ.

α) Basel Sale 10, March 1938, No. 367, Pl. xv (= Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2937, Pl. lxxxv), gr. 17.10; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 867, Pl. 30 (= Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2936, Pl. lxxxv), gr. 17.12. PLATE LV, 15; γ) London (*Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XVII, 1917, p. 24, Pl. iii, 4), ↑, gr. 17.08. PLATE LV, 16.

α-γ are from the same obverse die; α-β from the same reverse die.

1386. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but from another die.

Similar. In the exergue, Μ Α.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.63. PLATE LVI, 1.

1387. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1385.

Similar, but Apollo holds only one arrow. In the exergue, Ν Α.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 15, No. 27, Pl. lxiv, 3), gr. 17.03; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 868, Pl. 30, gr. 17.12; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.10. PLATE LVI, 2; δ) Basel Sale 4, Oct. 1935, No. 869, Pl. 30, gr. 16.90; ε) Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1064, Pl. 37 (= Hirsch Sale XVIII, May 1907, No. 2502, Pl. xxxix), gr. 17.17; ς) Berlin (Prokesh-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.22; ζ) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum Coll.). PLATE LVI, 3.

All are from the same obverse die; α-γ are from one reverse die, δ-ζ from another.

1388. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but from another die.

Similar. In the exergue, Α Ν.

α) Jameson Coll., No. 1669, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 16.82; β) Berlin (Egger Sale XXXIX, Jan. 1912, No. 336, Pl. xi), ↑, gr. 17.12; γ) London (Gardner, p. 9, No. 19, Pl. iii, 5), gr. 17.17. PLATE LVI, 4; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 134), gr. 17.10. PLATE LVI, 5.

³³ Sardis, Vol. XI, Part I, pp. 39-40, Nos. 353-366.

1389. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., with flowing locks.

Same inscription as before. Tripod. In the exergue, ANCHOR (the flukes on the l.). In outer r. field, MIA. In outer l. field, \boxplus .

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 235), gr. 3.75; β - γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 22, Nos. 20-1, Pl. lxiv, 17), grs. 5.28, 4.73; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 4.20; ϵ) Sydenham Coll., \uparrow , gr. 3.71; ζ) London, \swarrow , gr. 5.29; η) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 17), \nearrow , gr. 3.95. PLATE LVI, 6.

1390. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Δ I. In outer l. field, \boxplus .

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.73.

1391. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. Hereafter, the flukes of the ANCHOR are always on the r. In outer r. field, Δ I. In outer l. field, Σ .

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 228), gr. 3.95; β) Berlin (Fox Coll.), \uparrow ; γ) Adana Museum, \nearrow , gr. 3.97. PLATE LVI, 7; δ) London, \swarrow , gr. 4.56; ϵ) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 15), \uparrow , gr. 3.57. PLATE LVI, 8; ζ) Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2888, Pl. xxiv.

1392. BRONZE HALF.

Laureate head of Apollo to r.

Same inscription as above. Lyre. Beneath, ANCHOR. In outer r. field, Δ I. In outer l. field, Σ .

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 1.82.

1393. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 1391.

Similar to No. 1391, with tripod. In outer r. field, ϕ . In outer l. field, Υ .

α) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 14, Pl. v, 9), \uparrow , gr. 4.17; β) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 16), \uparrow , gr. 4.24; γ) London, \swarrow , gr. 4.10; δ - ϵ) Sydenham Coll., \uparrow , grs. 3.88 and 3.84; ζ) Berlin (U. Köhler Coll.), \nearrow ; η) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 4.44; θ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.06; ι) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.43. PLATE LVI, 9; κ) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7854, Pl. 286), \uparrow , gr. 5.06. PLATE LVI, 10.

Countermarked: Bee.

λ) Athens. PLATE LVI, 11; μ) London, \uparrow , gr. 4.62.

Countermarked: Humped Bull.

ν) London, \downarrow , gr. 3.72. PLATE LVI, 12.

Countermarked: Trident.

ρ) London, \swarrow , gr. 3.32.

Countermarked: Anchor.

σ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.30. PLATE LVI, 13.

1394. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Σ . In outer l. field, Υ .

α) London, \uparrow , gr. 3.55; β - γ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 225-6), gr. 3.95 each; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 227 ?), gr. 4.10; ϵ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 5.05; ζ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.77. PLATE LVI, 14.

Countermarked: Trident.

η) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.41. PLATE LVI, 15.

1395. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Σ .

London, \uparrow , gr. 3.86. PLATE LVI, 16.

1396. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, Σ .

London, \uparrow , gr. 4.33. PLATE LVI, 17.

1397. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 1392.

Similar to No. 1392, with lyre. In outer r. field, Σ .

α) Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2891, Pl. xxiv; β - ζ) Sardes excavations (*Sardis*, Nos. 377-81), grs. 2.18, 2.20, 1.97, 2.61, 1.95; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \uparrow ; η) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 1.88; θ) Berlin; ι) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 2.06; κ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale, XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), \uparrow , gr. 2.02. PLATE LVI, 18.

1398. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar to No. 1396.

Similar to No. 1396, with tripod. In outer r. field, Π . In outer l. field, Π .

α) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.84; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.58. PLATE LVI, 19.

1399. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Σ . In outer l. field, Π .

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.93. PLATE LVI, 20.

1400. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Π . In outer l. field, Π .



α) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), Σ , gr. 5.05; β) Berlin (Fox Coll.), \uparrow ; γ) London, Σ , gr. 4.57; δ) London, \uparrow , gr. 5.02; ϵ) London, gr. 3.41. PLATE LVII, 1; ζ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.44.

Countermarked: Bee.

η) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.06.



1401. BRONZE HALF.

Similar to No. 1397.

Similar to No. 1397, with lyre. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field, . α Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), \uparrow , gr. 1.91; β Newell, \uparrow , gr. 1.97. PLATE LVII, 2.

1402. BRONZE UNIT.


Similar to No. 1400.

Similar to No. 1400, with tripod. In outer r. field, . In outer l. field, .

Paris (Babelon, No. 224, Pl. vi, 16), gr. 4.65.


1403. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, .London, \downarrow , gr. 4.07. PLATE LVII, 3.


1404. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, (?). In outer l. field, .London, \nwarrow , gr. 3.97. PLATE LVII, 4.

1405. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar, but sometimes with formal locks.

Similar. In outer r. field, Δ . In outer l. field, . α Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.57; β Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7857, Pl. 286), \uparrow , gr. 3.79. PLATE LVII, 5; γ Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.52.

Countermarked: Star on obverse; Double Cornucopiae on reverse.

 ϵ Newell, \nwarrow , gr. 3.85. PLATE LVII, 6.

As at the eastern capital of Seleucia on the Tigris, so also at the western capital of Sardes, the earliest silver issues of Antiochus II continue to bear the portrait of his father, Antiochus I.²⁴ To such a conclusion we must necessarily come, when we observe that there exists but one Sardian issue (No. 1406, PLATE LVII, 7-8) which bears the portrait of Antiochus II. But as this issue is signed by the same *college* of two magistrates, ΔN , as the immediately succeeding coinage of Seleucus II (No. 1416, PLATE LVIII, 1-2) on the one hand, and likewise Nos. 1387-8, PLATE LVI, 2-5 (with the portrait of the elderly Antiochus I) on the other hand, all of these coins presumably belong to the later years of Antiochus II and the first years of Seleucus II. It is difficult to believe that the large coinage bearing the head of Antiochus I, Nos. 1372-7 and Nos. 1385-8, could all belong to the last half (*circa* 272-261 B. C.) of his reign alone, while Antiochus II struck only the one variety, No. 1406. Especially is this the case as we know that for the greater part of his reign Antiochus II, with his entire court, resided at Sardes. Any attribution

²⁴ For the issues of Antiochus II at Seleucia on the Tigris, see E. S. M., pp. 69-75.

of Nos. 1387-8 to Antiochus I, would entail admitting that the same two magistrates, namely ΑΙ Ν, had continued in office together from before the death of Antiochus I, through the entire reign (some fifteen years) of Antiochus II, and that in the reign of Seleucus II they were still associated. As we possess an absolutely certain precedent at Seleucia on the Tigris, it is eminently reasonable to suppose that also at Sardes a posthumous coinage of Antiochus I was continued during his son's reign, both for commercial and political reasons, as well as in deference to the memory of the great Soter. Just where the dividing line between the lifetime and the posthumous issues of Antiochus I should come, is at present impossible to state categorically. We have placed the division at the most likely point, namely where a new artist, one of outstanding ability, commences to work at Sardes. His portraits of the aged Antiochus I (PLATE LV, 15-16, PLATE LVI, 1-5) are extraordinary productions of the engraver's art, surpassing (if that were possible) even the justly renowned portraits of the Greco-Bactrian coinages. But this consummate artist may well have begun his activities before the death of Antiochus Soter. On the other hand, some of the later specimens of Nos. 1372-7 may have continued on under Antiochus II, until the new king determined to replace their rather youthful head by a portrait more in consonance with what Antiochus I must have looked like at the very end of his lifetime.

That these coins with the splendid head of Antiochus I emanated from the same mint as the earlier issues, may be recognized by the continuation in office (on No. 1385) of the magistrates ΑΣ and ΑΝ.⁸⁵ When he finally disappears, it is evident that his colleague ΑΝ (now using the monogram form Α) continues to supervise the remaining issues, assisted by new officials, such as ΒΔ and Ν. There exists also a minor indication, aside from style and fabric, which places Nos. 1385-8 at the same mint as Nos. 1372-7. The Apollo figure on all of these coins presents an unusual feature in that the god is here depicted as wearing sandals.

The bronze issues belonging to the reign of Antiochus II represent a continuation in types of those pieces (Nos. 1379-81) which have been tentatively assigned to the close of Antiochus I's reign. Aside from the changing magistrates' letters and monograms, the sole difference observable lies in minor details of the tripod and in the fact that Apollo's hair, at the back of his neck, now falls in long curls instead of short locks. The bronze issues of the new reign may themselves be divided into two main groups, distinguishable by the fact that in the first the locks of hair covering the back of Apollo's neck are composed of loose ringlets, while in the second group at least the first lock, but usually all the locks, have become formally stiff, tightly-curved tresses of hair. The transition from one to the other type is not sharply drawn, but appears to have taken place during the coining of Nos. 1404, 1405, 1407, of which varieties we possess specimens displaying both types of hair-dress. Taken as a whole, the group distinguished by the loose locks of hair (Nos. 1389-1403, PLATE LVI, 6-20, PLATE LVII, 1-3) is by far the larger

⁸⁵ ΑΣ had previously signed Nos. 1350-2, 1362-4, 1372-3, 1375-6, while ΑΝ had signed Nos. 1374 and 1376-7.

of the two and so has been assigned to Series I, covering the years *circa* 261–250 B. C. The second group (Nos. 1407–1415, PLATE LVII, 9–22) has been assigned to Series II, which covers the last few years of the reign. These assignments are more or less arbitrary. All that we actually know is that the 'loose-lock' group is the earlier and larger; while the 'formal-lock' group must come at the end of the reign because a similar issue (Nos. 1424–5, PLATE LVIII, 11–12) appears at the very beginning of Seleucus II's reign and evidently represents its direct continuation.

These bronze issues seem to have been brought out under the supervision of their own monetary officials—for the initials or monograms never occur on the accompanying silver.³⁶ The coinage comprised 'units' and 'halves,' marked respectively by the tripod or the lyre, placed above the anchor, on their reverses. Examples of both denominations were found in considerable numbers in the excavations of Sardes,³⁷ thus practically assuring their attribution. They also turn up frequently in the bazaars and among the coin dealers of Smyrna.³⁸ Even aside from this, their attribution to Sardes follows from the fact that they represent by far the largest and most continuous Seleucid bronze coinage from Asia Minor. Here, Sardes was ever the Seleucid capital and administrative centre,³⁹ and the most suitable place for a central mint. As regards our bronze coins, it is worth noting that the two unusual monograms Ψ and Υ (Nos. 1393–4, PLATE LVI, 9–15) both again occur on certain autonomous bronze coins (PLATE LVI, A and B) which bear the types and name of the Sardian mint. From Sardes our coins eventually travelled throughout western Asia Minor, in witness of which they often bear the countermarks of various large cities, such as the bee of Ephesus,⁴⁰ the trident of Priene,⁴¹ the crossed cornucopiae of Lebedus,⁴² the humped bull of Tralles,⁴³ etc. Others were carried to Thrace, where at Lysimachia, an entire issue seems largely to have been minted on coins of this type.⁴⁴

The list of the bronze varieties as here presented will surely be augmented in the future. The series is a peculiarly difficult one to study by means of casts alone, and unfortunately it did not prove possible for the writer, previous to the publication of this work, personally to inspect the specimens preserved in the various public collections abroad. The monograms are for the most part small and not always clearly or consistently rendered. Frequently, one or both of the monograms are off flan. When corrosion has further blurred their outlines, it may readily be seen that reliance cannot always be placed on the readings even of a practised scholar, especially when he has available only the coins in the particular collection

³⁶ Unless we concede that the Ψ of No. 1386 indicates the same individual as the Ψ , Nos. 1400–1.

³⁷ *Sardis, loc. cit.*, pp. 39–40, Nos. 353–366, 377–381.

³⁸ For instance, of the four specimens in Sir Herman Weber's collection (Nos. 7854–57), no less than three came from these sources. Specimens in other collections indicate a similar source.

³⁹ Cf. Bevan I, pp. 151, 159, 325.

⁴⁰ Cf. Nos. 1393 κ , λ and 1400 ζ .

⁴¹ Cf. Nos. 1393 μ and 1394 ζ .

⁴² Cf. No. 1405 ϵ .

⁴³ Cf. No. 1393 μ .

⁴⁴ R. Münsterberg, *Numismat. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVIII, 1915, p. 115.

which he is describing. It frequently requires several specimens of a single variety before one can be really certain of the exact form of the monograms present in each case. Here, only such varieties as seemed reasonably certain have been included; and the list, as it stands, is open to future corrections and additions.

SERIES II, c. 250-246 B. C.

1406. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, as before, seated to l. on *omphalos*.
In the exergue, ΑΙ Ν.

- α) Newell (Gejou), ↑, gr. 17.07; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.02. PLATE LVII, 7; γ-δ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 20, Nos. 4-5, Pl. lxiv, 12), grs. 17.01, 17.15. PLATE LVII, 8;
ε) American University, Beyrouth.

1407. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. His locks are sometimes flowing, sometimes in formal ringlets.

Similar inscription to r. and l. of tripod placed above an ANCHOR. In outer r. field, ΠΡ. In outer l. field, Σ.

- α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 23, No. 25), gr. 3.63; β-γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 3.80; ε) London, ↑, gr. 3.38; ς) London, ς, gr. 3.86; ζ) Newell, ς, gr. 3.94; η-θ) Newell, ↑, grs. 4.20, 4.04. PLATE LVII, 9; ι) Newell, ↑, gr. 3.51. PLATE LVII, 10.

Countermarked: Anchor.

- κ) Newell, ς, gr. 4.28. PLATE LVII, 11.

1408. BRONZE HALF.

Laureate head of Apollo to r.

Same inscription as before. Lyre above ANCHOR. In outer r. field, ΠΡ. In outer l. field, Σ.

- α) Sydenham Coll., ↑, gr. 1.47; β) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), ↑, gr. 1.86. PLATE LVII, 12.

1409. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of Apollo to r., with formal curls.

Similar to No. 1407. In outer r. field, ΠΡ. In outer l. field, Σ above E.

- α) Sardes excavations (*Sardis*, p. 39, No. 358 ?), gr. 4.10; β-γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 23, Nos. 26-7), grs. 3.69, 3.40; δ) London, ↑, gr. 3.46; ε-ζ) Newell, ↑, grs. 3.71, 4.17. PLATE LVII, 13.

1410. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ΠΡ. In outer l. field, Π.

- α) London, ς, gr. 4.69. PLATE LVII, 16; β) London, ↑, gr. 3.80. PLATE LVII, 14; γ-δ) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), ς, ς, grs. 4.74, 3.72. PLATE LVII, 15; ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 5.19; ς-ζ) Paris (Babelon, Nos. 233-4), grs. 4.20, 4.25; η) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 23, No. 28), gr. 4.96.

Countermarked: Caduceus.

θ) London, ↑, gr. 4.49. PLATE LVII, 17.

1411. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ⚡. In outer l. field, ⚡ above E.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll.), ↑; β-γ) London, ↑, grs. 4.47, 3.48; δ) London, ↖, gr. 5.06; ε) London, ↑, gr. 4.28. PLATE LVII, 18.

Countermarked: Anchor.

ρ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 23, No. 29), gr. 3.56.

1412. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ⚓. In outer l. field, ⚓.

London, ↑, gr. 3.58. PLATE LVII, 19.

1413. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ⚓ (?).

London, ↑, gr. 3.86. PLATE LVII, 20.

1414. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ⚡. In outer l. field, ⚡.

London, ↑, gr. 3.98. PLATE LVII, 21.

1415. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, ⚡ above ⚡. In outer l. field, ⚡.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll.), ↑; β) London, ↑, gr. 3.60. PLATE LVII, 22.

Eventually, Antiochus II substituted his own for his father's portrait on the silver coinages of Sardes. The magistrates Α and Ν, who together had signed the final issues (Nos. 1387-8) with the portrait of the elderly Antiochus I, continue to place their monograms on the present issue (No. 1406, PLATE LVII, 7-8) of tetradrachms. Even some of the old reverse dies were continued in use, as the reverse of PLATE LVII, 7 was struck from the same die as the reverse of PLATE LVI, 5. It has already been pointed out above that as we possess only this one issue marked by the features of Antiochus II, followed immediately by an issue (No. 1416, below) signed by the same two magistrates but now provided with the portrait, types and inscription of Seleucus II, then No. 1406 must come towards the end of Antiochus II's reign. Accompanying it, have been placed the bronze coins Nos. 1407-1415, PLATE LVII, 9-22, bearing on their obverses an Apollo head marked by long, formal curls. While somewhat arbitrary, the reasons for this proposed arrange-

ment have been discussed above, pp. 256-8. The remarks concerning the probable incompleteness of our list of bronze varieties described under Series I, applies with equal force to those of Series II.

SELEUCUS II

RULED IN SARDES, 246-circa 242/1 B. C.

1416. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
Apollo standing to l., resting l. elbow on tripod and holding arrow in extended r. hand. In inner r. field, ☐. In inner l. field, Α.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 911, Pl. 32, gr. 16.40; β) Newell (Gejou), ↑, gr. 16.46; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.90. PLATE LVIII, 1; δ) Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 574, Pl. xvii, gr. 16.67; ε) Brussels, gr. 16.91. PLATE LVIII, 2.
α-γ are from one obverse die; δ and ε are from another.

1417. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. From two dies, one of which is the same as that used for No. 1416 δ and ε.

Similar. In inner l. field, ☐ above Α.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 912, Pl. 32, gr. 16.82; β) Munich, gr. 17.13. PLATE LVIII, 3; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.08; δ) Berlin (Morel Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.84. PLATE LVIII, 4.
α and β are from the same obverse die as No. 1416 δ and ε; while γ and δ are from yet another obverse die.

1418. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner r. field, ☐. In inner l. field, Η.

Paris (Babelon, No. 252), gr. 17.00. PLATE LVIII, 5.

1419. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II of another style.

Similar. In inner l. field, ☐ above Α.

Paris (Babelon, No. 250), gr. 16.45. PLATE LVIII, 6.

1420. DRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r.

Similar. In outer r. field, Ψ. In outer l. field, Α.

α) Athens (Sophikon Hoard. Cf. *Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. X, 1907, p. 45, No. 925); β) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1438, Pl. 50, gr. 4.00. PLATE LVIII, 7.

1421. DRACHM.

Same die as No. 1420.

Similar. In outer r. field, Κ (?). In outer l. field, Α.

London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 11), gr. 3.91. PLATE LVIII, 8.

1422. DRACHM.

Same die as No. 1420.

Similar. In outer r. field, Δ . In outer l. field, \mathbb{W} .

α) Munich, \uparrow , gr. 3.63; β) Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2900, Pl. xxiv, gr. 4.17; γ) Newell (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), \nearrow , gr. 4.22. PLATE LVIII, 9; δ -e) Athens, (Sophikon Hoard. *Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. X, 1907, p. 45, Nos. 923-4, Pl. i, 24).

1423. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathbb{A} .

London (Gardner, p. 16, No. 10, Pl. vi, 2), gr. 4.15. PLATE LVIII, 10.

GROUP A

1424. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., with formal curls.

Same inscription as before. Tripod above ANCHOR. In outer r. field, Σ . In outer l. field, Ψ (?).

London (Rogers Coll. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 244, No. 9, Pl. ix, 9), \nearrow , gr. 4.92. PLATE LVIII, 12.

1425. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Ψ (?). In outer l. field, Λ .

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 4.28. PLATE LVIII, 11.

GROUP B

1426. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin.

Same inscription as before. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer r. field, \mathbb{M} . In outer l. field, monogram variously described as Δ , Δ^* , or Λ^* .

α) Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2916, Pl. xxv; β) Sardes excavations (*Sardis, loc. cit.*, No. 337), gr. 4.12; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 3.30; δ) London, \uparrow , gr. 4.08. PLATE LVIII, 13; ϵ) London, \nwarrow , gr. 3.76; ζ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.87. PLATE LVIII, 14; η) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.28.

1427. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, E (= Σ or \mathbb{I} ?). In outer l. field, Λ^* .

α) Sardes excavations (*loc. cit.*, No. 336), gr. 3.53; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 4.20; γ) London, \uparrow , gr. 4.16. PLATE LVIII, 15; δ) London (Gardner, p. 5, No. 46, Pl. ii, 5), \uparrow , gr. 4.02. PLATE LVIII, 16; ϵ) London (countermarked: Star), \uparrow , gr. 4.37. PLATE LVIII, 17.

1428. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, $\overline{\Lambda}$. In outer l. field, $\overline{\Pi}$. α) Sardes excavations (*loc. cit.*, No. 338), gr. 1.65; β) London, Σ , gr. 4.26. PLATE LVIII, 18.

From the Sardes excavations there were additional specimens, but with illegible monograms, No. 339, gr. 4.21; No. 340, gr. 1.68; No. 341, gr. 4.30.

When Antiochus II died suddenly at Ephesus, very early in 246 B. C., he was succeeded by his eldest son, Seleucus II. The earliest issue of the new reign is represented by the tetradrachm No. 1416, PLATE LVIII, 1-2, bearing the two monograms Λ Π which had also marked two types of his father's silver coinages, Nos. 1387-8 and 1406. Further silver issues quickly followed: No. 1417 (PLATE LVIII, 3-4), which is connected with the preceding by an obverse die and by the continued presence of the monogram Λ ; No. 1418 (PLATE LVIII, 5) connected with No. 1416 by its general style and the presence of the monogram Π ; while No. 1419, (PLATE LVIII, 6) is united with its predecessor, No. 1417, by the monogram Σ . Generally speaking, the style of these pieces remains the same as that found in the last issue of Antiochus II. Their outward appearance is somewhat unusual for the period because of the broad, flat effect produced on their obverses by the comparatively small size of the portrait-head and by the total absence of any surrounding dotted circle. In fact, such a circle is not found on any of the Sardian issues under Antiochus II and his immediate followers, and its absence practically constitutes an indication of origin in the mint of Sardes at this time. A considerable issue of silver drachms (Nos. 1420-3, PLATE LVIII, 7-10), the first known for Sardes since the appearance of No. 1353 some thirty-five years before, was now brought out. They bear some of the same monograms which mark the tetradrachms, such as Λ (in one instance $\overline{\Lambda}$) and Π .

The accompanying bronze coins may be divided into two groups according to their types. The first, Nos. 1424-5, PLATE LVIII, 11-12, was apparently but a small issue of which only two legible specimens have so far been recorded, while a third, in poor condition, was found in the excavations of Sardes.^{44a} The types are merely a continuation of those used under Antiochus II, namely an Apollo head on the obverse, and a tripod above an anchor on the reverse. As on the latest issues for Antiochus II, Apollo again wears his locks in formal ringlets. Probably, these old types were soon changed, for on the next, and larger, issue we find a youthful head of Heracles, bedecked with his usual lion's skin on the obverse—a type most appropriate to this particular period. For, to judge by the small size of the immediately preceding issue, the new coins (Nos. 1426-8, PLATE LVIII, 13-18) must have appeared about 245-4 B. C., when the young Seleucus was bravely starting out to reconquer the other and eastern half of his ancestral empire so recently ravaged by the powerful Egyptian armies under Ptolemy Euergetes. The suggestion of the great Alexander himself, almost inevitably conveyed by this

^{44a} *Sardis*, p. 38, No. 345, gr. 2.98. The monograms appear to be illegible.

familiar type, may not have appeared unwelcome to the young Seleucus and his advisors. The reverses of the coins are graced by the usual seated Apollo, divine protector of the Seleucid dynasty. No less than six examples of these rather scarce coins were found in the excavations of Sardes, thus further confirming an origin already indicated by their style and fabric. These coins have usually been assigned to the first Seleucus,⁴⁵ but not only is the style and character of the Heracles head on the obverse, and the presence of the seated Apollo on the reverse, too late for that reign, but the bronze issues of Seleucus I for Sardes are now known. It is only to the reign of Seleucus II that both style and type of Nos. 1426-8 really point.

It is possible that to the mint at Sardes should also be assigned some of the common bronze coins of Seleucus II with an Athena head on the obverse and the usual standing figure of Apollo on the reverse.⁴⁶ We have not here ventured any such attribution, however, as only a single specimen of these not uncommon coins turned up in the excavations of Sardes. But the possibility remains, as their style and fabric are not unlike those of the other Sardinian bronze issues, while the stiff, cork-screw locks of Athena on these coins remind one of the similar formal locks of the Apollo head. Unfortunately, the material at the writer's disposal is not sufficient to warrant any definite conclusion in the matter.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 241-228 B. C.

1429. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus Hierax to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
hand on bow and holding arrow in extended
r. In outer l. field, ☉ above ☐.

Newell, ↓, gr. 16.86. PLATE LIX, 1.

1430. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, youthful head of Antiochus Hierax to r.

Similar. In outer r. field, ☉. In outer l. field, ☐.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 335 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3297, Pl. cxx), gr. 17.05. PLATE LIX, 2; β) The Hague, No. 6965, ↓, gr. 16.55; γ) Newell, ↓, gr. 16.88. PLATE LIX, 3. All are from the same pair of dies. The reverse die on β-γ has become much damaged.

1431. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. α is from the same die as No. 1430, but now in a worn state.

Similar. In the exergue, Μ Ν.

α) Newell (Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 792, Pl. 14), ↑, gr. 17.16. PLATE LIX, 4; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.14. PLATE LIX, 5.

⁴⁵ Cf. Gardner, *loc. cit.*, Introd., p. xix.

⁴⁶ Cf. below, Nos. 1654-60, PLATE LXXXI, 5-13.

1432. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1431 β .Similar. In the exergue, ∇ K.

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 934, Pl. 33, gr. 16.92; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 17.07. PLATE LIX, 6.

1433. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

Similar. In the exergue, ∇ K.

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 17.02. PLATE LIX, 7.

1434. TETRADRACHM.

Older head of Antiochus Hierax to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, Δ E.

Excavations of Sardes (*Sardis, loc. cit.*, No. 402, Pl. 1), gr. 16.90. PLATE LIX, 8.

1435. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., with hair in formal curls.

Same inscription as before. Apollo standing to l., resting l. elbow on tripod, holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, ∇ .

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.49. PLATE LIX, 9.

1436. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, Δ I. In outer l. field, ∇ .

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.92. PLATE LIX, 10.

1437. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, (?). In outer l. field, EP.

American University, Beyrouth. PLATE LIX, 11.

1438. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar, but sometimes of barbarous style.

Similar, but sometimes of barbarous style. No letters or monograms.

α) London (Gardner, p. 29, No. 55, Pl. ix, 14), gr. 3.43; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 36, No. 49), gr. 3.37; γ) London (Rogers Coll. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 247, No. 12, Pl. ix, 14), gr. 3.82; δ) Newell (restruck on an autonomous coin of Tralles. Remaining traces of the original type appear to be similar to Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen*, Pl. vii, 7), κ , gr. 3.46. PLATE LIX, 12; ϵ - η) Newell, \uparrow , grs. 3.97, 4.26, 3.73, 3.03; θ) Newell, κ , gr. 3.66; ι) Newell, \nearrow , gr. 3.28. PLATE LIX, 13; κ) Newell, κ , gr. 2.18; λ) Newell (barbarous), \nearrow , gr. 2.77; μ) Paris (Babelon, No. 294, Pl. viii, 9), gr. 3.95. PLATE LIX, 14; ν) Adana Museum. PLATE LIX, 15; ξ - ν) Sardes excavations (*Sardis, loc. cit.*, Nos. 405-11), grs. 3.53, 3.65, 4.36, 2.70, 4.06, 3.92, 4.79.

When by 244-3 B. C., the young Seleucus II had driven the Egyptian armies of occupation from most of his ancestral lands and cities beyond the Taurus, he essayed an attack on the Ptolemaic possessions in Coele-Syria. Here he was less fortunate, suffered a severe defeat and was driven back to his Syrian capital,

Antioch. He now called upon the government in Sardes for assistance. But here his strong-willed and ambitious mother, Laodice, had meanwhile decided to establish her own power, ostensibly on behalf of her youngest son, Antiochus, better known to historians by his nickname Hierax. After some negotiation, Seleucus was able to secure the cooperation of the government at Sardes, but only by accepting his brother as co-regent and acknowledging his paramount rule over Asia Minor beyond the Taurus. From this time, then, dates the separate Seleucid state of Asia Minor, with its capital at Sardes. The year was probably about 242-1 B. C., a date on which most historians are more or less in agreement,⁴⁷ though arrived at by somewhat divergent paths.

Closely connected by style, fabric and monograms with the Sardian tetradrachm issues of Seleucus II, is a group of tetradrachms (Nos. 1429-33, PLATE LIX, 1-7) which display a youthful, diademed head and the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. These can only represent some of the hitherto elusive issues of Antiochus Hierax, the younger brother of Seleucus II and his immediate successor in the rule at Sardes over Asia Minor. The earliest of these pieces is probably No. 1429 (PLATE LIX, 1) because it bears the monogram Θ above Λ , just as on No. 1419 (PLATE LVIII, 6), the latest Sardian tetradrachm of Seleucus II. The king's head is rather banal in character and could easily be mistaken for a portrait of Antiochus III. But the fabric of the piece, the absence of any kind of a border on the obverse, the arrangement of the diadem-ends (like those of No. 1417 γ and δ , PLATE LVIII, 4), and the monograms all closely connect the coin with the Sardian issues of Seleucus II. The immediately succeeding tetradrachms Nos. 1430-1, PLATE LIX, 2-4, present an obviously youthful portrait, one more in consonance with the tender age of Hierax at this time.⁴⁸ There may still be something about the portrait which suggests that of the third Antiochus, but the nose, curving at first gently, then suddenly more strongly outward and down⁴⁹ is quite unlike that of Antiochus III. The monograms of No. 1430 are still Θ and Λ , but have now been placed in the outer fields, to right and to left of the inscription. Connected with No. 1430 by an identical obverse die, comes No. 1431 (PLATE LIX, 4-5) with the new monograms, Π and Σ , placed in the exergue. For this same issue, there was produced a second obverse die (PLATE LIX, 5) with a youthful head, which this time bears no resemblance whatsoever to the features of Antiochus III. It does however somewhat resemble, in its general character, the youthful head on the tetradrachms of Alexandria Troas (PLATE LXXIV, 8-11) which Sir George Macdonald long ago assigned⁵⁰ to Hierax. These coins offer an instance of the difficulty which Hellenistic die-engravers seem to have experienced

⁴⁷ Bouché-Leclercq, p. 104. Beloch IV², 1, pp. 678-9 and IV³, 2, p. 635. Bevan I, pp. 190-2, who employs a statement of Eusebius I, 251, to date the war in Coele-Syria at 242-1, a war which was the cause of Seleucus' appeal to his brother and the consequent partition of the kingdom.

⁴⁸ Antiochus Hierax is stated by Justin XXVII, 2, 7 to have been fourteen years of age when he and his brother partitioned the empire between them.

⁴⁹ Cf. the more exaggerated form on the later coin No. 1434, PLATE LIX, 8.

⁵⁰ *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, pp. 92-116.

in their attempts to reproduce the individuality of a child or boy. Perhaps in their desire (or in following their instructions) to present their subject as strong and manly, they were led to exaggerate now one feature, now the other, with a resulting divergence in the portraits which is both disconcerting to the student and difficult to appraise at its real value. Were it not for the fact that Nos. 1429-33 are inseparably tied together by monograms and dies, one might hesitate to insist upon the identity of the person to whom the three portraits must belong. It is difficult, if not impossible, at present to select any one of the three as representing the perfect likeness of Hierax; but taken together they do offer a possibility in searching out further issues of that rather shadowy ruler. Thus, No. 1434, PLATE LIX, 8, has been included in the group of coins assigned to Hierax at Sardes—at Sardes, because the coin itself was found there; to Hierax, because here the features are most like those of PLATE LIX, 2-4, only more mature and slightly more exaggerated. They certainly bear no resemblance to the portrait of Antiochus III, to whom the coin was assigned in the Sardes catalogue. The prominent nose, curved now at its middle (PLATE LIX, 1, 5-7), now at its point (PLATE LIX, 2-4), suggests that perhaps the nickname of Hierax—*The Hawk*—may have been given him as much for this feature of his physiognomy as for certain unattractive traits of character, as stated by Justin.⁵¹

In the years that followed, preceding the acquisition of Sardes by Attalus I of Pergamum, further issues of silver coins in the name of Antiochus Hierax doubtless took place in the Lydian capital. But his coins are extremely rare today and do not present a sufficiently consecutive series for the determination of their probable origin. Perhaps when Attalus secured the territories of Hierax, the latter's coins were largely withdrawn from circulation and melted down to be turned into the well-known Pergamene tetradrachms. In any event, Beloch IV³, 1, p. 682, assigns the victories of Attalus I over Hierax to the years 229 and 228 B. C. As a result, the latter was driven from his possessions in western Asia Minor, and his coinages there came to a final close. If our collections chance to possess any of these possible issues of Hierax at Sardes, such specimens as still survive will be found described among the uncertain coins gathered together in Chapter XI of this work.

We have followed Babelon⁵² in assigning the bronze coins Nos. 1435-8, PLATE LIX, 9-15, to Antiochus Hierax. In the first place, by the type and character of their Apollo head, these coins clearly continue the Sardian bronze issues of Antiochus II and certain of those of Seleucus II. The reverse, with Apollo leaning against his tripod, continues the well-known type peculiar to the brother of Hierax, Seleucus II. In style they constitute the transition to the later bronze issues of Achaeus. In No. 1435, we have one of the rare instances at Sardes in which a monogram, in this case Λ , found on the silver coins likewise occurs on the accom-

⁵¹ XXVII, 2, 7-9.

⁵² Rather than Gardner or the Rev. Edgar Rogers, the former of whom would give the coins to Antiochus III (cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, p. 29), the latter to Antiochus IV (cf. *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 247). This last attribution is ruled out at the start by the fact that the coins in question come from Asia Minor, and that district was never held by the fourth Antiochus.

panying bronze issues. The mint for the majority of the known specimens was surely Sardes, as indicated by their style and fabric, but especially by the fact that no less than seven examples were found in the excavations of that site. The re-use of flans belonging to contemporary autonomous issues,⁵³ and the barbarism and poor striking noticeable towards the close of this coinage, clearly reflect the approaching disintegration of the kingdom of Hierax.⁵⁴ Some of the most barbarous pieces may, of course, have been coined elsewhere in imitation of the coins emanating from the mint at the capital.

ACHAEUS

220-214 B. C.

With the capture of Sardes from Antiochus Hierax by Attalus I of Pergamum (*circa* 229-8 B. C. ?), that mint naturally ceased to coin Seleucid money. Whether it proceeded to issue Pergamene tetradrachms, we do not know. The attempt later made by Seleucus III to reconquer his lost inheritance in Asia Minor failed, although he had penetrated as far as Phrygia before he was assassinated by two officers of his *entourage*. Under the leadership of Epigenes, his general, the Seleucid army then effected a successful retreat across the Taurus mountains. The able Achaeus, uncle to the young Antiochus III, now the Seleucid king, took charge of affairs in the west. Full powers in the trans-Tauric regions were conferred on him by Antiochus, and he undertook a new campaign to recover Asia Minor for the Seleucid dynasty. In this he was surprisingly successful, and in a very short time the districts which Attalus had seized from Hierax again acknowledged Seleucid rule. Carried away by his success, and thinking that Antiochus was now completely involved by the war in the east against the usurper Molon and other rebels, Achaeus in 220 B. C. made bold to proclaim himself king and assume the royal diadem. Again Seleucid Asia Minor, although ruled by a scion of the royal family, became a separate unit having no connection with the empire. For the moment, Antiochus III was constrained by the existing situation to leave Achaeus in peace, in order to attend to pressing affairs nearer home, such as the reconquest of Seleucia Pieria and an attack upon the Ptolemaic possessions in Coele-Syria. Achaeus now ruled as king in Sardes and commenced to strike money bearing his own types and inscriptions.

1439. STATER.

Diademed, bearded, draped bust of Achaeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΑΧΑΙΟΥ on l. Helmeted, draped figure of Athena, with spear and shield, in fighting attitude to l. In inner r. field, Α. In inner l. field, Θ Ε above HORSE'S HEAD.

Munich, gr. 8.50. PLATE LX, 1.

⁵³ Cf. No. 1438 &, PLATE LIX, 12.

⁵⁴ On this collapse of his authority, see Bevan I, pp. 195-6.

1440. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. An anchor is engraved on Athena's shield. In inner r. field, Π above Y. In inner l. field, HORSE'S HEAD.

Jameson Coll., No. 1692, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 15.48. PLATE LX, 2.

1441. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r., with hair in formal curls.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Eagle with palm branch, standing to r.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 459, Pl. xi, 10), gr. 4.95; β) Ratto Sale, Feb. 1928, No. 750, Pl. xi; γ) Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2927, Pl. xxv; δ) Zygman Coll., ↑, gr. 5.61. PLATE LX, 3; ε) Sydenham Coll. (countermarked: Horse's head), ↑, gr. 5.61.

1442. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, but no palm branch, and the eagle holds a wreath in its claws.

This type probably exists without magistrates' letters, but no specimen is actually recorded.

1443. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Same inscription. Tripod.

Newell, ↑, gr. 1.86.

1444. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar.

ΒΑΣΙ on r., ΑΧΑΙ on l. Horse's head to r.

α) Sardes excavations (*Sardis, loc. cit.*, No. 415), gr. 3.85 (sic !); β) Paris (Babelon, No. 461, Pl. xi, 12), gr. 0.85. PLATE LX, 4.

1445. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Same as No. 1441. In outer r. field, ΔΙ.

α) Newell (Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 804), ↑, gr. 5.82. PLATE LX, 5; β) London (Gardner, p. 30, No. 3. Countermarked: Horse's head), gr. 4.54. PLATE LX, 6.

1446. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Same as No. 1442. In outer r. field, ΔΙ.

Paris (Babelon, No. 460, Pl. xi, 11), gr. 3.15.

1447. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Same as No. 1443. In outer r. field, Δ (= ΔΙ ?).

London (Gardner, p. 30, No. 5, Pl. x, 4), gr. 1.61. PLATE LX, 7.

1448. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Same as No. 1441. In outer r. field, Α Β (placed sideways).

α) London (Gardner, p. 30, No. 2. The magistrate's letters are here given as being A I, but are probably A B), gr. 4.96. PLATE LX, 8; β) Newell (Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 525, Pl. 27. Countermarked: Horse's head), ↑, gr. 6.03. PLATE LX, 9.

1449. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar. In outer r. field, M. In outer l. field, Ɱ.

Sardes excavations (*Sardis, loc. cit.*, No. 414, Pl. i. Countermarked: Horse's head), gr. 5.17.

1450. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar to No. 1446. In outer r. field, Ɱ.

α) London (Gardner, p. 36, No. 4), gr. 3.06. PLATE LX, 10; β) Newell (countermarked: Horse's head), Ɱ, gr. 3.58. PLATE LX, 11.

How long a period elapsed between the freeing of Sardes by Achaëus from Pergamene occupation and his own move to grasp the Seleucid diadem, is not known. But as the city was certainly in his power before he proclaimed himself king at Laodicea in 220 B. C., Achaëus must have been governing Sardes in the name of Antiochus III for over a year, at the very least. In that time it is probable that the mint of Sardes had again commenced operations and had coined money bearing the name and types of the young Seleucid king. If so, however, no specimens have survived or have yet been recognized as such. In any case Achaëus, now that he had finally come out and proclaimed himself king, would at once cause the Sardian mint to issue money bearing his own name and types. Such a coinage is today represented by Nos. 1439–50, PLATE LX, 1–11.

On the obverse of the new gold stater and silver tetradrachm, is a striking portrait of Achaëus himself, bearded, draped, and wearing the royal diadem for which he had so ably schemed and for which he eventually gave his life. On the reverse is a figure of the fighting Athena, perhaps copied⁵⁵ from the well-known Macedonian tetradrachms of Antigonos Gonatas. Embossed on the goddess' shield, however, may be discerned a large Seleucid anchor, thus proclaiming the royal origin of Achaëus. The unique gold and silver specimens, all we possess today, give no hint of the real extent of the usurper's issues in the precious metals. Doubtless they were once fairly large, in order to meet the expenses of the new kingdom in its continuous warfare against Pergamum on the one side, and the legitimate Seleucid king on the other. When the latter had finally overcome and executed the rebel, strenuous efforts were surely made to withdraw the traitor's coins. Just as in the case of the other rebels, Molon and Timarchus, the efforts of the authorities were comparatively successful so far as the gold and silver coins were concerned. But the copper, because of its low intrinsic value and more thorough dissemination, largely escaped the proscription.

⁵⁵ As suggested by M. Jameson, *Rev. Num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. IX, 1905, pp. 2–3.

The bronze coinage of Achaeus was somewhat more elaborate in nature than had hitherto been the practice at Sardes. Four denominations are known, which for our purposes may be designated as 'doubles,' 'units,' 'halves,' and 'quarters.' All bear the usual laureate Apollo head, with the formal, cork-screw curls, of preceding issues. The reverse types vary for each denomination. On the 'doubles' we find (PLATE LX, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9) an eagle standing to right, with a long palm branch over his left 'shoulder.' The 'units' too bear an eagle (PLATE LX, 10, 11), but this time grasping a wreath in its claws, while the palm branch is lacking. Both types probably commemorate the many victories by which Achaeus had won his position in Asia Minor. The reverses of the 'halves' are distinguished by a tripod (PLATE LX, 7), the 'quarters' by a horse's head (PLATE LX, 4). The latter type may have been Achaeus' personal emblem or signet. But the horse had long played an important rôle in Lydian life, while in historical times good horsemanship constituted a Lydian characteristic.⁵⁶ The prominence of the horse's head on the coinages of Achaeus may reflect his bid for the loyal support of his Lydian subjects and, as king of Lydia in particular, its choice for his personal emblem would seem appropriate. It is present in the fields of both the stater and the tetradrachm, and frequently recurs again as a conspicuous countermark on the reverses of 'doubles' and 'units' (PLATE LX, 6, 9, 11). It is curious, although perhaps not significant for the present case, that one of the finest pieces of sculpture found by the American excavators at Sardes should have been a magnificent marble horse's head.⁵⁷

ANTIOCHUS III

SECOND RULE IN SARDES, 213-190 B. C.

1451. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Fillet border.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, ☩.

Jameson Coll., No. 1688, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 16.81. PLATE LX, 12.

1452. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1451.

Similar. In inner l. field, LION'S HEAD. In outer l. field, M.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 968, Pl. 34, gr. 16.64. PLATE LX, 13.

1453. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful head to r., with loosely hanging, fringed diadem-ends. Fillet border.

Similar, but of less good style. In outer r. field, uncertain monogram. In outer l. field, M.

⁵⁶ Cf. Dr. T. Leslie Shear in *The Art Bulletin*, New York, Vol. X, Part 3, March 1928, p. 215 f.

⁵⁷ For good reproductions of this sculpture, see the article cited in the preceding foot-note.

α) Newell (Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 668, Pl. xviii), ♂, gr. 16.86. PLATE LX, 14; β) Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 477 = *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, Pl. v, 6, gr. 16.78.

1454. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but older, and the diadem-ends are fluttering. Fillet border. Similar, but without monograms.

Newell, ↑, gr. 17.27. PLATE LX, 15.

1455. BRONZE UNIT.

Laureate head of Apollo, hair tied in knot at back, to r. Circle of dots. Same inscription and type as on the preceding.

Newell, ↑, gr. 2.19. PLATE LX, 16.

From the siege and fall of Sardes to the battle of Magnesia, there elapsed some twenty-three years. During this time Sardes remained the Seleucid centre of administration in western Asia Minor. There is every reason to expect the continuation of Seleucid coinages at this mint under Antiochus III. Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to reconstruct with any certainty such a coinage from the *disiecta membra* of his issues which by style and fabric appear to be of Asia Minor origin. Many of these pieces will be found described under the uncertain issues gathered in Chapter XI. Here, we give five coins only—four silver and one bronze, which by their style and fabric appear to have come from Asia Minor. There is no assurance, however, that they were actually struck at Sardes rather than at any one of half-a-dozen other possible mints in the west. They are merely presented here as suggestive of the type of coin issued from the Sardian mint in the reign of Antiochus III.

B: MAGNESIA AD SIPYLUM

ANTIOCHUS I

TOWARDS CLOSE OF REIGN

1456. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Nude figure of Heracles seated to l. on lion's skin covering a rock. His l. hand rests upon the rock; his r. upon club placed before him. In the exergue, Ε ΙΡ.

A1—P1. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 901, Pl. 31, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXI, 1.

A2—P2. α) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.48; β) London (Gardner, p. 8, No. 2, Pl. iii, 2), ↑, gr. 16.86. PLATE LXI, 2.

A3—P3. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 900, Pl. 31 (= Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 454, Pl. iv), gr. 16.93.

P4. α) Basel Sale 10, March 1938, No. 369, Pl. xv, gr. 16.86; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 209, Pl. vi, 10), gr. 17.22. PLATE LXI, 3.

1457. BRONZE UNIT.

Draped bust of Athena facing, wearing triple-crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Winged Nike advancing to l., holding palm in l. and wreath in extended r. In outer l. field, ⚡.

α) Berlin, gr. 4.66; β) Istanbul (*Sardis*, No. 368), gr. 4.70; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 3.20 (corroded); δ) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2867), ↑, gr. 4.49. PLATE LXI, 4.

1458. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram.

α) Istanbul (*Sardis*, No. 369, 'Basis Hoard'), gr. 2.21; β) London (Gardner, p. 13, No. 57); γ) Beyrouth Museum; δ) Newell, ↑, gr. 2.93. PLATE LXI, 5; ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 2.70. PLATE LXI, 6.

These tetradrachms and two denominations in bronze are united by the monogram ⚡ which they bear in common. By their types, style, and find-spots, the coins have close connections with the issues of several other mints in western Asia Minor. The types and fabric of the bronze coins are not only very similar to certain issues of Sardes described above,⁵⁷ but two specimens were actually found in the excavations of that city.⁵⁸ The type of the seated Heracles on No. 1456 is connected with the Aeolian district where, as Sir George Macdonald has already pointed out,⁵⁹ and as we shall again see below,⁶⁰ this particular type appeared on Seleucid coins in the reign of Antiochus I and was later extensively used. Furthermore, the style and details of the portrait on PLATE LXI, 1, have remarkably close affinities with certain heads appearing on coins assignable to Smyrna and described below, Nos. 1493-4, PLATES LXIV, 10-12 and LXV, 1-4. But neither among the issues of Smyrna, nor among those of Sardes will Nos. 1456-8 conveniently or easily fit. Finally, stylistic reasons forbid their assignment to such mints as Phocaea, Cyme, Myrina and Aegae where the Heracles type of the silver coins became popular. The only alternative left, is to assign our coins to some city of comparative importance so situated as to have been exposed to artistic influences from Smyrna and Aeolis on the one hand, and from Sardes on the other.

In all the district lying between Sardes and the Smyrnaean Gulf, only one place fully meets every requirement, namely Magnesia ad Sipylum. This city enjoyed a commanding situation in that part of the famously fertile Hermus valley, known as the Hyrcanis, whose strategic importance is witnessed by the fact that here were fought at least two of the most decisive battles of Hellenistic times, Corupedium and Magnesia.⁶¹ Through Magnesia ran the great road from Sardes, itself but thirty odd miles distant as the crow flies. Little wonder that the Se-

⁵⁷ Cf. Nos. 1368-71, PLATE LIV, 11-15.

⁵⁸ *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, p. 40, Nos. 368-9.

⁵⁹ *Jour. Hell. Studies*, Vol. XXVII, 1907, pp. 145 ff.

⁶⁰ Cf. pp. 307-15.

⁶¹ Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, pp. 40 and 143 ff.

leucid bronze issues of Magnesia should have been patterned after those of the capital, Sardes; or that in the ruins of the latter city, specimens of these Magnesian copper pieces should have come to light. From Magnesia the highroad continued for another twenty miles or so to the great seaport of Smyrna; while shortly before reaching that place, another important road branched off to run northwards to the flourishing Aeolian cities of Cyme and Myrina. There is, thus, no cause for surprise that for the reverse of its silver issues, Magnesia should have adopted the seated Heracles,⁶² a type also adopted by the neighboring mints of Phocaea, Cyme, Myrina and Aegae. For the obverse die A1, recourse seems to have been had to a die-cutter from the more established mint of Smyrna. At least, in the general contours and appearance of the portrait, as well as in the detailed arrangement of the hair-locks, this die is so similar to certain dies of Smyrna that it is probably not too bold to suggest that they had all been cut by one and the same artist. The dies A2 and A3 (PLATE LXI, 2-3), are completely different in character and may have been produced by a local die-cutter.

The individual portrayed on these tetradrachms was surely intended to be Antiochus I. The deeply sunken eye beneath the beetling brow, the large nose and the intense look are alike characteristic of the first Antiochus. The portrait presented by die A1, as stated above, is almost identical with that on certain of this king's issues for Smyrna; while that of dies A2 and A3 are strikingly similar to the earliest portraits of Antiochus I used at Seleucia on the Tigris and Ecbatana.⁶³ The true identity of the portrait in question was recognized by Gardner who in his catalogue correctly placed the British Museum specimen among the issues of the first Antiochus. His attribution was attacked on insufficient grounds by Bunbury,⁶⁴ in which he was unfortunately followed by Macdonald⁶⁵ who erroneously associated such examples of our No. 1456 as were known to him with later coins of Phocaea,⁶⁶ assigning them all to Antiochus II. But No. 1456 constitutes an issue quite apart. Instead of being a later copy, as suggested by Macdonald, it is probably one of the earliest issues of the seated Heracles type.

In spite of the seeming youthfulness of the portrait, No. 1456 should be assigned to the closing years of the reign. In this 'youthfulness,' the coins follow the example set by the neighboring mint of Sardes, on whose final issues of Antiochus I (Series III, PLATE LV, 2-8) the king has again renewed his youth. In support of our proposed assignment, it should be noted that the types of the accompanying bronze coins, Nos. 1457-8, PLATE LXI, 4-6, are the same as the Sardian issues of Antiochus I, Nos. 1368-71, PLATE LIV, 11-15. These must be considered as types introduced by Antiochus I and used during his reign at the three western mints of Sardes, Magnesia ad Sipylum and Magnesia on the Maeander.

⁶² A head of Heracles also occurs on some autonomous bronze coins of Magnesia of the Hellenistic period.

Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lydia*, Pl. xv, 5.

⁶³ Cf. E. S. M., Pls. xiii, 7-8 and xxxviii, 11.

⁶⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, pp. 22 and 78.

⁶⁵ *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, Vol. XXVII, 1907, pp. 155-6.

⁶⁶ Our Nos. 1506-7, PLATE LXVI, 3-5.

The reverse type of the seated Heracles has so often been discussed⁶⁷ in the past that we need not weary the reader by again laboring the matter *in extenso*. Briefly, Macdonald has shown that because of the first appearance of the type in the reign of Antiochus I, the reasons proposed by Babelon for its introduction by Antiochus II fall to the ground. Instead, he would see in the common use of this unusual type by Phocaea and the Aeolic cities an indication of 'something in the nature of a federal union', under the Seleucid aegis, against possible Pergamene, Egyptian or even Gallic aggression. Beyond this suggestion it would still be dangerous to go. The true reasons for the selection of the Heracles type, together with its implications, are obscure. But noting the somewhat weary attitude of the seated hero, and accepting the introduction of this type as coming towards the close of Antiochus I's reign, we may perhaps here recognize an allusion to Antiochus himself. For Antiochus, like the Heracles depicted on the coin, could now be considered as resting from his many labors, having at last successfully surmounted the truly Herculean task⁶⁸ of preserving his heritage from the numerous enemies (Macedonians, the Northern League, Gauls, Egyptians, rebellious subjects, etc.) who had beset his empire throughout the greater portion of his reign. After his death, the type, so appropriate to his memory, continued in use at Phocaea and the Aeolic cities.

Before leaving the Heracles type, one detail on No. 1456 is worth mentioning. Several writers had already remarked on the curious form taken by the object upon which Heracles is seated on certain specimens (PLATE LXI, 2-3) of this particular coin. Sir George Macdonald, however, saw in it only a "conveniently rounded stone" and dismissed⁶⁹ as impossible the earlier explanations as an enormous tub or cauldron, which in the mind of some commentators⁷⁰ caused them to see an allusion to the cleansing of the Aegean stables. That Macdonald was correct is now proved by the earliest of the reverse dies, *P1* (PLATE LXI, 1), unknown to him, which clearly shows an ordinary rock beneath the folds of the lion's skin. Evidently, the less able local die-cutter had merely turned this on dies *P2-P4* into the smooth and oval object which brought about the imaginative but erroneous suggestions of some later scholars.

The presence of the seated Heracles type at Magnesia ad Sipylum has another point of interest for us. It has frequently been remarked that a similar type was later used on his silver coins by Euthydemus I of Bactria, who is stated by Polybius XI, 39, 1 to have come from Magnesia. Unfortunately, we are not informed as to which of the two Magnesias was his original home. Lately, Tarn⁷¹ rejected

⁶⁷ Among others: Gardner, *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, pp. xv f.; Bunbury, *loc. cit.*, pp. 77 ff.; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. lx ff.; Six, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 233 f.; Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, pp. 145 ff.

⁶⁸ The same idea is in Macdonald's remark: "Is it not conceivable that the Heracles at rest may have been meant to commemorate some great struggle that had been brought to a successful conclusion?" *Loc. cit.*, p. 158.

⁶⁹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 156-7.

⁷⁰ So Babelon, *loc. cit.*, p. lxi, and Ottfried Müller, *Denkmaeler der alten Kunst*, I, No. 236.

⁷¹ *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 74.

Macdonald's suggestion⁷² that Euthydemus came from Magnesia ad Sipylum, and would have him originate in Magnesia on the Maeander, firstly, because no coins of the Heracles type were then known ever to have been coined at the Lydian Magnesia; secondly, because Ionian Magnesia was the more important city and is known to have sent colonists to the East (to Antioch in Pisidia and to Antioch in Persis). Now that we know that coins of the seated Heracles type were indeed issued at Magnesia ad Sipylum, the latter city becomes thereby the more probable home of Euthydemus of Bactria.

Magnesia ad Sipylum as a Seleucid mint is new. The coinage was apparently of but short duration. The existence of a royal issue at this particular date (i. e., towards the close of Antiochus I's reign) should perhaps be brought into connection with the short but disastrous war with Eumenes I of Pergamum. Philetaerus had died in 263-2 B. C. and was succeeded by Eumenes, his nephew and adopted son. In the ensuing brief interval before the death of Antiochus I in 261 B. C., must be placed the recorded⁷³ defeat of the latter by Eumenes in the neighborhood of Sardes. Some historians⁷⁴ have looked upon Eumenes as the aggressor, but the majority⁷⁵ hold the more probable view that Antiochus had attempted to capitalize the death of the able and respected Philetaerus by forcing his untried successor into a greater dependence upon the Seleucid empire. In any case, the stronghold⁷⁶ and road-nexus represented by Magnesia ad Sipylum and its surrounding district would have offered an ideal place for the assembling of an army, either to protect the capital, Sardes, from an attack on the part of the Pergamene prince, or as a military base for operations against Pergamum itself. In preparation for the campaign, a temporary mint may well have been opened at Magnesia.

C: MAGNESIA AD SIPYLUM (?)

SELEUCUS II

246-circa 242/1 B. C. (?)

1459. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., resting l. elbow on tripod, and holding arrow in extended r. In inner l. field, very faint monogram, apparently Π. In outer r. field, Λ.

Berlin, ↑, gr. 16.715. PLATE LXI, 7.

⁷² *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 440 and 443.

⁷³ Strabo XIII, p. 624.

⁷⁴ So, for instance, Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamo*, pp. 13-14.

⁷⁵ Niese, *Geschichte der griech. und maked. Staaten* II, 84; Pauly-Wissowa VI, 1090; Bevan I, 157; Bouché-Leclercq I, 74, 111.

⁷⁶ After Alexander's age there existed a settlement of Macedonian veterans in and around Magnesia, a sure sign of its strategic importance. Cf. Niese, *loc. cit.* II, p. 89 and Beloch IV⁴, I, p. 259. Niese apparently connects this settlement with Antiochus I, and the great Smyrna inscription (Dittenb., *O. G. I.*, 229) does indeed inform us that Antiochus I had established military colonists at Magnesia.

Coins assignable to this mint for the reign of Antiochus II do not seem to be known. Reasons for attributing No. 1459 to our mint, rest upon the similarity of its monograms to ones recurring in the next reign, and will there be discussed. For the probability that this coin should be placed at a somewhat later date in the reign of Seleucus II, see below, pp. 279-80. In fact, the well-known inscription of Smyrna (*O. G. I.*, 229, lines 1-3 and 42, 43) shows that the military settlers of Magnesia ad Sipylum (or the troops there stationed) were of doubtful loyalty to Seleucus II at a time which must have been fairly early in his reign, and that they raided the territories of Smyrna, noted for its loyalty to the Seleucid king. At this period, then, it is hardly likely that money in the name of Seleucus II could have been coined at Magnesia.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 241-228 B. C.

SERIES I

1460. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus Hierax to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
on bow, and holding arrow in extended r.
In the exergue, ΑΡ ΠΡ .

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.94. PLATE LXI, 8.

1461. TETRADRACHM.

More youthful head to r.

Similar. In the exergue, ΑΡ ΠΡ .

α) The Hague, No. 6951, \uparrow , gr. 17.00; β) Salting Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part I, Pl. viii, No. 40 (= Ashburnham Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1895, No. 209, Pl. iv), \uparrow , gr. 17.10. PLATE LXI, 9.

α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1462. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In the exergue, LIGHTED ALTAR
(or TORCH, or THUNDERBOLT ??) and Δ .

α) American University, Beyrouth. PLATE LXI, 10; Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, No. 196), gr. 16.55.

1463. TETRADRACHM.

Young head to r.



Similar. In the exergue, traces of a monogram which seems to have had the form, ΑΡ ΠΡ .


α) The Hague, No. 6920, \uparrow , gr. 16.90; β) Newell (Ratto Sale, April 1927, No. 2454, Pl. lxi), \uparrow , gr. 17.07. PLATE LXI, 11.

α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1464. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.



Similar. In the exergue,  .


α) Copenhagen, gr. 16.98. PLATE LXI, 12; β) Newell (Ciani's Hoard), , gr. 16.28. PLATE LXI, 13.






α and β are from the same reverse, but differing obverse dies.

1465. TETRADRACHM.

Probably same die as No. 1464 β, but now showing signs of wear, damage, and extensive recutting.

Similar. In outer l. field, SATYR'S MASK above  (recut over a preceding monogram of uncertain form). In the exergue, .


Newell (Neville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2790, Pl. lxxvii), , gr. 16.92. PLATE LXI, 14.

Nos. 1460-5 are united by a general similarity of fabric and style, and by the continuous presence of the monogram  on varieties Nos. 1460-1 and 1464. The final variety, No. 1465, has its variant . There is also a common die shared between Nos. 1464 and 1465. Nos. 1460 and 1461 have portraits which obviously represent the same person, and are further united by the unusual manner in which the left-hand diadem-end is represented, namely, . The character of the portrait changes slightly on the succeeding four pieces. These four coins are themselves united by the obvious identity of their portraits, as well as by an actual identity of obverse die between Nos. 1464 and 1465 (PLATE LXI, 13-14), as previously stated. The slight change in portraiture noticeable between the first two (Nos. 1460-1, PLATE LXI, 8-9) and the last three coins (Nos. 1463-5, PLATE LXI, 11-14) is rather less in degree than a corresponding change already noted at Sardes between the opening issues there of Hierax (Nos. 1429-30, PLATE LIX, 1-4) and his immediately succeeding issues (Nos. 1431-3, PLATE LIX, 5-7). Obviously, Nos. 1460-5 were actually intended to represent the same person as Nos. 1429-33 of Sardes; and many points of similarity in the various features are immediately noticeable when we carefully compare these several coins. Apparently at Magnesia, as at Sardes, the die-cutters at first experienced difficulty in securing a real likeness of Hierax. Additional proof that the series now before us must represent issues of the hitherto somewhat elusive Hierax, is furnished by the fact that our group as a whole is tied up with the preceding tetradrachm of Seleucus II by the monograms  (No. 1459) and  (No. 1465), which obviously must be the signature of the same magistrate.

SERIES II

1466. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, older head to r.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field, . In inner r. field, SATYR'S MASK.

α) Munich, gr. 15.27. PLATE LXII, 1; β) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1435, Pl. 50, gr. 16.70. PLATE LXII, 2.

α and β are struck from the same pair of dies.

1467. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1466.

Same die as No. 1466 but in a more damaged state. An ALTAR has been re-engraved over the monogram.

Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 479, Pl. iv, gr. 16.91. PLATE LXII, 3.

That these coins once emanated from the same mint as Nos. 1460-5, is rendered practically certain by the continued use of that most unusual of symbols, the SATYR'S MASK. The curious portrait found on Nos. 1466-7 is quite banal and like that of no other king in the Seleucid series. It must have been intended for Hierax, however, as the coins which bear it followed more or less closely upon No. 1465.

Unfortunately, the proposed assignment of Nos. 1460-7 to Magnesia must be regarded as conjectural. Yet attributing them presents a most perplexing problem. On the one hand, the general character of the flans, coupled with the placing of two monograms side by side in the exergue of the reverse, remind one of the issues of Hierax at Sardes. On the other hand, the slight bevelling noticeable at the edges on some of the obverses (cf. PLATES LXI, 9, 12, 14 and LXII, 3) suggests contemporary flans found at Lampsacus, Abydus, etc. The figures of Apollo, too, on the reverses of such pieces as PLATES LXI, 8-13, are very similar to those on the corresponding reverses of Lampsacene and Abydene issues. The character of the portraiture on PLATE LXI, 8 seems to lean more towards Sardes than it does to the Hellespontine district. But the portrait on LXI, 9 is more closely paralleled at Lampsacus and Abydus (cf., for instance, PLATES LXX, 5-6, 11-12 and LXXI, 1, 3, 5) than it is at Sardes, while LXI, 13 is very like LXXI, 10. Hence, one hesitates to assign our coins either to Sardes, or to the extreme north-western portion of Asia Minor.

The obvious solution would be to seek for some mint lying between these extremes. Magnesia ad Sipylum is here suggested, but the important city of Thyatira, situated in a fertile river valley and at the crossing point of several large and frequented highroads,⁷⁷ also comes to mind. Here, Seleucus I had settled many veterans and the city remained Seleucid until the battle of Magnesia in 190 B. C. There is thus present a strong possibility that a mint might have been established here under Hierax whose history indicates that for the greater part of his reign he depended almost entirely upon his soldiery and upon his allies, the Gauls, for the maintenance of even a semblance of power in Asia Minor. But are there any other regions in which the mint of Nos. 1460-7 could have been located?

The Pergamene district naturally falls out. Aegae and Myrina had probably become Pergamene by 252 B. C.,⁷⁸ i. e., even before the accession of Seleucus II. Cyme was perhaps too much under the influence of the Pergamene king to allow an issue there in the name of Hierax who, for a considerable portion of his reign, was waging a losing war with Pergamum. In any case, nothing on our coins would

⁷⁷ Pauly-Wissowa, 2, Vol. VI, p. 657.

⁷⁸ Ernst Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 98 ff.

suggest Cyne, or for that matter Phocaea either; and the preceding Seleucid issues of both cities, as well as of Myrina and Aegae, are conspicuous for the presence on them of distinctly local mint-marks—griffin, seal, one-handled cup, vase, or goat's head. None of these appear on our coins, thus eliminating the above-mentioned cities from consideration.

Smyrna might remain as a present possibility. Yet what little we know of its history at this period militates against its acceptance as a mint for Hierax. From the great Smyrna inscription⁷⁹ we learn that because of the city's continued loyalty to the Seleucid cause, Seleucus II had now granted it freedom and the right of asylum. This had taken place about 242 B.C.⁸⁰ Between that date and the accession of Seleucus, No. 1459 could have been struck. But after that date is it likely that coins could have been issued there in the name and with the types of a Seleucid king? Hardly of Seleucus II, certainly not of Hierax.

Other mints in north-western Asia Minor would seem to be eliminated by the general appearance and character of our coins. Among their issues, Nos. 1460–7 would in no wise fit. Thus Thyatira and Magnesia ad Sipylum alone remain. But to reach a definite choice between them is at the present stage of our knowledge practically impossible. On the whole, though, the scales may be considered as weighted in favor of Magnesia, for we have learned that in this city a Seleucid mint had actually existed towards the close of Antiochus I's reign. Another slight indication pointing to that conclusion is here given for what it may be worth.

The tetradrachm of Seleucus II, No. 1459, PLATE LXI, 7, has been associated with Nos. 1460 ff. because of the presence on it of the monograms \square and ∇ , which also occur on No. 1465. We have tacitly assumed that the Seleucus tetradrachm preceded that of Hierax, the most natural order. Curious, however, is the exceedingly bad style and inexpert die-cutting so noticeable on the Seleucus piece. Is it likely that so crude a coin could now have been produced in a Greek city of Asia Minor? Furthermore, the companion piece of Hierax, No. 1465, ought then to have come as the first issue of the new coinage under Hierax, following immediately upon No. 1459 and while the same two magistrates (\square and ∇) were still in office. This particular Hierax tetradrachm, however, cannot come at this point but must be placed later. Its obverse die stylistically follows, rather than precedes, the dies of Nos. 1460–4. This die, in addition, shows extensive damage and a certain amount of recutting *since the time it had been first employed* in the coining of No. 1464. The coin itself (i. e., No. 1465) is too closely linked by the use of the rare symbol SATYR'S MASK with Nos. 1466–7 to allow even an instant's supposition that it could have initiated the Hierax coinage at our mint. All numismatic criteria thus indicate that No. 1459 of Seleucus II had not preceded but came in the very middle (following closely upon No. 1465) of the Hierax coinage. Under the curious circumstances thus presented by our coins, it is interesting to note that Beloch IV³, 1, p. 680 pro-

⁷⁹ Dittenb., *O. G. I.*, 229. This inscription has been variously dated by scholars, although all agree that it must belong to the early years of the reign of Seleucus II.

⁸⁰ Beloch IV³, 2, p. 540.

poses⁸¹ a preliminary attack upon Hierax (*circa* 235 B. C.?) by Seleucus, who won a battle in Lydia⁸² and advanced as far as Sardes which, however, he was unable to capture.

In the late autumn Seleucus returned to Syria, and in the following year advanced against Mithradates of Cappadocia, was again successful, but having then to face Hierax once more, now aided by the Gauls, he suffered decisive defeat at Ancyra (234 B. C.). Thus it may have been that the coinage for Hierax (Nos. 1460-5) at Magnesia was temporarily interrupted by an issue (No. 1459) of Seleucus II, at the time of his first advance against Hierax. Magnesia would have offered a most convenient base for him during his abortive siege of Sardes. The curiously poor style of No. 1459 would thus be accounted for by the uncertainty of the times and the haste with which an issue (for the payment of troops and supplies ?) had to be brought out. Possibly, the die-cutters who had previously engraved Nos. 1460-5 were partisans of Hierax and had fled the city. Whoever was then available had been pressed into service for No. 1459, with the consequent unfortunate results observable in the dies of that coin. When the issues for Hierax were, not long after, again resumed, an entirely new die-cutter had been secured. He produced Nos. 1466-7, PLATE LXII, 1-3, still, however, brought out under the supervision of the former official whose signature was the SATYR'S MASK.

⁸¹ So also Niese II, p. 154, and Pauly Wissowa II, 2, p. 1238.

⁸² This and the following is based on Eusebius I, 251.

CHAPTER VIII

CARIA AND IONIA

A: BARGYLIA

Bargylia, in north-western Caria, was situated on the southern shore of the Iasian or, as it was also named, the Bargylian gulf. Near it was the noted open-air shrine of Artemis Kindyas, whose curiously primitive cult-image appears as a favorite type upon the coins of Bargylia.¹ The city had at one time been under Seleucid domination² but was afterwards lost to Egypt and later seized by Philip V of Macedon during his foray into Asia Minor. Eventually, in 196 B. C., the Romans forced Philip to let go his hold upon Bargylia³ and, for a time at least, actually occupied it. Meanwhile, Antiochus III, with his fleet, had been advancing from the east along the Cilician, Pamphylian and Lycian coasts, seizing, as he came, such districts as still belonged to Egypt, and intending to occupy the places recently evacuated by Philip. At first the Rhodian Republic threatened to oppose him, fearing lest he should join hands with their arch enemy, Philip. But the rout of the latter at Cynoscephalae completely altered the aspect of affairs, and the Rhodian State and the Syrian king soon came to an agreement. Rhodes recovered her former possessions in Caria and occupied the most important of the coastal cities. The Romans made haste to seize Bargylia,⁴ the remainder fell to Antiochus,⁵ except for certain inland towns which maintained or were given their freedom. How long the Romans held Bargylia we do not know, as it is not again mentioned by Livy or Polybius, our principal sources for the events outlined above. It would appear that later Antiochus in some manner was able to secure Bargylia for himself.

Tetradrachms (PLATE LXII, 4-5) of that king have been assigned to this mint by Imhoof-Blumer,⁶ on the strength of the large and distinctive symbol which marks their reverses. This symbol obviously presents a facing divine *simulacrum* whose general form and certain peculiar details must represent the revered image of Artemis Kindyas, a divinity especially associated with the city of Bargylia. The crossing of the arms above the breasts, and the veil which hangs down from above the head in two long points on either side of the body, are characteristics of this particular 'icon,' and reappear on all the known numismatic representations of the goddess.⁷ These representations occur only on the coins of Bargylia. The com-

¹ Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma* VIII, 1913, pp. 5-6.

² Ernst Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴ Polybius XVIII, 48, 1; 50, 1; Livy XXXIII, 35, 1.

⁵ Ernst Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 73.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

⁷ Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, Pl. i, 7-12. Cf., also, in the present work, PLATE LXII, A.

paratively large size of the symbol as it appears on our tetradrachms clearly suggests that it is not merely the signet of some monetary magistrate but rather an object of local veneration and peculiar to the city whose mint produced these coins.

ANTIOCHUS III

AFTER c. 196 B. C.

1468. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended
r. In outer l. field, statue of ARTEMIS
KINDYAS. In the exergue, ΠΔ.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 17.14. PLATE LXII, 4; β) London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 11
Pl. viii, 6), gr. 17.03. PLATE LXII, 5.

Although neither Imhoof-Blumer nor Gardner appear to have felt any doubts as to the identity of the person here portrayed, our head hardly can be considered as an outstandingly successful portrait of Antiochus III. In support of the proposed attribution, however, the head should be compared with a very similar one which appeared not long afterwards at Lysimachia (PLATE LXXVIII, 3-4, 6). There, the true identity of the subject can hardly be in doubt, since the pieces are connected by the recurrence of certain mint-officials' monograms with PLATE LXXVIII, 12 which, in turn, bears an unmistakable portrait of Antiochus III. That PLATE LXII, 4-5 and PLATE LXXVIII, 4 and 6 represent the same individual is not only certain, but it is even very possible that the former pieces actually served as models for the latter, so alike are they. Of all the Antiochi known to have ruled in Asia Minor, the only other possible candidate for the portrait on No. 1468 would be Hierax. To his Proteus-like features almost any given portrait, provided it be accompanied on the reverse by the name ANTIOXOY, could be made to conform by some persuasive protagonist. To such a suggestion, however, a detailed refutation is unnecessary. We possess no grounds upon which to base even a conjectural connection of Hierax with the district of Bargylia. Throughout the last half of the third century B. C. (i. e., from *circa* 246 onwards), such Carian coastal cities as were not held by Rhodes were certainly under Egyptian domination, including Bargylia.¹

Thus one seems fully justified in assuming that Bargylia had indeed been secured by Antiochus III and for a time struck coins in his name. Their purpose may have been to pay the garrison, or for military and naval supplies at a time when the city's harbor would offer a useful naval station during Antiochus' campaigns in

¹ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 66-7.

Asia Minor and Greece. Or the city may have desired to propitiate the new ruler of Asia and to secure his protection⁹ by dedicating to him an issue of handsome silver coins, upon which, however, the patron goddess of the city, Artemis Kindyas, figures conspicuously.

B: MAGNESIA ON THE MAEANDER

Although Magnesia on the Maeander constituted one of the great mints of Lysimachus, under the succeeding Seleucid sovereigns it at first seems to have played but a minor rôle. To it, for the reign of Seleucus I, only the following variety can as yet be assigned.

SELEUCUS I

REIGNED OVER MAGNESIA *circa* 282-280 B. C.

1469. BRONZE UNIT.

Winged head of Medusa to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath bull butting to l. The whole design is surrounded by the Maeander pattern.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 10, No. 44, Pl. lxiii, 19), gr. 2.62; β) London, →, gr. 2.95; γ) Dr. E. P. Robinson (White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 490, Pl. vij), →, gr. 2.26. PLATE LXII, 6.

The types chosen are those in use at Seleucia on the Tigris,¹⁰ Susa,¹¹ Ecbatana¹² and Antioch on the Orontes¹³ during the final years of the reign of Seleucus I. They were introduced at both Antioch and Seleucia just before Seleucus began his invasion of the realms of Lysimachus. After the fall of Sardes, these same types were immediately employed at that mint for its first bronze issue in the name of the new ruler.¹⁴ Evidently, the same is true of Magnesia on the Maeander after that city fell, or went over to Seleucus. Here a local modification of the type, however, was introduced, in that the reverse design was now surrounded by the so-called 'Maeander pattern.' This pattern, as is well known, is not only typical of the autonomous coinages of Magnesia,¹⁵ but even appears on many specimens of the regal issues of Lysimachus struck at that mint,¹⁶ as it does also on many of its

⁹ Against Roman or Rhodian encroachment, for instance.

¹⁰ E. S. M., Nos. 117-9, Pl. xii, 1-3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 341, Pl. xxv, 19.

¹² *Ibid.*, Nos. 501-2, Pl. xxxvii, 14-15.

¹³ W. S. M., Nos. 924-8, PLATE XVII, 10-22.

¹⁴ See above, No. 1357, PLATE LIII, 14.

¹⁵ Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Ionia*, Pl. xviii, 1-11.

¹⁶ Müller, *Die Münzen des thracischen Königs Lysimachus*, Nos. 438, 439, 444, and many other varieties not known to Müller.

later posthumous coins of the Alexander type.¹⁷ The attribution of No. 1469 to the Ionian Magnesia is thus assured.

ANTIOCHUS I

LATTER HALF OF REIGN

1470. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, completely nude, seated to l. on *omphalos*, holding bow in extended r. In outer l. field, AI. Beneath Apollo's r. foot, K.

α) American Numismatic Society, κ , gr. 17.12; β) Newell (Collignon Coll., Feuardent Sale, Dec. 1919, No. 383, Pl. xix), \uparrow , gr. 16.91. PLATE LXII, 7.

α and β are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

1471. DRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, and with the same magistrates' letters.

α) London (Gardner, p. 14, No. 3, Pl. v, 4), gr. 4.15; β) Newell (= Cahn Sale No. 71, Oct. 1931, No. 521, Pl. 16, gr. 4.12. sic l), \uparrow , gr. 4.24. PLATE LXII, 8; γ) Paris (Babylon, No. 205, Pl. vi, 7. The letters AI have here been misread as ΑΣ), gr. 4.05; δ-e) Naville Sale X, June 1925, Nos. 898-9, Pl. 31, grs. 3.96 and 4.22; ρ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.01. PLATE LXII, 9; ζ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 21, No. 13), gr. 4.17.

These drachms are apparently all from a single obverse die.

1472. BRONZE UNIT.

Draped bust of Athena facing, wearing a triple-crested Attic helmet. Maeander pattern around.

Same inscription. Winged Nike advancing to l., holding palm in l., and wreath in extended r. In outer l. field, AI. In inner l. field, ANCHOR. In the exergue, K.

α) London, κ , gr. 3.22. PLATE LXII, 10; β) Berlin, gr. 2.70. PLATE LXII, 11.

Here again, for the types of its bronze coinage, Magnesia on the Maeander takes for a model an issue of the capital, Sardes.¹⁸ Again, our mint is allowed to place its 'Maeander pattern' on the coins, this time around the obverse. Because of the magistrates' letters AI and K, marking No. 1472, we are enabled to assign with confidence to the same mint of Magnesia on the Maeander the tetradrachm No. 1470, PLATE LXII, 7, and the drachm No. 1471, PLATE LXII, 8-9, bearing the same initials.

The portrait of Antiochus I on these silver pieces is of the same general character and style as that found on certain contemporaneous issues of Smyrna (PLATES

¹⁷ Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, Nos. 1068-79.

¹⁸ See above, Nos. 1368-71, PLATE LIV, 11-15. Cf., also, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Nos. 1457-8, PLATE LXI, 4-6.

LXIV, 10-12 and LXV, 1-4) and of Magnesia ad Sipylum (PLATE LXI, 1). In the reverse design, our artist again has recourse to the issues of Sardes for his model.¹⁹ Here, as there, Apollo is depicted as completely nude and as holding the *bow*, instead of the more usual arrow, in his outstretched right hand. Because of the particular type of portrait used, and because of this copying of Sardian silver and bronze issues of the period *circa* 277-2 B. C., Nos. 1470-2 should in all likelihood be placed in the last half of the reign of Antiochus I.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

SERIES I

1473. TETRADRACHM.

Rejuvenated portrait of Antiochus I to r.
Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, completely nude, seated to l. upon
omphalos, holding bow in extended r. In
the exergue, ☉ or ○ E.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.21. PLATE LXII, 12; β) Berlin (monogram off flan), ↑, gr. 17.185;
γ) London (Gardner, p. 14, No. 2, Pl. v, 3), ↑, gr. 16.38. PLATE LXII, 13; δ) Naville
Sale X, June 1925, No. 895, Pl. 31, gr. 17.16. PLATE LXIII, 1.
α-δ are from a single obverse die; α and β are from one reverse die; γ and δ are from two
other reverse dies.

1474. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but ☉ is in the outer l. field.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll. Unfortunately, no cast was received of this piece, but in the author's
notes, made in 1922, it is stated that the coin is from the same obverse die as the pre-
ceding); β) American University, Beyrouth. PLATE LXIII, 2.
β is from the same obverse die as No. 1473.

1475. DRACHM.

A: Head similar to the preceding.
B: Older head.

Similar to the preceding. In outer l. field,
☉.

Type A

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 4.27. PLATE LXIII, 3.

Type B

β) Copenhagen, gr. 4.15; γ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 4.03; δ) Pozzi Coll.,
Naville Sale I, Apr. 1921, No. 2941, Pl. lxxxv, gr. 4.27. PLATE LXIII, 4.
β-δ are from one obverse die; β-γ from one reverse die.

¹⁹ Cf. Series II, Nos. 1363-7, PLATE LIV, 5-10.

1476. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1473.

Similar to the preceding, except that on β there is drapery over the top of the *omphalos* and on Apollo's r. thigh. In the exergue, AΣK.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 17.07. PLATE LXIII, 5; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 204, Pl. vi, 6), gr. 16.90. PLATE LXIII, 6.

1477. TETRADRACHM.

Similar to Nos. 1473-4, but the features seem slightly older. Circle of dots.

Similar. Apollo is again completely nude. In outer l. field, Λ/.

α) Florence, Museo Archeologico; β) Yakountchikoff Coll. (*Unpublished Coins*, p. 39, No. 98, Pl. viii), gr. 16.77; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 896, Pl. 31 (= Rogers, *Num. Chron.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII, 1912, p. 238, Pl. ix, 2), gr. 16.97. PLATE LXIII, 7.
 α - γ are from the same obverse and reverse dies.

1478. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1477.

Similar, but without monogram or letters.

Oxford (Ashmolean Museum), \uparrow , gr. 17.38. PLATE LXIII, 8.

1479. DRACHM.

Youthful head of Antiochus I (?) to r.
Circle of dots.

Similar. Drapery visible on the *omphalos* and on Apollo's r. thigh. In outer l. field, \odot .

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 897, Pl. 31, gr. 4.24. PLATE LXIII, 9; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.15. PLATE LXIII, 10; γ) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum, ex Price Sale, No. 366), PLATE LXIII, 11.
 β and γ are from the same pair of dies.

1480. DRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1479 α .

Similar, but \odot is in the outer r. field.

Allotte de la Fuyé Coll., Ciani Sale, Feb. 1925, No. 764, Pl. 13, gr. 4.05.

1481. DRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1479 β - γ .

Similar, except that Apollo is again depicted as completely nude and the bow does not intersect the royal name. In inner l. field, \square .

α) White-King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 517, Pl. vi; β) Copenhagen, gr. 3.95; γ) Paris (Babelon, No. 206, Pl. vi, 8), gr. 4.15. PLATE LXIII, 12; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 3.63. PLATE LXIII, 13.

1482. BRONZE HALF.

Laureate, draped bust of Apollo to r., with quiver at shoulder.

BAΣIAEΩΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath bull butting to r. To l. of bull, X. Beneath exergual line, ANCHOR.

Newell (from Magnesia ad Maeandrum), \nearrow , gr. 1.17. PLATE LXIII, 14.

SERIES II

1483. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Antiochus II to r. Circle
of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, draped to the waist, seated to l. on
omphalos, holding bow in outstretched r.

Cambridge (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 463 = *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, Pl. iv, 9), gr. 16.85. PLATE LXIII, 15.

Imhoof-Blumer has already noted²⁰ the fact that the tetradrachms of Series I are closely bound together, not only by a similarity of style, fabric and type, but also by an identity of obverse die between Nos. 1473-4 and 1476. With them must go the drachms also, for No. 1475 bears the same monogram (⊕) as Nos. 1473-4, and this drachm, as well as Nos. 1479-81 (PLATE LXIII, 3-4 and 9-13), present the same style and fabric as the tetradrachms and display the same bow-holding Apollo figure on their reverses. Furthermore, style, fabric and the unusual presence of the bow in the god's right hand, tie up this series of tetradrachms and drachms with the preceding issues (Nos. 1470-1, PLATE LXII, 7-9). That being the case, Nos. 1473-81 must also have been coined at Magnesia on the Maeander.²¹

The portrait on the obverses of these coins, especially on the tetradrachms and drachms Nos. 1473-8, PLATES LXII, 12-13 and LXIII, 1-8, presents but a slight modification of that found on the preceding coins of Antiochus I (PLATE LXII, 7-9) and was surely intended as a more youthful representation of that monarch. They should be compared²² with certain similar heads found on contemporary issues of Cyme.²³ The deeply sunken eye definitely characterizes all of these portraits as being those of Antiochus I,²⁴ although the coins themselves were actually struck under his son, Antiochus II. In the true portraits of Antiochus II,²⁵ the eye is never sunk beneath heavy brows, the cheek-bone is usually more prominent, the cheek slightly hollow, while the expression and form of the upper lip, mouth, and chin differ markedly from these same features in the portraits of Antiochus I. We shall have frequent occasion to note that in the mints of western Asia Minor the earliest silver issues of Antiochus II invariably display a more or less rejuvenated head of the first Antiochus before finally adopting his own true portrait. Even in the eastern mints there exist plenty of precedents for such a practice. At Seleucia on the Tigris and at Artacoana, no portrait but that of Antiochus I was used throughout the reign of his son.²⁶ On the bronze issues of Ecbatana, the elderly

²⁰ *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, pp. 177-9.

²¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, p. 178, pointed out that the origin of these pieces must be sought in Asia Minor.

²² As Imhoof-Blumer has already done, *loc. cit.*, p. 179.

²³ See below, Nos. 1518-19, PLATE LXVII, 2-4.

²⁴ Earlier writers (such as Gardner, *loc. cit.*, p. xv; Bunbury, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, p. 77; Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, p. 178, and others) are clearly mistaken in supposing these particular heads to be representations of the second Antiochus, with whose true portrait they have little in common.

²⁵ Cf., in particular, E. S. M., Pl. xxxix, 20; Pl. lii, 17 and 21; Pl. liii, 1 and 4; W. S. M., PLATES XX, 12-14, 24-5; XXI, 1-14; XXII, 1-2; XXXIII, 10-19; XXXIV, 1-7; XLIX, 3-5, 7-9; LVII, 7-8; LXV, 9-12.

²⁶ E. S. M., Pls. xv, 15-17; xvi, 1-2 and 7-12; liv, 4-8.

features of Antiochus I suddenly become very youthful,²⁷ just before the true likeness of his son takes its rightful place on the coins. At Bactra, before the true portrait of Antiochus II was adopted, an elderly portrait of Antiochus I alternates on the issues of his son with a more juvenile head, but one which still displays the salient characteristics of the father.²⁸ Similarly, on the issues of western Asia Minor, a somewhat youthful portrait of Antiochus I occupies the obverses of the silver coins until towards the end of Antiochus II's reign,²⁹ when the latter's own portrait finally appears. Magnesia on the Maeander is no exception to this general rule, for eventually on its issues (Series II, No. 1483, PLATE LXIII, 15) the true likeness of Antiochus II replaces the posthumous head of his father. Here there can be no doubt about the identity of the portrait on the obverse. In all its salient features it presents a characteristic likeness of Antiochus II. On the reverse, the seated Apollo still holds the bow in his outstretched right hand, just as on the preceding issues of Magnesia, although in this case the god is provided with drapery to the waist—just as on the contemporaneous issues of the nearby Ephesus.³⁰

The series of drachms, Nos. 1479–81, PLATE LXIII, 9–13, seems to represent a transitional stage. The portrait has here become so modified that it bears no striking similitude either to Antiochus I or to Antiochus II. The coins have been assigned to Magnesia on the Maeander because (1) their style, fabric and the arrangement of the diadem-ends offer a general similarity to the corresponding features on the immediately preceding tetradrachms and drachms, and (2) because of their reverse type which again depicts Apollo holding a bow.

No bronze coins of Antiochus II bearing the characteristic mint-mark of the Maeander pattern are as yet known. On the other hand, it is probable that the little bronze coin No. 1482, PLATE LXIII, 14, was actually coined here. The only known specimen turned up with a lot of autonomous coins from Magnesia which had certainly once formed a hoard³¹ and which had reached the west in the hands of a person from Magnesia itself. No. 1482 was not actually a part of this coin-hoard, as its patina was of a different color and texture from those of the other coins. But the fact that this little piece came originally from the district of Magnesia on the Maeander is strong evidence that it had once been coined there. The type of the butting bull, while common on the coins of Seleucus I and II, is otherwise quite unknown on coins of any of the Antiochi. This, together with the fact that the butting bull constitutes the ordinary reverse type of autonomous coins of Magnesia itself throughout the fourth and third centuries B. C.,³² suggests that its presence on

²⁷ E. S. M., Pl. xxxix, 13, 18, 19.

²⁸ E. S. M., Pl. lii, 14–16, 18–20.

²⁹ Even at Sardes this practice may also have been followed. There we know that a really good likeness of the elderly Antiochus I immediately preceded the portrait of Antiochus II (cf. Nos. 1385–8, PLATES LV, 15–16 and LVI, 1–5), but some of the coins (i. e., Nos. 1373–7, PLATE LV, 4–8), displaying a more youthful head, may actually have been struck in the reign of Antiochus II. In the present work these have only tentatively been assigned to the father's lifetime.

³⁰ See below, Nos. 1486–8, PLATE LXIV, 1–5.

³¹ Newell, *Five Greek Bronze Coin Hoards*, Num. Notes and Monographs No. 68, pp. 43–50, Pl. vi.

³² Brit. Mus. Cat., *Ionian*, Pl. xviii, 1–5, 7–8.

our little coin is more in the nature of a local allusion than it is in honor of a Seleucus. The close connection between the humped bull (Zebu) and the worship of the famous Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia has already been pointed out³³ by Wernicke, and is proved by the zebu being the favorite type on countless autonomous coins of Magnesia. The ANCHOR beneath the animal on No. 1482 imparts to the coin type as a whole a proper Seleucid flavor. Its presence probably imitates the practice prevalent at Sardes, throughout the reign of Antiochus II, of placing the Seleucid anchor beneath the tripod or the lyre on the regal bronze coins of that mint.³⁴

SELEUCUS II

246-circa 242/1 B. C.

1484. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Artemis to r., with bow and quiver behind neck.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Nude Apollo standing to l., resting l. on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, ΜΕ. In outer r. field, ΜΕ. The whole design surrounded by the Maeander pattern.

α) London (Gardner, p. 17, No. 22, Pl. vi, 7), gr. 3.59. PLATE LXIII, 16; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 4.12. PLATE LXIII, 17.

1485. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar.

Similar, except that the monogram in the outer l. field has the form, ΜΓ.

α) London (Gardner, p. 17, No. 23); β) Newell, ↗, gr. 4.23. PLATE LXIII, 18.

As yet, we do not possess sufficient evidence to assign any silver coins of Seleucus II to Magnesia on the Maeander.³⁵ On the other hand, there exist a few bronze coins (PLATE LXIII, 16-18) which must have emanated from that city's mint because of the characteristic Maeander pattern which surrounds their reverses. On the obverses we find an attractive head of Artemis to right, with her bow and quiver appearing behind her neck. Undoubtedly, this type presents us with the Hellenistic conception of Artemis Leukophryene who possessed a famous shrine at Leukophris where, about 400 B. C.,³⁶ arose the new city of Magnesia. Hers was Magnesia's chief cult, and in her honor did the city receive the right of asylum. Towards the end of the third century B. C., a magnificent new temple was erected,

³³ Pauly-Wissowa, II, pp. 1373, 1434.

³⁴ See above, Nos. 1389-1405, PLATES LVI, 6-20 and LVII, 1-6; Nos. 1407-15, PLATE LVII, 9-22.

³⁵ Among the still unassigned tetradrachms of Seleucus II, only No. 1647, PLATE LXXX, 10, offers a monogram (ΜΓ) at all similar to those occurring on the bronze coins Nos. 1484-5. In style, however, this tetradrachm does not seem to fit in with the preceding silver issues of Magnesia.

³⁶ Concerning Magnesia and the cult of Artemis Leukophryene, see Pauly-Wissowa II, 1373-4, 1392; VIII, 879; XII, 2286-8.

whose architect was the famous Hermogenes of Alabanda. Traces of this building still exist to the east of the agora.

The reverse type of our bronze coins is the usual standing Apollo, holding an arrow in his outstretched right hand and resting his left upon a bow. The god is here represented without the tall tripod which invariably accompanies his figure on the silver tetradrachm coinages of Seleucus II. On the other hand, the type is similar to that of most of the gold staters, silver drachms and many bronze issues³⁷ of that ruler.

It has not proved advisable to attempt to assign to Magnesia any Seleucid coins for the period after Seleucus II, although we know from Eusebius³⁸ that the city was still held by Antiochus Hierax (*circa* 230 B. C.).³⁹ It is possible that during the fratricidal wars waged between Seleucus II and Hierax, Magnesia had finally secured permission to strike autonomous types only,⁴⁰ and a royal mint, as such, no longer functioned in that city. Future finds will no doubt eventually solve this question. Even as late as 201 B. C., Magnesia appears still to have acknowledged Seleucid suzerainty, with no evidence that in the intervening years it had ever been otherwise.⁴¹

C: EPHEBUS

With the death of Lysimachus in the decisive battle of Corupedium (281 B. C.), and the acquisition of his Asiatic territories by Seleucus I, the great and flourishing city of Ephesus became Seleucid.⁴² Although there had been a royal mint in this Ionian metropolis under Lysimachus,⁴³ it seems to have been discontinued either under Seleucus I or his son, Antiochus I. No coins of these two rulers have yet turned up which could, with plausibility, be assigned to Ephesus. Probably Seleucus, and especially Antiochus (because of the desperate dangers threatening his empire on all sides) desired, and indeed needed, the continued loyalty and support of this leading city of Asia Minor. Among the favors granted may well have been the complete autonomy of its local mint, which commenced an issue of Attic octobols and accompanying bronze coins bearing new combinations of old types.⁴⁴

The hold of Antiochus I on the cities of western Asia was seriously weakened by his disastrous battle with Eumenes of Pergamum before the walls of Sardes in 262 B. C. Hence, about 261 B. C., Ptolemy II, ally of Eumenes in that war, em-

³⁷ Cf., for instance, E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 11-14 (Seleucia on the Tigris); Pl. xxviii, 6 (Susa); W. S. M., PLATES II, 9-10; III, 5-6; XXII, 8-10; XXIII, 3, 7, 9; XXIV, 3-8, 10, 12; XXXV, 2, 11; L, 2, 10-11; LXXXI, 2, 5-18.

³⁸ Edit. Schoene I, p. 251.

³⁹ G. Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamo*, p. 18, and note 2.

⁴⁰ Represented, probably, by the coins in a hoard described in Newell, *Num. Notes and Monographs* No. 68, pp. 43-50, Pl. vi.

⁴¹ Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, p. 128. Beloch IV², 2, pp. 339-40.

⁴² Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 40 and 81, based on Polyaeus VIII, 57.

⁴³ Müller, *Die Münzen des thracischen Königs Lysimachus*, Nos. 420-8.

⁴⁴ Head, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. I, 1880, pp. 19-20, *Num. Chron.*, N. S., Vol. XX, 1879, pp. 121-2. Cf., also, *Historia Numorum*², p. 574.

braced the opportunity afforded him by the defeat and ensuing death of Antiochus and seized Ephesus.⁴⁵ Here he installed his adopted (?) son, Ptolemy, as governor, and all Seleucid suzerainty over the city ceased. Somewhat later, the young man had the temerity to revolt and joined his father's enemies, Antiochus II, Antigonus of Macedon, and the Rhodians. The Egyptian fleet attempted to recapture Ephesus but was beaten off by the Rhodians in a sea battle. About 258/7 B. C., a mutiny broke out among the Thracian troops in Ephesus, and Ptolemy was murdered. Not long after,⁴⁶ Antiochus II re-occupied the city. Later, after his marriage with Berenice in 252 B. C., he took up his residence in Ephesus. Here he died early in 246 B. C. Thus Ephesus had become, once more, a Seleucid possession. There is no reason why a royal mint should not now have commenced to function. Especially would this have been the case after Antiochus II himself had come with his court to reside in the city.

ANTIOCHUS II

Circa 252-246 B. C.

1486. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, draped to waist, seated to l. on *omphalos* on which he rests his l. hand while holding a bow in his extended r. In the exergue, uncertain monogram (R ?).

London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 3), gr. 17.13. PLATE LXIV, 1.

1487. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1486.

Similar. In the exergue, Ⓢ.

α) London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 2), gr. 16.70. PLATE LXIV, 2; β) American University, Beyrouth; γ) London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 1, Pl. vii, 1), gr. 17.15; δ) Gotha (*Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. ii, 4), gr. 17.08. PLATE LXIV, 3; ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.40; ρ) Vienna. PLATE LXIV, 4; ζ) University of Bologna, gr. 17.18.

All are from the same obverse die as No. 1486; α and β are from one reverse die; γ-ρ are from another.

1488. TETRADRACHM.

From a die similar to the preceding.

Similar. In outer l. field, Ⓢ.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 180, No. 31, Pl. ii, 6 and *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVIII, 1898, pl. xv, 7), ↑, gr. 16.88. PLATE LXIV, 5.

1489. BRONZE UNIT.

Bust of Artemis to l.

Same inscription. Fore-part of stag to r.

Paris (Babelon, No. 436, Pl. x, 14), gr. 3.20. PLATE LXIV, 6.

⁴⁵ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 81 and 91.

⁴⁶ In 258, according to Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 81 and 91, but certainly before 254/3 B. C.

The identity of the portrait on Nos. 1486-8, PLATE LXIV, 1-5, is beyond every doubt. It presents all the characteristics peculiar to the physiognomy of Antiochus II as first established by Sir George Macdonald in his oft quoted study. Before the appearance of his definitive work, our coins were given to Hierax by Gardner,⁴⁷ followed by Six,⁴⁸ but, curiously enough, assigned to Antiochus III by Imhoof-Blumer⁴⁹ who should have been guided by Macdonald's convincing study.

Nos. 1486-7 are from a single obverse die, a die distinguished by its excellent workmanship, delicacy of detail, and comparatively low relief. Of all the contemporary coinages of Asia Minor, it is nearest in style and character to the long series of Ephesian didrachms (PLATE LXIV, A and B) and drachms which Head⁵⁰ has assigned to the period from 258-202 B. C. The reverses of Nos. 1486-8 are unusual, in that the lower limbs of Apollo are completely covered with drapery as far as the waist. This same detail recurs on a tetradrachm of Magnesia on the Maeander (No. 1483, PLATE LXIII, 15) assignable to the last few years of Antiochus II's reign. Also like the tetradrachms of the neighboring Magnesia (cf. PLATES LXII and LXIII), as well as certain earlier issues of Sardes (cf. PLATE LIV, 5-10), Apollo holds the bow in his outstretched right hand, while his left rests upon the *omphalos*. It is the presence of these rather exceptional features which would seem to place our coins somewhere in western Asia Minor, and preferably in the neighborhood of Magnesia on the Maeander. Ephesus, because of its proximity to that city and because of its own inherent importance, at once suggests itself. This, coupled with the extraordinary similarity in style between Nos. 1486-8 and the above-mentioned didrachms of Ephesus, goes far to substantiate an assignment to that great mint. The excellence of the portrait of Antiochus II on these pieces is easily accounted for when we remember his close personal association with Ephesus and his actual residence there for some years preceding his death. There seem to be good reasons for supposing⁵¹ that the impressive monument recently discovered near Ephesus is actually the tomb of Antiochus II.

Certainly Ephesian is the bronze 'unit' No. 1489, PLATE LXIV, 6, which, but for the royal name and title which it bears, is in style, fabric and types the exact counterpart of the autonomous bronze issue of Ephesus illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue, *Ionian*, Pl. xi, 3. This and similar pieces Head has assigned⁵² to the period of the didrachms and drachms mentioned above, i. e., 258-202 B. C. They are thus contemporaneous with, or immediately following, the reign of Antiochus II, to which No. 1489 is to be attributed.

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*, pp. xvi and 20, Nos. 1-3.

⁴⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 241-2.

⁴⁹ *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 180.

⁵⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Ionian*, p. xlvii, 58-60, Pl. xi, 1-2; *Num. Chron.*, N. S., Vol. XX, 1879, pp. 133 ff.; *Historia Numorum*², p. 575.

⁵¹ Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture*, pp. 50-3; Dr. Josef Keil, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vol. XXIX, first section—XVIII (Vienna 1934), pp. 104-151.

⁵² *Num. Chron.*, N. S., Vol. XX, 1879, p. 137, Pl. viii, 5.

SELEUCUS II

246-circa 245 B. C.

1490. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo standing to l., resting l. elbow on tall tripod behind him and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, ⌘. In outer r. field, ⌘.

Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2876, Pl. xxxii, gr. 16.62. PLATE LXIV, 7.

1491. BRONZE DOUBLE..

Draped bust of Artemis to r., with bow and quiver at her shoulder.

Inscription as before. Apollo standing to l., resting l. hand on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, ⌘. In outer r. field, ANCHOR.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 283), gr. 3.00; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 53, No. 36, Pl. ii, 11), ↑, gr. 4.135. PLATE LXIV, 8.

Continuing the general style, fabric and low relief of Nos. 1486-8, comes this issue of tetradrachms and bronze coins in the name and with the types of Seleucus II. Absolute certainty with regard to the Ephesian origin of the tetradrachm, we cannot yet claim. But the whole character of the piece, especially the portrait and the details of Apollo's head and body, are closely paralleled on the preceding tetradrachms of Antiochus II. On the other hand, the bronze coin can without question be assigned to this mint.⁵³ The Artemis bust on the obverse is in general appearance, style, details of design, absolutely identical with the Ephesian didrachms and drachms of 258-202 B. C., previously mentioned (cf. PLATE LXIV, A and B). No. 1491, bearing as it does the name and usual reverse type (i. e., the standing Apollo) of Seleucus II, constitutes definite evidence that Ephesus still acknowledged allegiance to him, at least at the outset of his reign. It was once surmised⁵⁴ that the city had been secured by Ptolemy II immediately after the death of Antiochus II, but the Mitteis-Wilcken papyrus, taken in conjunction with an inscription from Miletus,⁵⁵ shows that Ephesus remained Seleucid until 245 B. C., when it was finally captured by Ptolemy III.⁵⁶ This fact would leave sufficient time for the coining of at least a few pieces in the name of Seleucus II before the city fell to the Ptolemies, to be held by them until about 197 B. C. when Antiochus III recovered it.⁵⁷ Whether the latter coined at Ephesus, it has not yet been possible to determine. Probably for political reasons the city was left autonomous.

⁵³ As already shown by Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 53, who there correctly refutes Babelon's proposed assignment (*Rois de Syrie*, p. lxvii) to Antioch.

⁵⁴ Pauly-Wissowa V, p. 2794.

⁵⁵ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 82-3, where he discusses and draws conclusions from these two sources.

⁵⁶ Meyer, *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

D: SMYRNA

Smyrna, supposed to have been refounded by Antigonus, became, after its extension and embellishment by Lysimachus one of the most flourishing and magnificent of the Greek cities in western Asia Minor. It had possessed a royal mint under Lysimachus.⁵⁸ It was probably among the cities which hastened to acknowledge Seleucus immediately after the battle of Corupedium, and it remained loyal to its new masters until the time of Attalus I of Pergamum.⁵⁹ No coins of Seleucus I are as yet known from its mint,⁶⁰ but we seem to possess in the following varieties a lengthy issue for his son, Antiochus I.

ANTIOCHUS I

280-261 B. C.

1492. TETRADRACHM.

Elderly head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. on bow, and holding an arrow in his extended r. In inner l. field, ☐ above ANCHOR.

Berlin, gr. 16.20. PLATE LXIV, 9.

1493. TETRADRACHM.

A slightly younger-appearing head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

Similar, but Apollo now holds *two* arrows in his r. In inner l. field, ANCHOR above ☐. In inner r. field, ☐.

α) Beyrouth Museum; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. ii, 9), ↑, gr. 16.80. PLATE LXIV, 10; γ) Berlin, gr. 17.19. PLATE LXIV, 11.
α-γ are from a single pair of dies.

1494. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

Similar, but Apollo now holding *three* arrows in his r. In inner r. field, ☐. In the exergue, ☐.

α) New York (Metropolitan Museum. Ward Coll., No. 777, Pl. xix = Carfrae Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1894, No. 298), ↑, gr. 16.87. PLATE LXIV, 12; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.62. PLATE LXV, 1; γ) Zygmant Coll., ↑, gr. 16.76; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 202, Pl. vi, 4), gr. 16.90. PLATE LXV, 2; ε) Imhoof-Blumer (*Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, Pl. ii, 8), gr. 17.00; ζ) Berlin, gr. 16.835. PLATE LXV, 3; η) Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. Num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, p. 131, No. 483, Pl. vi), gr. 16.82. PLATE LXV, 4. α and β are from one obverse die; γ, δ, ε, ζ are from another obverse die which on ζ now shows a bad break running across the locks of hair on the nape of the neck; η is from yet a third obverse die; α, γ, ε are from a single reverse die. The remaining specimens are from varying reverse dies.

⁵⁸ Müller, *Die Münzen des thracischen Königs Lysimachus*, No. 408.

⁵⁹ Ernst Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 89-90, 103, 105.

⁶⁰ For the early autonomous issues of Smyrna, see Milne, *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. III, 1923, pp. 1 ff.

1495. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ANTIOXOY beneath elephant's head to l. To r. of head, ☉ above R.

α-β) Istanbul (Sardes, 'Basis Hoard.' *Sardis*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 412-3, Pl. i), grs. 2.64 and 2.77; γ) London (Rogers Coll.), gr. 2.59; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 2.60; ε) Newell (Petrovich from Noury Bey), γ, gr. 2.24. PLATE LXV, 5.

1496. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Antiochus I to r., similar to that on Nos. 1493-4.

Similar to Nos. 1493-4. Apollo holding three arrows. In the exergue, Κ Ψ.

α) Klagenfurt (*Num. Zeitschr.*, XLVI, 1913, Pl. ii, 7), gr. 16.87; β) Berlin, gr. 16.62; γ) Berlin, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXV, 6.

All are from a single obverse die. β and γ are from the same reverse die.

In the elderly head on the obverse of No. 1492, PLATE LXIV, 9, we immediately recognize a very characteristic portrait of the first Antiochus. On the reverse, we find the orthodox type of the Seleucid empire, Apollo, nude but for a piece of drapery over his right thigh, seated to left on the *omphalos*, holding an arrow in his outstretched right hand and resting his left on the bow. The immediately succeeding heads, Nos. 1493-4 and 1496 (PLATES LXIV, 10-12; LXV, 1-4 and 6), are still those of Antiochus I, but becoming more and more rejuvenated. On them the deeper lines and furrows of the face have been smoothed out, and the salient characteristics modified. This embodies, however, the same changes which may be noted as having also taken place at Sardes⁶¹ after *circa* 272 B. C. Thus, we should likewise assign the present issues of Smyrna to the last ten years of Antiochus I's reign. The proposed dating is supported by the appearance of very similar heads at the mints of Magnesia ad Sipylum⁶² and Magnesia on the Maeander⁶³ on coins apparently issued towards the very close of the reign.

The tetradrachms of the group before us have already been associated with each other by Imhoof-Blumer.⁶⁴ Not only are they strikingly similar in style and fabric, but Nos. 1492 and 1493 are connected by the ANCHOR symbol, immediately in front of Apollo, a symbol accompanied in each case by a monogram. The Α of No. 1492 and the Π of No. 1493 doubtless connote one and the same official. Furthermore, on No. 1493, immediately to the right of Apollo's left hand, may be discerned a second monogram, Ε. This same monogram reappears in the same position on the next tetradrachm, No. 1494, and so serves to unite the two varieties. On No. 1492, Apollo holds a single arrow; on No. 1493, he holds two; while on No. 1494, he holds sometimes one (reverse die of β), sometimes three arrows (reverse dies of α, γ, δ, ε, ζ). With these coins No. 1496 is connected, not only by style but also by the fact that Apollo, here too, holds three arrows in his right hand. On

⁶¹ Compare PLATES LXIV, 9-12 and LXV, 1-4 with PLATE LV, 1-8.

⁶² PLATE LXI, 1.

⁶³ PLATE LXII, 7-9.

⁶⁴ *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XLVI, 1913, p. 180.

the contemporaneous issues of Sardes, Nos. 1372-7, Apollo holds now one, now two arrows.

Doubtless, the bronze unit No. 1495, PLATE LXV, 5, was associated with the tetradrachm No. 1494 as it bears one identical monogram (\mathcal{R}), accompanied by the letter \odot , itself probably but a simplification of the second monogram \mathcal{E} displayed by the tetradrachm No. 1494. The obverse type of the Athena head, with its crested Attic helmet, is copied from the common and widely disseminated Asia Minor bronze issues of Lysimachus.⁶⁵ The reverse type of the elephant's head must refer to the famous victory of Antiochus I over the Gauls, a victory which he himself ascribed⁶⁶ entirely to the presence of the sixteen elephants that played so decisive a rôle in the battle. The commemorative trophy, erected after the battle, is said⁶⁷ to have borne nothing more than the figure of an elephant. If it is natural that an elephant's head should symbolize the Gallic victory of Antiochus,⁶⁸ it was also most appropriate that the type should have appeared at one of the great Ionian cities which had suffered so greatly from the Gallic incursions.⁶⁹ The choice of the Athena head as the obverse type for this bronze coin may perhaps have been intended to suggest the triumph of Hellenic reason and the principles of scientific warfare over the *élan* and brute force of the Gallic hordes.

Furthermore, the Athena head, because of its Lysimachean prototype, points to a western origin for No. 1495. This is definitely supported by the only provenance record⁷⁰ which we possess, as well as by the fact that specimen ϵ originally came from Osman Noury Bey, a resident of Constantinople and long an active and well-known purveyor of ancient coins found in Turkey in Europe and in Anatolia. As the only two specimens from Sardes came not from scattered finds in the excavations but were in a hoard which contained many other 'foreign' pieces from western Asia Minor, it suggests that the type itself was not coined at Sardes but rather at some neighboring mint in close commercial or administrative touch with the capital. Certainly as the monogram and the accompanying *theta* on the bronze 'unit' No. 1495 connect it closely with the tetradrachm No. 1494 (and so with Nos. 1492-3 and 1496 as well), it could not possibly have been coined at Sardes, for the silver pieces will nowhere fit into the series now known to have emanated from that mint.

It will be noted that throughout the tetradrachms Nos. 1492-4 and 1496, the reverse type is always the orthodox Seleucid one of the seated Apollo holding one, two, or three arrows in his outstretched right hand, his left resting upon the grounded bow. In this, our group differs from the type prevalent in southern Ionia (Magnesia on the Maeander and Ephesus) where Apollo holds the *bow* in his outstretched right. But as the general style of our coins is still the customary one for western Asia

⁶⁵ Müller, *loc. cit.*, Pl. i, 3, Pl. ii, 10-12.

⁶⁶ Lucian, *Pro Lapsu inter Salut.* 9.

⁶⁷ Lucian, *Zeuxis*, 8.

⁶⁸ To this victory his very title of Soter, the 'Saviour', is stated by Appian, *Syr.* 65, to have been due.

⁶⁹ For an account of the terror and devastation caused by the Gauls in Asia Minor, see Bevan, I, pp. 135-144.

⁷⁰ Two specimens were in the 'Basis Hoard' (Noe, No. 925) found at Sardes.

Minor, and as the head on Nos. 1493-4 and 1496 (PLATES LXIV, 10-12 and LXV, 1-4, 6) is very similar in character and details to a coin (PLATE LXI, 1) which we have reason to believe was coined contemporaneously at Magnesia ad Sipylum, it is but reasonable to propose the assignment of Nos. 1492-6 to the only other large and flourishing metropolis left at our disposal in this particular region, namely to Smyrna. As Smyrna constituted, then as now, the natural seaport for the Hermus valley, where were situated both Magnesia ad Sipylum and Sardes, it is not surprising to find the particular Apollo type used for a time at Sardes (Nos. 1372-7, PLATE LV, 1-8) re-appearing at Smyrna, or the close similarity in style between certain heads on the issues of both Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum, or, finally, the presence of some specimens of No. 1495 in the ruins of Sardes.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

SERIES I

1497. STATER.

Youthful diademed head to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Athena, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, standing to l. In her l. hand she holds a palm-branch adorned with hanging fillets; in her outstretched r. is a winged Nike to l., about to place a wreath over the royal name. A large shield, ornamented with the Medusa head boss, rests against Athena's r. leg. In the inner l. field are the traces of an erased monogram (Α?). In inner r. field, Φ. In outer r. field, Ψ above Σ (?).

Paris (Babelon, No. 193, Pl. vi, 1), gr. 8.60. PLATE LXV, 7.

1498. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of the youthful Antiochus I (?) to r. Circle of dots.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Apollo, holding bow in l., and arrow in outstretched r., seated to l. on marble seat adorned with a lion's leg. In the upper inner l. field, Ξ. In lower inner l. field, Α. In the exergue, F.

Paris (Babelon, No. 203, Pl. vi, 5), gr. 17.00. PLATE LXV, 8.

The youthful features on the remarkable gold stater No. 1497 bear little resemblance to those of any known Seleucid king. That the coin, however, was struck early in the reign of Antiochus II is made certain by a silver drachm (No. 1505, PLATE LXVI, 2) issued from the mint of Phocaea, a drachm that is united

by a complicated yet identical monogram to a tetradrachm (No. 1504, PLATE LXVI, 1) which bears the unmistakable and elderly portrait of the first Antiochus. The two heads on our present stater and on the Phocaean drachm are strikingly alike. Babelon evinces no hesitation in assigning⁷¹ the stater to Antiochus II, and, in fact, to no other king could it reasonably be given because of its style and general appearance. Babelon also suggests that the figure of Athena appears to have been inspired by the Athena Parthenos at Athens, although he takes pains to enumerate the obvious differences existing between the two. The general stance may indeed be that of the Parthenos, but the style, the helmet, the details of the costume, even the Medusa head on the shield remind one of the seated Athena on the contemporaneous Attalid issues of Pergamum.⁷²

The head on the tetradrachm No. 1498, PLATE LXV, 8, is strikingly similar to certain contemporary heads on coins of Cyme and Myrina.⁷³ In all cases the prototype had been the portrait of Antiochus I, which by successive steps of rejuvenation had become younger and younger until the present stage was arrived at, a stage in which the features, except perhaps for the still somewhat sunken eye, bear but little resemblance to the aged Antiochus I. On the reverse of our tetradrachm, a curious innovation has been introduced. Here Apollo no longer sits upon his *omphalos* but upon what was probably intended as a marble throne, with the representation of a lion's leg carved on its outer left-hand edge. This is exactly the kind of throne commonly found on coins of the Lysimachus type and now, more pertinently, on coins of the Pergamene kings.

Thus, the similarity of the head on No. 1497 to a coin of Phocaea, the similarity of the head on No. 1498 to coins of Cyme and Myrina, the similarity of the Athena figure on No. 1497 and of the throne on No. 1498 to coins of Pergamum—all point to northwestern Ionia and the neighborhood of Aeolis and Mysia for the origin of Nos. 1497–8. In this region Smyrna alone can come into consideration. A gold stater like No. 1497 would presumably have been issued only in some important mint such as Smyrna, while the monogram \mathcal{R} on No. 1498 actually appears on previous issues (Nos. 1494–5) of that very city. Such traces of an erased monogram as can still be made out in the left-hand field of No. 1497, point to a form not unlike \mathcal{R} , while the *phi* of this same coin may be an abbreviation of the monogram Σ found on the accompanying tetradrachm.

SERIES II

1499. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. upon bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, PALM-BRANCH with ribbons attached. In the exergue, Σ .

⁷¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. lvii.

⁷² Cf. PLATE LXIX, 7–8, and the succeeding issues of Eumenes, Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, Pl. i, 6–7.

⁷³ Cf. PLATES LXVII, 7–8 and LXVIII, 1–2.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.03. PLATE LXV, 9; β) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1674, Pl. 57 (= Cumberland Clark Coll., Sotheby Sale, Jan. 1914, No. 260, Pl. vii), gr. 16.95. PLATE LXV, 10; γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 21, No. 10, Pl. lxiv, 13), gr. 16.95; δ) Glasgow (*ibid.*, No. 9), gr. 16.96. PLATE LXV, 11.

α - δ are from a single obverse die; β and γ are from a single reverse die; the remainder being from yet other reverse dies.

1500. TETRADRACHM.

Very similar to No. 1499.

Similar. In the exergue, EAR OF WHEAT.

Berlin, \uparrow , gr. 16.92. PLATE LXV, 12.

The portrait on the obverses of these coins is unmistakably that of Antiochus II. Their assignment to Smyrna, while perhaps not quite so certain as one would like, is none the less probable. Their style and fabric are those we have come to expect for western Asia Minor. The symbol in the reverse field of No. 1499, the PALM-BRANCH tied with a fillet, is identical with the similar object in Athena's left hand on the stater No. 1497. The portrait on our coins certainly provided the model for an issue of Lampsacus,⁷⁴ thus pointing to northwestern Asia Minor as the probable origin of Nos. 1499-1500.

No accompanying bronze coins of royal types are known. Possibly none were issued, their place being taken by the autonomous bronzes which Prof. Milne has assigned to the period from *circa* 260-245 B. C.⁷⁵ The largest denomination of that issue displays typical Seleucid types, i. e., Apollo's head on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse. Prof. Milne further points out⁷⁶ that the features on the obverse of many of these coins have all the characteristics of a portrait, and says: "It is tempting to see in this head an idealized representation of Antiochus II, who is known from the treaty of Smyrna and Magnesia (Michel 19) to have been worshipped at Smyrna." Further, the monogram Ξ on the stater No. 1497 possesses elements not unlike the central portion of a monogram (Θ) found on one of these Smyrnaean autonomous pieces. Again, the EAR OF WHEAT of No. 1500 occurs also as an accessory symbol on many autonomous bronzes of Smyrna of a succeeding period.⁷⁷

Whether Smyrna continued to coin royal silver under the succeeding reign of Seleucus II cannot for the moment be determined, as none of his coins which have survived seem to connect with the issues of Antiochus II assigned to this mint. In any case, large issues for Seleucus II at Smyrna need hardly be expected, as early in his reign the city was granted full autonomy—according to the great Smyrna inscription so frequently mentioned.

⁷⁴ Compare PLATE LXV, 9-11 with PLATE LXX, 9.

⁷⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 5th Ser., Vol. III, 1923, pp. 13-14.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-8, Nos. 52, 54, 57, 59, 60-63, 69, 71.

E: PHOCAEA

Sir George Macdonald long ago established⁷⁸ the fact that a Seleucid mint operated in the north Ionian city of Phocaea, and that a series of coins was struck there early in the reign of Antiochus II. He further showed that Phocaea seems at this time to have been the focal point for something in the nature of a league, whose members (Phocaea, Cyme, Myrina⁷⁹) had in all probability banded together under the Seleucid aegis to protect themselves against encroachment either by Egypt or by the expanding Pergamene state, or by both.

Since the publication of Dr. Macdonald's study, some new varieties have come to light and other considerations have arisen which together suggest the desirability of a slight modification in the former arrangement of the material.

ANTIOCHUS I

280-261 B. C.

1501. TETRADRACHM.

Elderly, diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand upon bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, FOREPART OF WINGED GRIFFIN to l. In outer r. field, uncertain monogram ?

Newell, ϵ , gr. 14.22 (heavily corroded and cleaned). PLATE LXV, 13.

1502. DRACHM.

Similar, but younger, head to r.

Similar. In outer l. field, FOREPART OF WINGED GRIFFIN to l.

Paris (Babelon, No. 198), gr. 4.00. PLATE LXV, 14.

1503. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1501.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Heracles seated to l. upon rock, his l. hand resting on the rock while his extended r. rests upon a club. In outer l. field, GRIFFIN HEAD (with neck) to l. above $\Sigma\epsilon$ (?).

Formerly Dr. Lederer (*Berliner Münzblätter*, No. 349/350, Jan. 1932, Jhg. 52, pp. 3-5, Pl. 124, 1), \uparrow , gr. 17.16. PLATE LXV, 15.

1504. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1501.

Similar to No. 1501. In outer l. field, GRIFFIN HEAD to l. In outer r. field, $\Sigma\epsilon$.

α) Newell (Ciani Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 16.27; β) Naples (No. 8722). PLATE LXVI, 1.

⁷⁸ Early Seleucid Portraits, *Jour. Hell. Studies*, Vol. XXVII, 1907, pp. 155 ff.

⁷⁹ To these must now be added Aegae (see below, pp. 306-8) and possibly also Magnesia ad Sipylum.

In these coins we now possess a series of issues which were probably coined in the very last years of Antiochus I.⁸⁰ That the issue definitely belongs to the end of his reign is proved by the succeeding drachm No. 1505, PLATE LXVI, 2, which bears a youthful head on the obverse, and on the reverse an identical monogram, BX , accompanied by the GRIFFIN HEAD symbol. This drachm must therefore have been coined at our mint under Antiochus II; while the companion tetradrachm No. 1504, PLATE LXVI, 1, could have been coined in the last year of Antiochus I or in the opening years of his son's reign. As this particular tetradrachm is struck from the same obverse die as Nos. 1501 and 1503, the entire group must represent a compact issue which could have stretched over only a few years at most, and so doubtless covered the period of the change of rule from father to son. The head on the obverse of these tetradrachms, Nos. 1501 and 1503 (PLATE LXV, 13 and 15) and 1504 (PLATE LXVI, 1) is not only an obvious portrait of the elderly Antiochus I, but by the somewhat unusual character of its profile and general appearance bears evidence of having been copied directly from a head which appeared on one of Antiochus I's issues from the mint of Seleucia on the Tigris.⁸¹

The reverse types of our tetradrachms comprise both the orthodox seated Apollo as well as the new type of the seated Heracles, the latter first introduced at the close of Antiochus I's reign.⁸² Thus, their proposed late dating is substantiated by the corresponding issues of Magnesia ad Sipylum and Cyme.

The varying symbols appearing on our coins (i. e., FOREPART OF WINGED GRIFFIN and GRIFFIN HEAD, the latter represented both with and without the neck) are well known as *parasema* of the city of Phocaea, and used as such both on its autonomous coins⁸³ and on its issues of the Alexander type.⁸⁴ The assignment of Nos. 1501-4 to Phocaea is therefore beyond all doubt.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

SERIES I

1505. DRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l.
hand on bow and holding arrow in extended
r. In outer l. field, GRIFFIN HEAD. In outer r.
field, BX .

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.22. PLATE LXVI, 2.

⁸⁰ Dr. Lederer, in first publishing No. 1503 (*Berliner Münzblätter*, Jan. 1932, Jhg. 52, pp. 3-5), correctly recognized the portrait as undoubtedly that of Antiochus I, but was uncertain whether to assign the piece to Phocaea or to the east because on his specimen the symbol GRIFFIN HEAD was not clear and could equally well have represented a horse's head.

⁸¹ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xiv, 4.

⁸² Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, pp. 146 ff.

⁸³ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Ionia*, Pl. xxiii, 5-7, 9.

⁸⁴ Müller, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 986-7.

SERIES II

1506. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, youngish head of Antiochus I
(?) to r. Circle of dots.

Inscription same as on the preceding. Heracles seated to l. upon rock on which he rests his l. hand. His r. rests upon the club before him. In outer l. field, GRIFFIN HEAD (with neck), above \mathcal{R} . On specimen α , the form of the monogram is uncertain.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 210), gr. 16.90. PLATE LXVI, 3; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 426, No. 29), gr. 17.07; γ) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 16.86. PLATE LXVI, 4.

1507. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but no symbol. In the exergue, $\mathcal{R} \propto$.

Vienna, PLATE LXVI, 5.

SERIES III

1508. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r., of
good style. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathcal{M} above \mathcal{M} . In the exergue, SEAL to l. and \mathcal{M} . In outer r. field, Φ .

Brussels, gr. 17.07. PLATE LXVI, 6.

Series I comprises the drachm No. 1505, PLATE LXVI, 2, bearing a youthful head to right, doubtless intended to represent a portrait of Antiochus II and very similar to that on the gold stater described above, No. 1497, PLATE LXV, 7. Because of the identity of its symbol and monogram, the tetradrachm No. 1504, PLATE LXVI, 1, with the evident portrait of Antiochus I, should probably be considered as having been coined contemporaneously with our drachm. It would then, technically speaking, represent a posthumous issue. In the course of our studies, both of the eastern as of the western mints, we have had frequent occasion to note that at the outset of his reign Antiochus II coined extensively with the portrait of his deceased father, sometimes realistically rendered, sometimes highly idealized. The present case, then, would be another instance.

The reverse type of the drachm is still the seated Apollo, as on its probable companion piece the tetradrachm No. 1504. Even if the latter had borne the seated Heracles, it is probable that the drachm would still have displayed the Apollo figure, for no Seleucid drachms are known with the Heracles type of the 'League' tetradrachms.

Series II (Nos. 1506-7, PLATE LXVI, 3-5) again resumes the coinage of tetradrachms with the Heracles type, but now in very mediocre style. This, Macdonald took occasion to point out.⁸⁵ The symbol on No. 1506 is again the GRIFFIN HEAD (with neck) of No. 1503, but the accompanying monogram is now \mathcal{R} .

⁸⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 156.

the latter perhaps only a simplification of the RF found on Nos. 1503-5. No. 1507 no longer bears a symbol, but it is still closely connected with No. 1507 by its style and the continued presence of the monogram R .

Amid this compact group of coins from No. 1501 through 1507 (PLATES LXV, 13-15 and LXVI, 1-5), there is no room for the tetradrachms⁸⁶ which Dr. Macdonald also assigns to the mint at Phocaea, but for which we have been led to propose *Magnesia ad Sipylum*. The two groups are in style and conception utterly different. Dr. Macdonald himself admits⁸⁷ "that there is no common mint-mark to bind together the members of Class C," and goes on to stress the fact that his Nos. 19-21 (our No. 1456) "are remarkable for the excellent workmanship they display." In contrast, his Nos. 22-25 are, as he says, of "much inferior style." In fact, the only connection that Dr. Macdonald can seem to establish between his two groups (his Nos. 19-21 and 22-25—our No. 1456 and our 1506-7) is the round smoothness of the rock upon which Heracles is seated, and the belief that the die-cutters of his second group copied the coins of his first group. Even if he were correct in the latter assumption, it does not necessarily mean that the two groups of coins emanated from one and the same mint. We have already seen how very far afield the Phocaean die-cutters went for the model (a coin of Seleucia on the Tigris) which they apparently used for the portrait found on Nos. 1501 and 1503-4. To our mind, it was more likely the portrait on these last three coins (PLATES LXV, 13, 15, and LXVI, 1) which had served as a model for the much inferior PLATE LXVI, 3-5; and not PLATE LXI, 2-3, as Dr. Macdonald would have it. Little resemblance,⁸⁸ except perhaps the smoothness of the rock seat, seems evident between the reverses of Dr. Macdonald's Nos. 22-25 (our PLATE LXVI, 3-5) and his proposed prototype, our PLATE LXI, 2-3. Even the supposed similarity of the rocky seat is not exact. On the coins illustrated on PLATE LXI, 2-3, the stone is indeed remarkably smooth and its shape is almost egg-like.⁸⁹ But a careful inspection of PLATE LXVI, 3-5, reveals that the seat is delicately modelled like some smooth but quite natural stone, and that its contours are far from egg-like.

If the style of the immediately preceding issues leaves much to be desired, that of Series III, No. 1508, PLATE LXVI, 6, would retrieve the reputation of any mint. The obverse presents the portrait of Antiochus I, but with features grown almost youthful. In outline and general character, it is very like some of the contemporaneous issues of Cyme, coins such as PLATE LXVII, 5-6. The Heracles

⁸⁶ Our No. 1456, PLATE LXI, 1-3. These are Macdonald's Nos. 19-21.

⁸⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 156.

⁸⁸ As a minor detail it may be noted, furthermore, that the Heracles of the assumed 'prototype,' PLATE LXI, 2-3, is entirely nude, while the Heracles of the 'copy,' PLATE LXVI, 3-4, bears, as usual, a bit of drapery (i. e., a portion of the lion's skin) over his right thigh. In all fairness to Dr. Macdonald, however, it must be admitted that the Heracles of PLATE LXVI, 5, does indeed appear to be quite nude. An impartial observer could therefore suggest that this latter piece *might* have been copied from PLATE LXI, 2-3. But that does not greatly affect the thesis submitted here.

⁸⁹ Dr. Macdonald is certainly correct in recognizing here "a conveniently rounded stone" and not a tub or cauldron, i. e., the *Kessel* of Ottfried Müller (*Denkmaeler der alten Kunst*, i, No. 236), or the *cuve* of Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*, p. lxi) and Six (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. XVIII, 1898, p. 233).

of the reverse is well designed and excellently modelled, being one of the best to be found in the entire series of Seleucid coins marked by this particular type. He is here seated upon an obvious and realistically formed rock. The previously used crest of Phocaea, the GRIFFIN HEAD, is here replaced by the city's other *parasemon*, the SEAL (Greek *φάση*). The animal (the *type parlante* of Phocaea), placed immediately beneath the feet of Heracles, is marvellously well rendered for an object on so small a scale. The artist has known how best to bring out the sleek, wet, 'slithery' form, so characteristic of the animal as it lies basking in the sun upon some exposed rock off shore. Its flippers and tail are particularly well rendered.

In addition to the symbol, three magistrates' monograms also appear on the coin. In the outer right field, close to the second *sigma* of the royal title, are traces of the monogram Φ , which likewise marks the contemporary Heracles issues of Cyeme and Myrina. This monogram is obviously composed of the letters *phi* and *omega*, the initial letters of Phocaea's name, and was sometimes employed as the city's alternate badge on many of its coin issues.⁹⁰

ANTIOCHUS II OR HIERAX ?

1509. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, seated to l. on *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In the exergue, SEAL (?) to l.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 28, No. 2, Pl. lxxv, 4), gr. 16.85. PLATE LXVI, 7.

Very tentatively to be assigned to Phocaea is this unique tetradrachm preserved in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. The curious, fish-like symbol in the exergue may perhaps be recognized as a bungling attempt at a seal. In general form and character, the symbol has many analogies to the 'seal' engraved on a late Alexandrine tetradrachm⁹¹ pictured on PLATE LXXXV, A, whose assignment to Phocaea seems assured. In any case, that No. 1509 represents an issue of western Asia Minor is indicated by its style and fabric.

Sir George Macdonald has suggested⁹² the attribution of this coin to Hierax on iconographic grounds. So late a period is supported by the light bevelling of the edge noticeable on the obverse. The features of the portrait are not unlike those of the young head appearing on coins of Alexandria Troas (here PLATES LXXIV, 7, 12 and LXXV, 1), which have on plausible grounds been given to Hierax by Dr. Macdonald.⁹³ Yet the head is also not unlike the one to be seen on a tetradrachm of Aegae, PLATE LXVI, 14, whose possible assignment to Hierax is rendered

⁹⁰ Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Ionis*, Pl. xxiii, 8, and Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, No. 989.

⁹¹ Cf. also Müller, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 983-4.

⁹² *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Vol. III, p. 28, footnote.

⁹³ *Jour. Hell. Studées*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, p. 114.

doubtful by historical considerations.⁸⁴ Such considerations need not apply to Phocaea in so strong a degree, for that mint may not necessarily have ceased coining for Seleucid kings until the victorious advance of Attalus I *circa* 228 B. C.⁸⁵ A criticism, which Dr. Macdonald himself mentions,⁸⁶ but does not stress, against considering this a coin of Hierax is the presence of a circle of dots on the obverse. This form of ornamentation became extremely rare, or even entirely lacking,⁸⁷ on the Seleucid issues for Asia Minor in the time of Hierax. Its presence here may well be decisive. The coin seems almost certainly to represent a late issue of Antiochus II, but bearing a youthful head of little or no iconographic value, like so many other contemporary issues of this very reign.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ See below, p. 310.

⁸⁵ Beloch IV², 1, p. 682.

⁸⁶ The reference will be found in Note 92.

⁸⁷ Macdonald, *Jour. Hell. Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, pp. 114 f.

⁸⁸ See below, pp. 310, 313, 315, 336.

CHAPTER IX

AEOLIS AND MYSIA

A: AEGAE

Dr. Ernst Meyer¹ has given excellent reasons, following Strabo XIII, 4, 1 f., for believing that the Pergamene kingdom under Philetaerus was not as extensive as scholars had formerly assumed. He questions² whether the territory of Aegae in particular was under the jurisdiction of Philetaerus before his death. Meyer leaves the whole matter open to debate, and on the accompanying map (*Blatt 3*), showing the three main stages in the growth of the Pergamene kingdom, places a question mark to designate his doubts as to whether or not the district embracing Aegae and Temnus really formed a portion of Philetaerus' domains. In thus so hesitatingly assigning the territory of Aegae to the possessions of Philetaerus himself, Meyer was undoubtedly well advised. Numismatic evidence proves that this particular district (and especially the city of Aegae itself) could not possibly have been ruled by Philetaerus, and probably did not actually become Pergamene until well into the reign of his successor Eumenes I, 263–241 B. C. In fact, it is to be doubted that it was acquired before the general peace of 252 B. C.,³ a peace that put an end to the Second Syrian War. The proof for this resides in the fact that a number of Seleucid coins have now become known whose assignment to Aegae for at least the early portion of the reign of Antiochus II is beyond dispute. Therefore, Aegae must still have remained Seleucid for some time after the beginning of the latter's reign, even though situated on the very borders of the young and aggressive Pergamene state. The inscription "Ὅροι Περγαμηνῶν, chiselled into the rocky surface of the Promontory of Hydra (now Ütsh-Köse-burnu) and proclaiming that all the land to the north was Pergamene territory, could not have been placed there much, if at all, before the peace which finally assured to Eumenes I jurisdiction over the country north of the Hermus Valley and the Hyrcanian Plain.⁴

¹ *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, pp. 94–7.

² He calls attention, *loc. cit.*, pp. 95–6, to what he himself designates as a possible though feeble proof of rule over Aegae by Philetaerus offered by a 'coin of Philetaerus' found by Buresch in a fortress which guarded the southern borders of Aegae territory toward the Hyrcanian Plain. But a glance at Buresch's statement (Karl Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, Leipzig 1898, p. 190) reveals the significant fact that he only secured this coin (by purchase ?) at the foot of the hill on which the castle stood; and, further, he describes the coin merely as a 'copper piece of Philetaerus' (*Kupfermünze des Philetairos*). Such evidence is quite worthless as proof that Philetaerus himself ever ruled over the territory of Aegae. It is well known that royal Pergamene copper coins bearing the name ΦΙΛΑΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ were coined more or less continuously throughout the dynasty's existence. Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, p. 38, assigns only two of the many known reverse types to the period of Philetaerus and down to the close of the third century B. C. As Buresch fails to describe his coin more closely, it may well have been of even a later issue.

³ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 101.

The first coin described below is still of somewhat doubtful origin, even though it is tied by an identical obverse die to succeeding and certain issues of Aegae.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

SERIES I

1510. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

BAΣIAEQE on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Heracles seated to l. upon rock on which he rests his l. hand. His extended r. rests upon his club. In outer l. field, CANTHARUS. In the exergue, ΠΑ.

α) Leningrad (*Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. XIII, 1911, No. 145), gr. 16.87; β) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 10, Pl. v, 6; Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, p. 152, No. 12, Pl. xiv, 5), gr. 17.07. PLATE LXVI, 8.

This piece was assigned by Sir George Macdonald to Myrina, in the apparent belief that the symbol depicted in the outer left field was the amphora which so commonly marks the autonomous coins of that mint. Close inspection, however, reveals the fact that the vessel on our coin is not the Myrinaean *amphora* (V) but definitely a *cantharus* (V). This alone would be sufficient to raise a question as to the acceptability of Dr. Macdonald's attribution. But, in addition, our coin is struck from the same obverse die as the first of the following coins which must be assigned to Aegae because of the GOAT'S HEAD symbol which they all bear. No. 1510 is furthermore distinguished from the Heracles issues of Myrina not only by its very divergent style but especially by its possession of a distinctly indicated exergual line. In that detail it is similar to the Heracles tetradrachms of Magnesia ad Sipylum (PLATE LXI, 1-3), as well as to the following issues of Aegae.

SERIES II

1511. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1510.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In inner l. field, GOAT'S HEAD to l. In the exergue, ΠΑ ΠΑ.

Paris (Babelon, No. 194, Pl. vi, 2), gr. 17.15. PLATE LXVI, 9.

1512. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but the features are somewhat divergent in character.

Similar. In inner l. field, GOAT'S HEAD to l. In the exergue, ΠΑ ΔΑ.

Paris (Babelon, No. 195), gr. 17.10. PLATE LXVI, 10.

1513. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but the features slightly younger in appearance.

Similar. In inner l. field, GOAT'S HEAD to l. In the exergue, ∇ Δ .

Paris (Babelon, No. 196), gr. 17.05. PLATE LXVI, 11.

1514. TETRADRACHM.

Similar; same die recut (?).

Similar. In upper, inner l. field, GOAT'S HEAD to r. In the exergue, ∇ Δ .

α) Newell (Ciani's Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 16.45; β) Vienna. PLATE LXVI, 12.

SERIES III

1515. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathcal{E} above GOAT'S HEAD to l., above Λ .

American Numismatic Society, \uparrow , gr. 16.52. PLATE LXVI, 13.

1516. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head (of Antiochus II ?) to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. In inner l. field, Λ above GOAT'S HEAD to l. above ∇ .

Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge* I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 361), \uparrow , gr. 15.87. PLATE LXVI, 14.

Every coin of this group bears conspicuously in its field the symbol of a GOAT'S HEAD, the well-known *parasemon* of the city of Aegae in Aeolis, and appearing on its autonomous coins⁵ as the city's *type parlante*. Style and fabric of Nos. 1511-16 point unmistakably to western Asia Minor, while the constant presence of the GOAT'S HEAD symbol clearly indicates that Aegae must have been their mint.

The fact that No. 1510 is from the same obverse die as No. 1511, ties up the former coin with the issues of Aegae. The CANTHARUS symbol which it bears, however, seems to have little discoverable connection with Aegae, on whose coin issues it had never previously appeared, either as a type or as a symbol. Nor in the whole range of Aegae issues does Dionysus or any of his *thiasus* occur. There is, however, a well-known city, Temnus, situated but a few miles to the south-west of Aegae and ever closely connected⁶ with her by ties of friendship and common interests. As pointed out by Wroth,⁷ the coin types of Temnus were principally Dionysiac in character. It is conceivable, therefore, either that No. 1510 was coined at Temnus itself and that its obverse die was later transferred to the near-by Aegae, or the coin was issued at the latter mint for the account of its good neighbor, Temnus. The second alternative is probably the true solution of the matter, seeing that the only monogram (∇) found on No. 1510 recurs again on No. 1511 whose GOAT'S HEAD symbol indicates that it was certainly coined at Aegae.

⁵ Cf. PLATE XLVI, A and Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., Pl. xviii, 1-3.

⁶ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 95 and 101.

⁷ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., p. lix.

For some reason, the issues which continue at Aegae (i. e., Series II) and bear the badge of that city, now no longer employ the Heracles type but adopt, instead, the more orthodox Seleucid type of Apollo seated upon his *omphalos*. Perhaps Aegae, because of her more imminent⁸ danger of absorption by Pergamum, deliberately placed Apollo upon her coinage as more direct evidence of her trust in, and appeal to, the protecting aegis of the Seleucid empire. Cyme and Myrina, because of their situation and wealth, were in a stronger position and could more safely remain members of a semi-independent 'league' perfunctorily acknowledging Seleucid suzerainty.

The portrait borne by Nos. 1510-11, PLATE LXVI, 8-9, evidently belongs to the category of the rejuvenated heads of Antiochus I, so popular in the Asia Minor mints under Antiochus II. While the heads on Nos. 1510-11 bear the unmistakable traits of Antiochus I's true physiognomy, on the succeeding pieces these traits gradually disappear until with PLATE LXVI, 12, all similarity to the first Antiochus has been lost. Like certain more or less contemporary bronze issues of Ecbatana,⁹ we have before us the undistinguished features of a youngish man resembling neither Antiochus I nor Antiochus II. He could, in fact, be almost anyone. But the progressive stages of this degeneration are clearly shown by the three coins illustrated on PLATE LXVI, 10-12. With the first coin (No. 1515, PLATE LXVI, 13) of Series III, however, we have before us an obvious attempt to reproduce the likeness of Antiochus II. Here the nose may be a little thinner and more pointed than usual, but the general contours of the head, his high cheekbone and the characteristically rounded line of the jaw are unmistakable. In other words, we have for Aegae, as we have for Sardes and Magnesia on the Maeander,¹⁰ first a long coinage of Antiochus II bearing the portrait (frequently somewhat idealized) of the deceased Antiochus I, followed by a shorter coinage now finally marked by the appearance of his own portrait. At Sardes and Magnesia on the Maeander, this change seems not to have occurred until just before the close of Antiochus II's reign. It would be logical to assume the same to be true at Aegae. But if that be true, then we are forced to place the acquisition of Aegae by Pergamum at a later date than *circa* 252 B. C.,¹¹ perhaps not until the confused period following the departure of Seleucus II for the east in 244 B. C. However, we should hardly care to advocate so late a date on the possibly misleading evidence of a single coin; but future historians of the period should at least bear in mind the apparent indications for a longer Seleucid domination of the city offered by the coinages of Aegae.

No. 1516, PLATE LXVI, 14, presents a puzzle. The bevelled edge of its obverse suggests a later date than the reign of Antiochus II. On the other hand, the monogram *A* would seem to connect our coin directly with No. 1515, where that

⁸ As stated above, most scholars have assumed that the territory of Aegae early formed a portion of the Pergamene state. Ernst Meyer seems to have been the first to sound a warning note.

⁹ Cf. E. S. M., Pl. xxxix, 15, 18, 19.

¹⁰ Smyrna is another case in point, although there fewer examples of the Antiochus I type appear to have survived.

¹¹ Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 99.

same monogram also appears. The portrait bears no likeness to that of Antiochus II. It might be considered as the final step in the progressive rejuvenation exhibited by the heads on PLATE LXVI, 10-12. Again, it might also be but another rendering of the youthful head seen on PLATE LXVI, 7, which has, very tentatively, been assigned to Hierax, following Dr. Macdonald's suggestion. But did the Seleucid kingdom still manage to retain its hold on Aegae as late as the reign of Hierax? As negative evidence against this view, may be adduced the fact that no coins of Seleucus II have yet been published which could be attributed to Aegae. How weak such negative evidence is, particularly for Seleucus II, may be seen in the constant appearance on the coin market of unpublished varieties of that king's prolific coinages. In view of all this, it seems wiser, for the present at least, to ignore the apparent bevelling of the obverse flan and the strangeness of the portrait, and to assume that the coin may indeed have been an issue of Antiochus II, but produced by an artist who possessed no very clear conception of what the true features of Antiochus II really were. In this, our coin finds an exact parallel in the final issues of the neighboring mint of Myrina, PLATE LXVIII, 5-8. There it is as difficult as it is here to conceive of an issue with the portrait of Hierax being possible at so late a date. And this doubt is supported in both cases by the presence of a beaded circle on the obverse, an ornamentation which had all but disappeared from Seleucid coins of western Asia Minor in the time of Hierax.

B: CYME

There remains little that can be added to Sir George Macdonald's lucid description of the Seleucid coinage of Cyme.¹²

ANTIOCHUS I

Circa 262-1 B. C.

1517. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of the elderly Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.
Macdonald, No. 1.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Heracles seated to l. upon rock, on which he rests his l. hand. His r. rests on the club before him. In outer l. field, CVP above ϙ above Π. In the exergue, Φ.

London ("Well-Known Amateur" Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1905, No. 230, Pl. vii = Regling, *Sammlung Warren*, No. 1297, Pl. xxx), ↑, gr. 16.83. PLATE LXVII, 1.

In the light of certain facts which have since become evident concerning the wide-spread practice, prevalent in the early portion of Antiochus II's reign, of still retaining upon his coinages the portrait of his father, it is possible that this coin was

¹² Early Seleucid Portraits, *Jour. Hell. Studies*, Vol. XXVII, 1907, pp. 145 ff.

not actually an issue of Antiochus I, whose portrait it bears. But there is reason to believe that the corresponding coinages of Phocaea¹³ and Magnesia ad Sipylum¹⁴ commenced to appear at the end of the reign, and before the actual death of Antiochus I. No. 1517 may therefore have been struck not later than 261 B. C., although absolute certainty in the matter may not yet be attainable. The entire coinage which is marked by the seated Heracles type appears to have been more or less intimately connected, at least in its inception, with the war between Eumenes I and Antiochus I. The death of Philetaerus and the accession of Eumenes in 263 B. C., the ensuing war with the Seleucid empire and the battle before Sardes in 262-261 B. C., followed by the death of Antiochus himself in the latter year, afford a rather brief space for the formation of the protective (so-called Phocaean) league of Phocaea and the Aeolic cities, as well as for the adoption of a uniform tetradrachm coinage bearing the portrait of Antiochus I on the obverse and the seated Heracles on the reverse. Yet all this could conceivably have been accomplished and coining begun at the headquarters of the 'league,' Phocaea, and at its nearest neighbor, Cyme. The issues of Magnesia ad Sipylum seem to have appeared before 261 B. C., although the actual membership of that city in the 'League' is open to question. Judging by the type of portraiture on the initial issues of Temnus-Aegae and of Myrina, one would hesitate to place them previous to the accession of Antiochus II.

As Dr. Macdonald has so clearly seen and explained, the CUP which appears as a symbol on No. 1517 and the immediately following varieties, must indicate the mint of Cyme.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

1518. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r., with youthful features. Circle of dots. Macdonald, No. 10.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Heracles seated to l. upon rock on which he rests his l. hand. His outstretched r. rests upon his club. In outer l. field, CUP above Π. In the exergue, Φ.

α) Newell (Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 572, Pl. xvii = Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV Nov. 1909, No. 2874, Pl. xxxii = Naville Sale XVI, July 1933, No. 1448, Pl. 48), ↑, gr. 17.13. PLATE LXVII, 2; β) Berlin (Prokesh-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.01. PLATE LXVII, 3. α and β are from the same pair of dies.

1519. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1518. Macdonald, No. 9.

Similar. In outer l. field, CUP. Beneath the king's name, Μ. In the exergue, Φ Φ.

Copenhagen, gr. 16.99. PLATE LXVII, 4.

¹³ Nos. 1501-4.

¹⁴ No. 1456.

1520. TETRADRACHM.

Similar youthful head of Antiochus I to r.
Circle of dots.

Macdonald, No. 8.

Similar. In outer l. field, CUP. Beneath king's name, \mathcal{R} . In the exergue, Φ \mathcal{P} .

α) Berlin¹⁵ (Löbbecke Coll. = Bunbury, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, Pl. iv, 4 = Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 455), gr. 16.85; β) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), gr. 17.045. PLATE LXVII, 5.

α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1521. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r.

Macdonald, No. 7.

Similar. In outer l. field, CUP. In the exergue, Φ .

Paris (Babelon, No. 207, Pl. vi, 9 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3278, Pl. cxviii), gr. 17.00. PLATE LXVII, 6.

1522. TETRADRACHM.

Very similar head to r.

Macdonald, No. 6.

Similar. In outer l. field, CUP. Beneath king's name, \mathcal{R} . In the exergue, $\mathcal{E}\mathcal{M}$. Beneath royal title, Φ .

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll., *Monnaies grecques*, p. 426, No. 28 = *Choix*, Pl. vi, 205), gr. 17.02. PLATE LXVII, 7.

1523. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1522.

Macdonald, No. 4.

Similar. In outer l. field, CUP above \dagger (?). Beneath king's name, \mathcal{R} . Beneath royal title, Φ .

London (Gardner, p. 14, No. 8, Pl. v, 5), gr. 16.37. PLATE LXVII, 8.

1524. TETRADRACHM.

Similar youthful head to r. The 'portrait' on δ has now lost all iconographical value.

Macdonald, Nos. 2 and 3.

Similar. Between the feet of Heracles, \mathcal{R} . In the exergue, CUP with \mathcal{M} and Φ . On δ , the Φ is placed beneath the royal title.

α) Berlin, gr. 16.06. PLATE LXVII, 9; β) Newell (Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2944, Pl. lxxxvi), \uparrow , gr. 17.11. PLATE LXVII, 10; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1432, Pl. 50, gr. 17.00; δ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 19, No. 1, Pl. lxiv, 10), gr. 17.00. PLATE LXVII, 11.

α , β , and γ are from a single obverse die; α and β are from a single reverse die.

The arrangement of these varieties has been placed in an inverse order to that proposed by Dr. Macdonald. The opening issue of the series (No. 1518, PLATE LXVII, 2) is closely connected with No. 1517 of Antiochus I by the monogram which appears as \mathcal{M} on No. 1517 and as \mathcal{M} on No. 1518. These monograms evidently represent but a single person, and readily resolve themselves into the same name, i. e., Τίμαρ(χ)ς . Nos. 1517 through 1523 are innocent of any exergual line

¹⁵ This coin was not among the casts sent from Berlin, and so may be no longer in that collection, although in 1907 it was still so placed by Dr. Macdonald.

on their reverses, until on the final issue, No. 1524, PLATE LXVII, 9-11, the base of the rocky seat has suddenly been extended in a thin, stony line to the left, in order to support the feet of Heracles. On this final variety, too, the CUP symbol is placed in the exergue, while on all of the preceding it is always in the outer left field. Finally, and this is perhaps the most important criterion, the rugged, life-like portrait of the elderly Antiochus I on No. 1517 has descended through the various stages of rejuvenation and idealization until it ends on No. 1524, PLATE LXVII, 11, in the head of a young man who has now lost all real resemblance to the first Antiochus. Granting, as does Dr. Macdonald, that No. 1517 must be the initial coinage, then only by the arrangement here proposed do we secure any logical and normal sequence for the Heracles issues of Cyme.

The monogram Φ appearing on these coins, as well as on similar ones of Myrina and Phocaea,¹⁸ has at first sight been acceptably explained by Dr. Macdonald¹⁷ as representing "the first two letters of $\Phi\omega\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\nu$." He supports his contention by calling attention to the presence of a similar monogram¹⁸ "on Alexandrine tetradrachms¹⁹ of the city as a mint-mark, both alone and in company with a seal." Finally he equates our monogram with a reverse type found on third century autonomous bronze coins of Phocaea.²⁰ On these latter, there can be no doubt but that the monogram must represent the first two letters of the city's name. But the actual monogram on these particular coins always presents the form Φ , while on our Heracles tetradrachms the form is invariably Φ .²¹ The difference is slight and so may be without meaning. It is curious, however, that the particular form Φ also occurs on an autonomous bronze coin of Cyme itself, PLATE LXVII, B, where by analogy with similar pieces²² it should only represent a magistrate's monogram. Hence, the connection between the Φ on our Cyme Heracles tetradrachms on the one hand, and with the city of Phocaea on the other, becomes open to very considerable doubt. Another explanation is perhaps called for, although Dr. Macdonald's thesis is plausible and, for the time being at least, is here accepted. Otherwise, the presence of both Φ or Φ on similar coins of Myrina and Phocaea appears anomalous. Perhaps the presence of Φ or Φ equally on the Heracles coins of Phocaea, Cyme, and Myrina should be recognized as an indication that a single magistrate (a 'League' official of some sort ?) supervised or guaranteed the entire issue. Such might also be the explanation of the monogram Λ which occurs on some of the Heracles tetradrachms of both Cyme²³ and Phocaea,²⁴ as well as on certain of the Apollo tetradrachms of Aegae.²⁵

¹⁸ Cf. No. 1508, PLATE LXVI, 6.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁸ Though here it almost invariably presents the form Φ .

¹⁹ Müller, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 983 and 989.

²⁰ Cf. PLATE LXVII, A, and Brit. Mus. Cat., *Ionia*, Pl. xxiii, 8.

²¹ At Myrina, with the exception of No. 1525, the form Φ is also used.

²² Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., pp. 108-9, Nos. 40-52.

²³ Nos. 1520 and 1522-4.

²⁴ Nos. 1506-7.

²⁵ Nos. 1515-6. If this suggestion is accepted, then we have proof that these particular pieces, especially No. 1516, were coined under Antiochus II, and not under Hierax.

C: MYRINA

As for Cyme, so also for Myrina, there is little to add to what Sir George Macdonald has been able to establish with regard to the city's issues under Seleucid suzerainty.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

1525. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, youthful head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.
Macdonald, No. 11.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Heracles seated to l. upon rock, on which he rests his l. hand. His extended r. rests upon his club. In outer l. field, AMPHORA. Beneath royal title, φ.

α) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 363, ↑, gr. 17.01; β) Newell (Rousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4439, Pl. iv. = Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, p. 150, No. 5, Pl. xiii, 10. Dr. Macdonald here erroneously assigns this coin to Cyme, mistaking the poorly struck AMPHORA for the CUP of Cyme), γ, gr. 16.91. PLATE LXVIII, 1; γ) Hirsch Sale XII, Nov. 1904, No. 260, Pl. vii; δ) London (Gardner, p. 15, No. 9 = Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xiv, 4), gr. 16.74; ε) Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2943, Pl. lxxxvi (= Hirsch Sale XII, Nov. 1904, No. 259, Pl. vii), gr. 17.03; ς) Munich (= Hirsch Sale XXXI, May 1912, No. 484, Pl. xiii), gr. 17.21. PLATE LXVIII, 2.

α and β are from one pair of dies; γ, δ, ε, and ς are from another obverse die, while γ, ε, and ς are from another reverse die.

1526. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus I to r., not unlike the type of Aegae, PLATE LXVI, 10. Circle of dots.
Macdonald, Nos. 13 and 14.

Similar. In outer r. field, AMPHORA. In the exergue, φ and ARROW-HEAD.

α) Vienna; β) Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 648, Pl. xvii, gr. 17.02; γ) Petrowicz Coll., Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 902, Pl. 31 (= Bunbury, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, Pl. iv, 5 = Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 456), gr. 17.12. PLATE LXVIII, 3; δ) Cambridge (Leake Coll. = Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xiv, 6); ε) Jameson Coll., No. 1673, Pl. lxxxiii, gr. 16.99. PLATE LXVIII, 4.

α-ε are from a single obverse die; α-γ are from one reverse die, δ-ε are from another.

1527. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful diademed head (Antiochus II ?) to r. Circle of dots.
Macdonald, Nos. 15, 16, 17 and 18.

Similar, and with the same symbols and monogram.

α) London (Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xiv, 7); β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.395. PLATE LXVIII, 5; γ) Prochowsky Coll., Hellerup (= Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 416, Pl. 13), gr. 16.28; δ) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9253, Pl. 336, 1), ↑, gr. 17.11. PLATE LXVIII, 6; ε) Berlin, gr. 17.05. PLATE LXVIII, 7; ς) Berlin (Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xiv, 9); ζ) Paris (Babelon, No. 208), gr. 17.10. PLATE LXVIII, 8.
α and β are from one obverse die; γ-ζ are from another. β-ε are from one reverse die; ς-ζ are from another, while α is from yet a third.

As stated before, it has been found necessary²⁶ to remove Dr. Macdonald's No. 12 (our No. 1510, PLATE LXVI, 8) from the group which he proposed to assign to Myrina. The order of his remaining varieties, namely Nos. 11 and 13-18, has not been altered, except that the seven varieties which he lists have, for convenience' sake, been reduced to three—our Nos. 1525-7, PLATE LXVIII, 1-8. All of these pieces bear the symbol AMPHORA, the characteristic city-badge found on the autonomous coinages of Myrina.²⁷ In addition, Nos. 1526-7 display in their exergues an ARROW-HEAD symbol of rather special form, which Dr. Macdonald has shown²⁸ serves also to mark an autonomous silver issue of Myrina dating from this period.

No. 1525, PLATE LXVIII, 1-2, appears to have introduced the Myrina tetradrachms of the Heracles type. The portrait it bears on the obverse seems to have been copied from the issues of Cyme, PLATE LXVII, 7-10, or the dies may have been prepared by the same engraver. Nos. 1526-7, PLATE LXVIII, 3-8, are actually the same variety, but distinguished by noticeable deviation in their several portraits. While that of No. 1526 still represents an elderly man (doubtless intended for Antiochus I), the head on No. 1527 is quite youthful in appearance. It no longer bears even the slightest resemblance to the characteristic features of the first Antiochus. Neither does our head in any way suggest the accepted likeness of Antiochus II. By the time of Hierax, Myrina, because of its position, must almost certainly have become a dependency of Pergamum, and so not in a position to strike coins bearing the portraits of Seleucid sovereigns. The head cannot therefore be a portrait of Hierax, and we shall either have to follow Dr. Macdonald²⁹ in supposing it to be a poor copy of the elderly head found on its immediate predecessor, PLATE LXVIII, 3-4, or assume that the die-cutter produced it in the mistaken belief that it represented the likeness of the ruling king, Antiochus II. By accepting the latter conclusion we may state, with considerable assurance, that the very similar, youthful heads found on PLATE LXVI, 7 and 14 should not be assigned to Hierax but claimed as 'idealized portraits' of Antiochus II.

The Seleucid coins of Aegae, Cyme and Myrina which have here been studied, show conclusively³⁰ that these cities continued for a considerable time after the accession of Antiochus II to acknowledge his suzerainty and to maintain their independence of Pergamene domination. As the Heracles coins of Cyme and Myrina, together with the Apollo coins of Aegae, run in general along similar lines—presenting us with acceptable but rejuvenated portraits of Antiochus I,³¹ followed by a youthful head of doubtful identity³²—it may fairly be concluded that the Aeolic

²⁶ Because of the hitherto unsuspected identity of its obverse die with a certain issue certainly of Aegae (our No. 1511), and because the symbol CANTHARUS, which its reverse die bears, has nothing to do with the AMPHORA symbol of Myrina.

²⁷ PLATE LXVIII, A, and Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., Pl. xxvii.

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 154.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 155.

³⁰ As so clearly recognized by Dr. Macdonald for Cyme and Myrina—and accepted by Ernst Meyer.

³¹ Compare Aegae, PLATE LXVI, 8-10, with Cyme, PLATE LXVII, 2-10, with Myrina, PLATE LXVIII, 1-4.

³² Compare Aegae, PLATE LXVI, 14, with Cyme, PLATE LXVII, 11, with Myrina, PLATE LXVIII, 5-8.

district eventually became Pergamene at about the same time.³³ This may have been in 252 B. C., as supposed by Meyer, or it may not have been until about the time of Antiochus II's death. The fact that we possess no coins of Seleucus II for any of these mints is notable.

D: PERGAMUM

The coinage produced at the mint of Pergamum under Seleucid suzerainty has been elsewhere³⁴ studied and discussed in detail. Here, it will suffice to list the known varieties which pertain directly to the Seleucid coinage as a whole, accompanied by a few explanatory remarks. For all details and discussions, the reader is referred to the afore-mentioned monograph.

SELEUCUS I

SUZERAIN OF PERGAMUM, 281-280 B. C.

1528. TETRADRACHM.

Horned and bridled horse's head to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ below elephant to r. In upper field, BEE. In exergue, ANCHOR.

α) Newell, ♀, gr. 16.74. PLATE LXVIII, 9; β) Berlin (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, Vol. XXI, 1898, Pl. vi, 6), ↑, gr. 16.59.

1529. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but the upper symbol is a STAR.

Paris (Babelon, No. 55, Pl. ii, 9 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3265, Pl. cxviii), ♀, gr. 16.75. PLATE LXVIII, 10.

The decisive battle of Corupedium, 281 B. C., gave to Seleucus the hegemony over Asia Minor. Philetaerus, governor of the powerful fortress of Pergamum and guardian of the vast treasures stored there by Lysimachus, had shortly before repudiated the latter's tyrannic rule and had been among the first to invite Seleucus to invade the territories of Lysimachus and to assume dominion over them. He acknowledged the suzerainty of Seleucus on the understanding that he himself should retain the governorship of Pergamum and possession of the treasure there deposited.

Immediately following the triumph of Seleucus, the preceding tetradrachms were issued in the name of the new master of Asia Minor and with types obviously

³³ It must be remembered that, geographically speaking, Cyme was actually outside the "Ὁροὶ Περγαμῶν" boundary inscription mentioned above. If the Seleucid suzerainty over this city ceased at the same time as it did for her sister cities (as our coins would seem to indicate), then Cyme either had secured for a time her freedom from all royal domination, or she must be thought of as a sort of Pergamene *enclave* in what was still Seleucid territory.

³⁴ *The Pergamene Mint under Philetaerus*, Num. Notes & Monographs No. 76, 1936.

commemorating the great victory. While the types and the royal name are typically Seleucid, the style, fabric, and magistrates' symbols are just as definitely Pergamene. In these particulars they represent the direct continuation of the immediately preceding Pergamene issues brought out in the name and with the types of Lysimachus. The new coinage was of but short duration, since within a few months' time (early in 280 B. C.) Seleucus had been treacherously assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus. Great changes were brought about by that act, and the affairs of Asia Minor were plunged into immediate confusion.

In the short but uncertain period that ensued, Philetaerus issued the following non-committal coin, bearing the divine name and wide-spread types of Alexander the Great.

Circa 280 B. C.

1530. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on l. Zeus seated to l. on high-backed throne. He holds an eagle in his outstretched r. and rests l. upon a sceptre. In inner l. field, BUST OF ARTEMIS. Beneath throne, CRESCENT.

Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.03. PLATE LXVIII, 11.

Eventually Seleucus' son, Antiochus I, doubtless greatly assisted by the loyal attitude and powerful aid of Philetaerus, mastered the most imminent dangers which had confronted him on his accession. The following prolific coinage succeeded that of No. 1530.

Circa 279-274 B. C.

1531. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., as on No. 1530.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Zeus seated to l. as on No. 1530. In inner l. field, HELMETED HEAD OF ATHENA to r. Beneath throne, STAR.

α) Berlin (Morel Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.97. PLATE LXVIII, 12; β) Vienna, gr. 16.95. PLATE LXIX, 1; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. Cf. *Num. Notes & Mon.*, No. 76, Pl. iv, 1), γ, gr. 16.935; δ) Milan, ↑.

1532. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but with CRESCENT beneath throne.

α) Whitehead Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1898, No. 15, Pl. i. PLATE LXIX, 2; β) London (Gardner, p. 2, No. 12), gr. 16.83; γ) London (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Mysia*, p. 113, No. 26, Pl. xxiii, 11 = Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 758, Pl. 26 = Sir Herman Weber Coll., Vol. III, Part 2, No. 7830, Pl. 285 = Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 427), gr. 16.81; δ) Basel Sale 4, Oct. 1935, No. 863, Pl. 30, gr. 16.86; ε) Paris (Babelon, No. 11, Pl. i, 7), gr. 17.05; ρ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll. Cf. *Num. Notes & Mon.*, No. 76, Pl. v, 1), γ, gr. 17.085; ζ) Hess Sale, Jan. 1926, No. 318, Pl. v), gr. 16.65; η) Prowe Coll., Egger Sale XLVI, May 1914, No. 2437, Pl. xxxix, gr. 16.65; θ) Brussels (Dies V-15a), gr. 17.015.

PLATE LXIX, 3; *λ*) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1417, Pl. 50, gr. 16.90; *κ*) Newell (Philipsen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2853. Cf. *Num. Notes & Mon.*, No. 76, Pl. v, 2), *↑*, gr. 15.90; *λ*) Basel Sale 10, March 1938, No. 366, Pl. xv (Dies VIII-16a), gr. 16.49; *μ*) Cambridge (McClellan Coll., Vol. III, No. 9238, Pl. 335.3 = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 688), *↑*, gr. 17.07; *ν*) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 757, Pl. 26, gr. 16.93; *ξ*) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1389, Pl. 48, gr. 16.86; *ο*) Hirsch Sale XII, Nov. 1904, No. 125, Pl. iii.

1533. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but the HELMETED HEAD OF ATHENA faces to the *left*, and beneath the throne are *two* CRESCENTS.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), *↑*, gr. 16.97. PLATE LXIX, 4.

1534. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but symbol faces to the *right*.

α) Ratto Sale, May 1912, No. 1073, Pl. xx, gr. 16.44; *β*) Munich, *κ*), gr. 16.48. PLATE LXIX, 5.

1535. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, except that there is no back to the throne and beneath it is the symbol, OVAL.

α) Copenhagen, gr. 16.56; *β*) Newell, *κ*), gr. 16.90. PLATE LXIX, 6.

The coinage still bears the well-known types of Alexander the Great, but now the name of Philetaerus' erstwhile patron and suzerain, Seleucus, replaces that of Alexander. By this coinage, Philetaerus again openly acknowledged Seleucid overlordship. Similar issues, bearing Alexandrine types coupled with the name of the deceased Seleucus, continued for many years to appear at the mints of Susa³⁵ and of Laodicea.³⁶ At those mints, however, the reasons for continuing an anachronistic coinage so long were probably commercial rather than political. At Pergamum, perhaps political considerations outweighed the commercial. The symbol, HELMETED HEAD OF ATHENA, which appears in the field of Nos. 1531-5, doubtless honors the great patron goddess of Pergamum.

The final issues³⁷ of Philetaerus were of a more independent character. On their obverses, we find a life-like portrait of the divine Seleucus, his head encircled by a hero's *taenia*. The reverses are now distinguished by the name of Philetaerus himself, accompanied by a beautiful representation of Athena, patron goddess of Pergamum and protectress of the Attalid dynasty. The coins are thus no longer strictly Seleucid and a description of the known varieties is therefore not included in our catalogue. For comparison, however, two varieties will be found illustrated on PLATE LXIX, 7-8.

³⁵ E. S. M., pp. 126-137.

³⁶ W. S. M., pp. 180-7.

³⁷ *Num. Notes and Monogr.*, No. 76, pp. 23-33, Pls. vii-x.

CHAPTER X

THE HELLESPONTINE DISTRICT

A: LAMPSACUS

The most important mint of Lysimachus in north-western Asia Minor had been located at the large and flourishing city of Lampsacus, situated in a commanding position on the Hellespont and at one of the principal crossing points between Europe and Asia. In establishing his own mint here, Lysimachus had but continued an institution which had been in active operation throughout the fifth and fourth centuries B. C.¹ By the decisive battle of Corupedium, Lampsacus and its surrounding territory came under the jurisdiction of Seleucus.

For commercial and military purposes, there is every reason to expect a continuation of coin issues from Lampsacus under the new régime, although there might not have been quite the same incentive for the Seleucids to maintain here so large and active a mint as Lysimachus had found necessary. The city was commercially and strategically important, but so long as the opposite Thracian shores were not in Seleucid hands Lampsacus remained in a somewhat exposed position. We possess at present no coins, either of Seleucus I or of Antiochus I, which could with any plausibility be assigned to Lampsacus.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

SERIES I

1536. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, youthful head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots. This ornament *may* be absent on the die used for δ .

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, ΙΞ. In the exergue, Σ.

α) Commerce, κ , gr. 16.46; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 21, No. 11), gr. 16.87;

γ) Newell (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), κ , gr. 16.91. PLATE LXIX, 9; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 199, Pl. vi, 3), gr. 17.00. PLATE LXIX, 10.

α - γ are from one pair of dies; δ is from another pair.

¹ Cf. Agnes Baldwin (Brett), *The Electrum Coinage of Lampsakos*, New York, 1914; *Lampsakos: The Gold Staters, Silver and Bronze Coinages*, New York, 1924, *passim*.

1537. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1536 δ .

Similar. In outer l. field, $\text{I}\Sigma$. In the exergue, $\text{B}\Gamma$.

α) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 16.64; β) Newell (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), \uparrow , gr. 16.66. PLATE LXIX, 11.

α and β are from the same pair of dies.

1538. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but with circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, Σ ($\text{I}\Sigma$?). In the exergue, $\text{I}\Gamma$.

Yakountchikoff Coll. (*Unpublished Coins*, St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 38, No. 97, Pl. viii), gr. 16.97. PLATE LXIX, 12.

SERIES II

1539. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r.

Similar. In inner l. field, $\text{I}\Sigma$.

Newell (Ciani's Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 16.55. PLATE LXX, 1.

1540. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r.

Similar. In inner l. field, $\text{I}\Sigma$. In the exergue, $\Sigma\Omega$ A.

London, \uparrow , gr. 16.98. PLATE LXX, 2.

The coins of Series I and II are linked together by a general similarity of fabric, and by the presence of the magistrates' letters $\text{I}\Sigma$. On all coins, except only No. 1539, Apollo is represented as entirely nude, although there is some drapery placed over the *omphalos*. The attribution to Lampsacus is tentative, but is based on the assignment to that mint of the succeeding tetradrachms, Nos. 1541-54. The style and fabric of our coins is that customary for north-western Asia Minor, and certain examples of Nos. 1536-7 came from a hoard² which, because of its contents³ and such records as we possess, must necessarily have been found somewhere in the territory of ancient Bithynia, Troas or Mysia. In all this district, only the important city of Lampsacus would seem to be at our disposal for the attribution of such coins as Nos. 1536-40.

² Noe, No. 82.

³ The hoard turned up in Asia Minor in 1929, was brought to Istanbul and thence distributed to the coin market. Dr. Jacob Hirsch secured a considerable portion of the hoard, and such pieces as were not ceded to the present writer were later sold in Naville Sale XV, July 1930, Nos. 493, 612, 915-27, 1063 and 1065. Other specimens reached the numismatic firms of Messrs. Spink and Son, and Wayte Raymond. The hoard comprised late Alexander tetradrachms assigned by Müller to Mytilene, Myrina, Phocaea, Ephesus, Erythrae and Chios, as well as others assigned by Imhoof-Blumer to Pergamum. There were also tetradrachms of Lysimachus (posthumous issues for Cius and Byzantium); Prusias I of Bithynia; Eumenes I, Attalus I and Eumenes II of Pergamum; and Seleucid tetradrachms and drachms (our Nos. 1012 β 1422 γ , 1536 γ , 1537 β , 1542, 1544, 1546 γ , 1548 δ , 1561 δ , 1595 β and 1610) of Antiochus II, Seleucus II and Hierax. With the exception of the two drachms of Seleucus II (No. 1012 β of Antioch and No. 1422 γ of Sardes), all the remaining Seleucid coins are attributable to the Hellespontine district.

The first issues at our city under Antiochus II follow the practice which we have found customary in other mints of Seleucid Asia Minor. They use for the obverse die a very much rejuvenated head of the first Antiochus, PLATE LXIX, 9-12. The obverse and reverse dies are placed either ↑ or ↘, in relation to each other. Series II, Nos. 1539-40, PLATE LXX, 1-2, united to Series I by the continuation in office of the magistrate ΙΣ, followed the practice we have also discovered at other western mints⁴ of finally replacing the head of Antiochus I by that of the reigning sovereign, Antiochus II. The high cheek-bone, the jutting nose with its rounded tip, the smoothly-curving jaw-line of this king's features, are unmistakable. On many of these coins, both in Series I and II, a slight bevelling on the edges of the obverse first becomes visible. In Series II, as in the corresponding issue for Sardes (No. 1406, PLATE LVII, 7-8), we find the earliest instances of Seleucid silver coins without the beaded circle on the obverse.

The break in the sequence of magistrates, and to a much less degree in that of style, between Nos. 1539-40 and Nos. 1541 ff. may correspond to the opening years of the reign of Seleucus II. Of that ruler we possess as yet no coins unquestionably assignable to our mint.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 241-228/7 B. C.

SERIES I

1541. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head, probably of Antiochus II,
to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting
l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in out-
stretched r. In the exergue, TRIPOD.

α) American Numismatic Society, γ, gr. 16.39; β) London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 7), gr. 16.49; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.73. PLATE LXX, 3; δ) The Hague, No. 6921, ↑, gr. 17.20. PLATE LXX, 4.

α-δ are from a single obverse die, showing progressive stages of wear; β and γ are from a single reverse die; α and δ are from two other reverse dies.

1542. TETRADRACHM.

Similar but younger head to r.

Similar. In the exergue, TRIPOD.

Newell (from the N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), ↑, gr. 16.84. PLATE LXX, 5.

1543. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1542.

Similar. In the exergue, TRIPOD and Π.


α) American University, Beyrouth, gr. 16.7; β) Newell (Neville Sale V, June 1923, No. 2794, Pl. bxxvii), ↑, gr. 17.10. PLATE LXX, 6.

α and β are from a single pair of dies.

⁴ Cf. Sardes, Magnesia on the Maeander, Smyrna, Aegae, etc.

1544. TETRADRACHM.

Similar youthful head to r., wearing diadem and wing. Circle of dots.

Similar. In the exergue,  (either a monogram or the top of a badly made tripod).

Newell (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), ↑, gr. 16.75. PLATE LXX, 7.

1545. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding, but the die appears to be in a less worn state.

Similar. In inner l. field, BEE.

Paris (Babelon, No. 284, Pl. viii, 1), gr. 16.85. PLATE LXX, 8.

1546. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head to r., apparently copied from the coins illustrated on PLATE LXV, 9-11. Circle of dots.

Similar. In the exergue, BEE.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 21, No. 8), gr. 16.82; β) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, gr. 16.415; γ) Newell (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), ↑, gr. 16.95. PLATE LXX, 9.

α-γ are from a single pair of dies.

1547. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed youthful head to r., somewhat similar to that on Nos. 1544-5, but without the winged diadem or the circle of dots.

Similar. In the exergue, BEE.

Paris (Babelon, No. 285, Pl. viii, 2), gr. 17.00. PLATE LXX, 10.

1548. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r. This die is the same as the one (No. 1557) which had *previously* been used at Abydus.

Similar. In the exergue, BEE.

α) Naples, No. 8724; β) Newell (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), ↑, gr. 16.98. PLATE LXX, 11.

1549. TETRADRACHM.


Same die as No. 1548.

Similar. In inner l. field, BEE.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.92. PLATE LXX, 12; β) The Hague, No. 6918, ↑, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXI, 1.

1550. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1547.


Similar. In the exergue, .

α) The Hague, No. 6922, ↑, gr. 17.00; β) Berlin, gr. 16.39. PLATE LXXI, 2.
α and β are from the same pair of dies.

SERIES II

1551. TETRADRACHM.


From the same die as Nos. 1542-3.

Similar. In outer l. field, LONG TORCH. In the exergue, FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE to r., and .

Egger Sale XLV, Nov. 1913, No. 655, Pl. xix, gr. 16.88. PLATE LXXI, 3.

1552. TETRADRACHM.

α is from the same die as Nos. 1547 and 1550. β is from the same die as Nos. 1542-3 and 1551, but now slightly retouched.


Similar. In inner l. field, LONG TORCH. In the exergue, FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE to l. and .

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 933, Pl. 33, gr. 17.07. PLATE LXXI, 4; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 15.85. PLATE LXXI, 5.

The reverse die of α is the same as that of No. 1550, here altered by the addition of the two symbols and the recutting of the monogram.

1553. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head to r.


Similar, but of much better workmanship. In inner l. field, LONG TORCH above FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE to l. In the exergue, .

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 197), gr. 17.08; β) London (Gardner, p. 14, No. 1, Pl. v, 1), \uparrow , gr. 17.17. PLATE LXXI, 6; γ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 17.12. PLATE LXXI, 7; δ) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum, ex Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 448), gr. 17.05.

α - δ are from the same obverse die; α and β are from one reverse die; γ and δ are from another.

1554. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1553, but now in a more worn state.

Similar. In inner l. field, LONG TORCH above FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE to l. In the exergue, .

Berlin, gr. 17.03. PLATE LXXI, 8.

The group of coins which have here been assigned to the time of Hierax, form an indivisible whole and certainly represent the issues of a single mint, and doubtless also of a single ruler. Although they have, for convenience' sake, been divided into two series, according to the absence or presence of the mint-mark FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE, they are none the less closely united by the continuation in use of certain obverse and reverse dies. Series I is connected with preceding issues (Nos. 1536-40, PLATES LXIX, 9-12 and LXX, 1-2) by a general similarity of fabric and even of style—although a minor gap does seem to exist between Nos. 1539-40 and 1541 ff., as previously noted. The unity of origin between Nos. 1541 ff. and the preceding group is further emphasized by the fact that no less than four of its examples (Nos. 1542, 1544, 1546 γ , and 1548 β) came from the same north-western Asia Minor Hoard⁵ which also contained the two specimens of Nos. 1536-7.

Returning to the coins now before us, Series I appears to start with an issue of tetradrachms, Nos. 1541-3, PLATE LXX, 3-6, which is marked by the presence in their exergues of the symbol TRIPOD. For their obverses, two dies were employed displaying heads of a somewhat diverse character. The head of PLATE LXX, 3-4, is a more elderly representation of the man who appears on PLATE LXX, 1-2. The same high cheek-bone and the same slightly sunken effect of the cheek are

⁵ Noe, No. 82. See the remarks in the preceding foot-note 3.

evident, while the nose is the same as that on PLATE LXX, 2. But now lines of advancing age are discernible on the forehead, about the mouth, and on the neck. Obviously, we have before us a more elderly portrait of Antiochus II. On the obverse die of PLATE LXX, 5-6, the portrait may still be that of the same individual, but the forms are rounder and smoother, and the head is evidently much more youthful. In it we can see traces of the portrait of Antiochus II, although it was probably *intended* for Hierax by the engraver who, never having seen the latter in the flesh, gives us a very young portrait of his father on the assumption that the son *should* have looked like the parent. In fact, the young head of PLATE LXX, 5-6, does seem to have something in common with the portrait of Hierax which occurs on certain coins of Magnesia ad Sipylum, PLATE LXI, 8-9. Before leaving this die with the younger head, it should be pointed out that we shall meet with it again, re-used for a later coin, No. 1551, of Series II.

Nos. 1544-5, PLATE LXX, 7-8, show a similarly youthful head which embodies very much the same physiognomical details⁶ as do the portraits on PLATE LXX, 5-6. This head, however, is made especially interesting by the presence of a bird's wing, springing from just in front of the ear and rising up over the diadem. Dr. Macdonald has shown⁷ that probably for local reasons the winged diadem early became a feature on the issues of Alexandria Troas and continued to appear there until well into the reign of Antiochus Hierax. But Nos. 1544-5 will not fit among the issues of that city, and the ephemeral presence of the wing at Lampsacus can only have been due to the influence exerted by the prolific coin issues of Alexandria. The wing did not continue in the more northerly mint because there it was probably not supported by local cult considerations such as existed at Alexandria Troas. The die used for Nos. 1544-5 is the only genuine one known for Lampsacus with the winged diadem.⁸ These coins are officially marked in the one case by an uncertain object (upper portion of a TRIPOD or monogram ?) in the exergue of the reverse; in the other case, by the symbol BEE, placed in the field immediately in front of Apollo's left leg. The coins are further connected with the immediately preceding Nos. 1541-3 by a continuation of the style and general character of the reverse dies—as a comparison of PLATE LXX, 3-8, will clearly show.

Under the supervision of the same magistrate, identified by his signet the BEE, further issues were brought out displaying a continued diversity of portraiture on their obverses. This diversity extends also to the placing of the symbol, which at times appears, as before, in the inner field (No. 1549), sometimes in the exergue (Nos. 1546-8). Continuing from Nos. 1544-5 the exceptional use on the obverse

⁶ Sir George Macdonald, *Jour. Hell. Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, p. 111, has claimed this to be a certain portrait of Antiochus II, but, in the present writer's opinion, suggests an impossibly early date by assigning the coin to the years *circa* 266-261 B. C.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

⁸ The forger Becker (cf. G. F. Hill, *Becker, the Counterfeiter*, Part I, Pl. vii, 108) brought out a tetradrachm signed with a bee on the reverse, its obverse copied from a coin similar to our PLATES LXX, 10 and LXXI, 2 and 4, but on the forgery gratuitously provided with a wing on the diadem. Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 927, Pl. 32, is a specimen from these forged dies.

die of the beaded circle, comes a portrait (PLATE LXX, 9) which again suggests an elderly likeness of Antiochus II and is apparently directly copied by a somewhat inferior artist from certain issues of Smyrna, PLATE LXV, 9-11. But now the wing ornament is gone and the BEE symbol is in the exergue. To this issue follows once more a youthful head, PLATE LXX, 10, surely intended for Hierax. With this die, the use of the beaded circle finally disappears at Lampsacus. The die was later employed in the production of Nos. 1550 and 1552 α . Rendering the issue still more curious, comes now the use (PLATES LXX, 11-12, and LXXI, 1) of an obverse die which had already been employed at the neighboring mint of Abydus.⁹ In the present case this die shows very evident signs of wear and tear. Comparing PLATES LXX, 11-12 and LXXI, 1 with PLATE LXXI, 11, we find that in the case of Lampsacus our die exhibits a series of die-breaks behind the head, while another break extends downwards from the chin. These breaks and blemishes are entirely absent from the die when used at Abydus. Series I closes with an issue which continues the use of the obverse die of PLATE LXX, 10 and is marked by the monogram Φ in the exergue of the reverse.

Series II, Nos. 1551-4, PLATE LXXI, 3-8, provides the final and definite proof that not only its own coins but also those of Series I had all been produced by the mint of Lampsacus. In the first place, Series II is intimately tied up with Series I by the re-use of one reverse and two obverse dies. Thus, PLATE LXXI, 3 and 5 were coined from the same obverse die (slightly retouched about the brow, eye, and nose-bridge) as were PLATE LXX, 5-6. PLATE LXXI, 4 uses the same obverse die as PLATES LXX, 10 and LXXI, 2. Its reverse die is still the old reverse die of LXXI, 2, but the monogram Φ had been recut over the former Φ , while the additional symbols LONG TORCH and FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE have been added to the inner field and to the exergue, respectively. This exceptionally close connection between Series I and II proves their origin in a single mint. All of the specimens of Series II display the well-known badge of Lampsacus, the FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE. It is this symbol, rather than the accompanying LONG TORCH,¹⁰ which places our coins at Lampsacus, for the TORCH also appears on certain Seleucid tetradrachms from Abydus (Nos. 1556-8, PLATES LXXI, 10-12 and LXXII, 1-3) and Lysimachia (Nos. 1614-5, PLATE LXXXVIII, 1-2). Hence this characteristic emblem of Lampsacus, the FOREPART OF A WINGED HORSE, placed in the exergues of Nos. 1551-2, PLATE LXXI, 3-5, must be regarded as definitely indicative of that city's mint;¹¹ just as are the more or less contemporary EAGLE

⁹ Cf. PLATE LXXI, 11.

¹⁰ The TORCH cannot be considered here as the real mint-mark, although it had previously appeared on coins of both the Alexander and the Lysimachus types coined at Lampsacus. On those pieces its appearance was only sporadic and obviously partook more of the nature of a private magistrate's symbol rather than of a city badge.

¹¹ Gaebler, *Nomisma*, XII, 1923, pp. 26-7, is in error when he rejects the assignment of Seleucid coins bearing the symbol, FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE, to Lampsacus on the ground that on these coins the symbol varies in form from the normal type, i. e., both wings rise upwards. On the sole coin which he adduces as proof (Gardner, Pl. v, 1 = Macdonald, Pl. ii, 11 = our PLATE LXXI, 6) the symbol is so small and so crowded in between the inscription and the legs of Apollo that its details are not clearly defined. But careful inspection

for Abydus (PLATES LXXI, 10-12 and LXXII, 1-4), FEEDING HORSE for Alexandria (PLATES LXXII-LXXV), RHYTON for Scepsis (PLATE LXXVI, 2), OWL for Sigium (PLATE LXXVI, 10-12), LION'S HEAD for Lysimachia (PLATE LXXVIII, 1-6)—these also placed in the exergues of their respective issues. Nos. 1551-2 must therefore have been coined at Lampsacus; and with them go the closely connected Nos. 1541-50 and 1553-4. On the latter coins, the city's emblem was moved from the exergue to the inner left field, just as we find a similar shift in the case of the RHYTON at Scepsis, Nos. 1593-4, PLATE LXXVI, 1-2. Thus a coinage at Lampsacus under Antiochus II (Nos. 1536-40) and Antiochus Hierax (Nos. 1541-54) clearly indicates that the city must have remained Seleucid until towards the close of the latter's reign.

With Nos. 1551-4, the Seleucid issues of Lampsacus come to an end. It was evidently sometime during the disturbed reign of Hierax that Attalus I of Pergamum took over the protection of the Hellespontine district, including the cities of Lampsacus, Ilium and Alexandria Troas.^{11a} It is probable that the rule of Hierax had lasted here a short time (i. e., a year or two ?) longer than it did over Lydia. Some remaining hold on at least a portion (Lampsacus ?) of the Hellespontine region would seem to be a necessary prerequisite for that final expedition into Thrace, an expedition which ended with the death of Hierax in 226 B. C.^{11b}

B: ABYDUS

Abydus, although a smaller city than Lampsacus, was no less important as a harbor, a strategic outpost on the Hellespont, and a point of crossing from Europe into Asia. Even by the slowly diminishing Seleucid empire, it had to be carefully guarded against possible attack. During periods in which the Seleucid monarch maintained a foothold in Thrace, Abydus became of vital importance to him. Such a time was the reign of Antiochus II when we know¹² he was carrying on military operations across the Hellespont and laying siege to Cypsela. Hence, there is little cause for surprise to find the mint of Abydus actively coining for Antiochus II, and later for his second son, Antiochus Hierax, also known to have campaigned in Thrace.

of all the known specimens of Nos. 1553-4 (our PLATE LXXI, 6-8) demonstrate the fact that only *one* wing actually rises above the body of the horse, the other (as usual on the Lampsacene autonomous issues of the third century B. C.) serves as a termination to the body itself. On Nos. 1551-2, PLATE LXXI, 3-5, the symbol is larger, because placed in the more roomy exergue, and here clearly assumes the form characteristic of the third century autonomous issues of Lampsacus. Compare, for instance, our PLATE LXXI, 3 and 5 with *Nomisma* XII, Pl. II, 36-8, 40-1, representing Lampsacene issues of the third century B. C.

^{11a} Niese II, p. 158; Bevan I, p. 199.

^{11b} Beloch, IV³, I, p. 686 and IV³, 2, p. 204.

¹² Bevan I, p. 176, based on Polyaeus IV, 16.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

1555. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in outstretched r. In upper inner l. field, ☐. In lower inner l. field, EAGLE to l. In the exergue, ✕.

Electrotype in the Newell Coll. (the unpublished original not traced). PLATE LXXI, 9.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 241 B. C. AND LATER

1556. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus Hierax to r. Circle of dots.

Similar, but of slightly later style. In inner l. field, LONG TORCH. In the exergue, EAGLE and ☐.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll.), gr. 16.86; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 287, Pl. viii, 4 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3289, Pl. cxix), gr. 17.05. PLATE LXXI, 10.

α and β are from the same pair of dies.

1557. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r., but of poorer style and without the circle of dots. This die was later used at Lampsacus for Nos. 1548-9.

Similar, but the form of the monogram in the exergue is ☐.

α) Salting Coll. (*Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part I, Pl. viii, No. 41 = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 698, Pl. ix), γ, gr. 17.02; β) London (Gardner, p. 21, No. 14, Pl. vii, 3), gr. 17.00; γ) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7851, Pl. 286 = Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 478, Pl. iv), γ, gr. 17.12. PLATE LXXI, 11.

α-γ are struck from a single pair of dies.

1558. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head to r. On α-δ the head is very similar to that of Nos. 1553-4, PLATE LXXI, 6-8.

Similar, except that ☐ is on the l. and EAGLE on the r. in the exergue.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.10. PLATE LXXI, 12; β) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 449), gr. 16.85. PLATE LXXII, 1; γ) The Hague, No. 6926, ↑, gr. 16.40; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 932, Pl. 33), gr. 17.14. PLATE LXXII, 2; ε) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.655. PLATE LXXII, 3.





α-γ are from a single pair of dies.

1559. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head to r., of higher relief but cruder style. The portrait is similar to that of PLATES LXX, 10 and LXXI, 2, 4.

Similar. In upper, inner l. field, CADUCEUS. In lower inner l. field, ☐. In the exergue, EAGLE.

Newell, γ, gr. 16.91. PLATE LXXII, 4.

Nos. 1555-9, PLATES LXXI, 9-12 and LXXII, 1-4, constitute a compact little group of tetradrachms united by the presence of the symbol EAGLE on all pieces, accompanied on Nos. 1555-8 by a peculiar monogram made up of identical elements, the whole varying but slightly in form: , , , . The EAGLE is the well-known badge of Abydus, and clearly associates our coins with that city. It is an interesting if somewhat puzzling fact that two of their obverse dies were also employed in the production of coins for three other cities. We have already had occasion to draw attention to the later use at Lampsacus (PLATES LXX, 11-12 and LXXI, 1) of an obverse die previously used at Abydus (PLATE LXXI, 11).

More interesting still is the obverse die of No. 1555, PLATE LXXI, 9, which was actually used with three more reverse dies, one of which bears the crest of Ilium (PLATE LXXII, 5), the others that of Alexandria Troas (PLATE LXXII, 8-9). In which one of these three cities was this die actually made? Were the coins all struck in Abydus, or was the obverse die, after use there, sent around to the other two cities in turn for the coining¹³ of their own money? Our data seem insufficient as yet for any final decision. One or two facts, however, can be established even now. In the first place, the reverse dies of Nos. 1555 and 1560, respectively marked by the crests of Abydus and of Ilium, were almost certainly cut by one and the same artist. Note the very similar form of the letters, the same general size, attitude, and outlines of the Apollo figure, the same arrangement in the folds of the drapery on Apollo's thigh and upon the *omphalos*. Note, also, the identical shape and size of the arrow held by the god, the same downward bend of his head, and, above all, the very unusual detail that Apollo's left foot is turned outward—and so seen from the *front* and not in profile, as usual. Finally, on both coins the city's badge is placed between the inscription and Apollo's legs, while the accompanying monogram is put in the field above the arrow. From this it may at least be inferred that the dies were cut in a single mint. The question must still remain open as to whether both coins were also struck in that same mint. Let us now turn to the remaining two varieties coined from the same obverse die as that used for Nos. 1555 and 1560. These are Nos. 1563-4, PLATE LXXII, 8-9, and bear the symbol FEEDING HORSE, the insignia of Alexandria Troas. At once it is evident that these must be the latest of the four varieties, for on them a bird's wing has been added to the royal diadem. This emblem, as Dr. Macdonald has shown, was a characteristic of the Seleucid coins struck at Alexandria Troas. In comparing the reverse dies of the four pieces, it seems evident that if one artist cut those for Nos. 1555 and 1560, quite another hand cut those of Nos. 1563-4. On the latter, the size, the attitude, in fact the whole character of the Apollo figure, have been altered. Note especially that in the word ANTIOXOY, the *omicrons* are the same size as the other letters on the pieces of Ilium and Abydus, while on those for Alexandria the *omicrons* are much smaller. This particular detail, as well as the general character of the Apollo figure, is also found on the issues immediately following Nos.

¹³ Sir George Macdonald knew of only two instances of the use of this obverse die. Cf. his remarks on the subject in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, pp. 102 ff.

1563-4 at Alexandria Troas. Hence, the reverse dies of Nos. 1563-4 must also have been prepared in that city. The *obverse* die of those two coins, however, appears to have been produced elsewhere, either at Ilium or at Abydus, and later forwarded to Alexandria Troas. As Ilium is situated about halfway between Abydus and Alexandria, and as we possess no further pieces certainly known to have been coined at Ilium, it would seem most reasonable to suppose that both obverse and reverse dies of No. 1555 were made and used at Abydus and, further, that the reverse die with the badge of Ilium was also prepared at Abydus,¹⁴ and that then *both* obverse and reverse dies were forwarded¹⁵ to Ilium for coining there. The resulting issue was not only small, but no further coins were produced there. Thereupon, the obverse die (still in good condition) was sent on to the now active mint of Alexandria Troas, where, after the locally significant wings had been added to the diadem, this die continued in use, but now coupled with reverse dies made by Alexandrian die-cutters. This conjectural outline of events must be regarded as a hypothetical explanation of the data, and subject to change if and when new facts should appear.

The portrait on the obverse of No. 1555 is obviously a likeness of Antiochus II,¹⁶ indicating that the mint of Abydus had probably first been opened by that ruler during his campaigns in Thrace.

Between Nos. 1555, PLATE LXXI, 9, and 1556, PLATE LXXI, 10 (and following), there seems to exist a considerable break in the continuity of style and fabric. The two known specimens of No. 1556 possess slightly broader flans, the die-cutting is dryer, the forms harder and less rounded, the circle of dots more widely spaced and less carefully executed than on No. 1555. On the reverses of Nos. 1556-8 (PLATES LXXI, 10-12 and LXXII, 3), the Apollo figure is larger and less carefully made, the letters of the inscription more uneven and generally poorer in form. The time interval between the two issues, however, cannot cover a great many years, as the magistrate's monogram Ξ on No. 1555 and the Ξ on No. 1556 must represent the same name and so belong to one and the same individual. This apparent interruption in coining at Abydus may therefore cover the years which followed Antiochus II's expedition into Thrace,¹⁷ together with the few

¹⁴ As we have already noted, the die with the badge of Ilium was cut by the same hand which had produced the corresponding die of Abydus (No. 1555).

¹⁵ As there is an apparent stylistic break at this point in the known coins of Abydus (i. e., between Nos. 1555 and 1556) it is likely that, for some reason, that mint was now temporarily closed.

¹⁶ Such an attribution was rejected by Dr. Macdonald (*loc. cit.* p. 110), on insufficient grounds in the present writer's opinion. Even on his own plate the juxtaposition of this coin (his Pl. i, 7) with a proved coin of Antiochus II (his Pl. i, 5) serves to bring out the almost certain identity of the two portraits. Dr. Macdonald's suggestion that the head on our Nos. 1555, 1560, and 1563-4 portrays the young Seleucus, eldest son of Antiochus I and executed for treason not later than 266 B. C., is a council of despair. Not only are the coins in question later in style and fabric than that date, but no portraits of that young man on coins are known, and none are likely to have been produced.

¹⁷ After the campaign was over, the mint was probably closed down as of no more immediate importance to him. The exact date of this campaign is quite unknown, as our only reference to it is comprised by the stratagem recounted by Polyaeus (IV, 16) and possesses no further background or immediate context. An expedition into Thrace, however, would only have been possible for Antiochus II after his peace with Ptolemy II, ratified *circa* 252 B. C., which freed him from the danger of a rear attack by Egypt.

years of Seleucus II's reign over western Asia Minor. If No. 1555 is to be assigned to the final portion of Antiochus II's reign (thus corresponding in general with the first appearance of his own portrait on coins of other western mints, namely, Sardes, Magnesia on the Maeander, Ephesus, Smyrna, Aegae, etc.), then No. 1556 may be assigned to the reign of Hierax, with whose other issues its style and fabric are in full accord. The portrait on the obverse of No. 1556, PLATE LXXI, 10, is still suggestive of Antiochus II, but probably was intended to represent Hierax. It should be compared with certain other likenesses of that ruler produced at Magnesia ad Sipylum.¹⁸

No. 1556 was followed by No. 1557, PLATE LXXI, 11, and this juxtaposition of the two coins explains the somewhat curious head on the obverse of the latter piece. It is obviously but a rather poor copy of its model, the head on No. 1556. The period of issue, not only of Nos. 1556-7, but also of No. 1558, PLATES LXXI, 12 and LXXII, 1, must have been practically the same. Their reverses are so similar in appearance and execution that they could not have been far apart. With them, because of identity of symbols and monogram, must also go PLATE LXXII, 2-3. All of these coins, i. e., Nos. 1556-8, were produced under the supervision of a common magistrate (Ξ and its variants), and bear a special mark, the LONG TORCH, in addition to the city's mint-mark, the EAGLE. The entire issue, as we have had occasion to note before, is intimately associated with later issues of Lampsacus by the presence on both coinages of the LONG TORCH, and by the use in common of an obverse die. In addition, the obverse dies of PLATES LXXI, 12 and LXXII, 1-2 of Abydus are so nearly identical with those of PLATE LXXI, 6-8 of Lampsacus, that only a very careful inspection reveals them to be different. Again they had probably been cut by a single artist. The evidence here gathered would seem to indicate that at a certain point the mint of Abydus had been transferred to Lampsacus, its nearest neighbor, and with this transfer went at least one obverse die, the die-cutter who at the latter mint produced the obverse dies of PLATE LXXI, 6-8, and possibly also the official who henceforth continued to place his crest, the LONG TORCH, on the coins of Series II at Lampsacus. Another explanation might be that Nos. 1556-8 had actually been produced at Lampsacus for the account of Abydus. Yet a third solution would be to recognize in the LONG TORCH the mint-mark of Cyzicus, on whose autonomous coins of the period after 190 B. C. it appears as a type.¹⁹ In that case, Nos. 1551-4 and 1556-8 may be considered as having been coined in Cyzicus; Nos. 1551-4, being marked with the FOREPART OF WINGED HORSE, for use at Lampsacus; Nos. 1556-8 with the EAGLE, for use at Abydus. Cyzicus perhaps became Seleucid after the battle of Corupedium, and an inscription²⁰ of 254-3 B. C. suggests that the city was still Seleucid under Antiochus II,²¹ although this is far from certain. Not long after this date it

¹⁸ Cf. PLATE LXI, 10-14.

¹⁹ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Mysia*, Pl. x, 1, 8, 10. For the torch as an accessory, cf. *ibid.*, Pl. x, 6-7 and 9. The torch also appears commonly on the Roman imperial issues of Cyzicus.

²⁰ *Syll. Or.* gr. 225.

²¹ Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa XII, p. 230.

had probably regained its freedom.²² In any case, Cyzicus is not otherwise known as a Seleucid mint, and such Seleucid possessions as Lampsacus and Abydus would certainly seem in a position to lay better claims to Nos. 1551-4 and 1556-8 than could Cyzicus.

No. 1559, PLATE LXXII, 4, is distinctive in that a CADUCEUS replaces the TORCH in the upper left field, although the EAGLE in the exergue continues to associate our piece with Abydus. The CADUCEUS may be but the crest of some local official, although it does suggest the coin issues of Sestus,²³ the city immediately facing Abydus across the Hellespont, and the European terminus to the important crossing of which Abydus represented the Asiatic end. The portrait was doubtless intended for that of Hierax. Compare the head with that appearing on PLATES LXX, 10 and LXXI, 2 and 4. Obviously, it was supposed to represent the same person. Curiously enough, this coin bears the same monogram, Φ , as do Nos. 1552 and 1554, PLATE LXXI, 4, 5, and 8. Perhaps it, too, was coined at Lampsacus, although its style differs considerably from that of any of the coins here assigned to the latter mint.

We know that eventually Ptolemy III Euergetes secured Thrace and the Hellespont, including Abydus.²⁴ Beloch advances the suggestion that this event took place during the Laodicean War which followed the death of Antiochus II. This is doubtless true for Thrace (i. e., its southern coast, from Abdera eastwards to and including Aenus), but Beloch is careful enough to admit that the Hellespontine region may not have been occupied by Ptolemy until the reign of Hierax. This viewpoint, certainly so far as concerns Abydus and possibly also Sestus, is fully supported by our coins. It was doubtless in consequence of an Egyptian attack on the Chersonnese, and particularly on Abydus, that the Seleucid mint in the latter city was merged with the mint at Lampsacus.

²² *Nomisma* IX, 1914, pp. 50 and 52. The context of Appian *Syr.*, III, 12, implies that in 193 B. C. Cyzicus had long been free, and this is supported by Polybius V, 63, 4 who, in narrating the events of 219/8 B. C., classes Cyzicus with such autonomous states as Rhodes, Byzantium and Aetolia. Cf. also E. Bickermann, *Hermes*, LXVII, 1932, pp. 50, 65, 68. Cyzicus must have been free and autonomous throughout the last half of the third century B. C.; and it is even doubtful that it had ever been really subject to the Seleucids. A Seleucid mint at Cyzicus after *circa* 250 B. C. is very unlikely. Its silver coinage of this period consisted of posthumous Lysimachus tetradrachms such as Müller Nos. 382-6. These indeed bear a long torch as the city's mint-mark, but the torch here seems to be of a form slightly divergent from that on the Seleucid coins described above. Both von Fritze, *Nomisma*, IX, 1914, p. 50, Note 2, and Gaebler, *Nomisma*, XII, 1923, p. 26, have definitely rejected the presence of the torch on our Seleucid coins as being in any way indicative of their possible origin in the mint at Cyzicus.

²³ Von Fritze in *Nomisma* I, 1907, pp. 1-12.

²⁴ Beloch IV², 2, p. 346. Ernst Meyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

C: ILIUM

The one Seleucid coin whose association with Ilium is assured, has already been discussed above, pp. 328-9. Its actual description is as follows:

ANTIOCHUS II

1560. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r. Circle of dots. From the same die as No. 1555.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In upper, inner l. field, Π. In lower inner l. field, figure of ATHENA ILIAS to l.

London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 10), gr. 16.81. PLATE LXXII, 5.

The little figure in the field in front of Apollo is a very good representation of Athena Ilias as she is known from the innumerable silver and bronze autonomous coins struck at that city.²⁶ Following this very definite indication, No. 1560 was long ago assigned to Ilium by Gardner²⁶ and von Fritze,²⁷ and accepted without question by Dr. Macdonald.²⁸ The coin was dated by Gardner in the reign of Antiochus III, which von Fritze has shown to be clearly erroneous. The latter would give the piece to Hierax, while Macdonald's suggestion of Seleucus, eldest son of Antiochus I, is less happy.²⁹ A careful comparison of the portrait, feature by feature, with other known portraits of Antiochus II carries the conviction that our head can be his only, although here cast in a very youthful mould. No. 1560, together with its companion pieces for Abydus and Alexandria Troas, have been sufficiently discussed on pp. 328-9 to require no further repetitious comment here.

For a possible later Seleucid coinage at Ilium, see below, pp. 349-50.

D: ALEXANDRIA TROAS

The Seleucid coinage of Alexandria Troas has been thoroughly studied by Sir George Macdonald³⁰ and important conclusions reached. The following arrangement does not always follow, and some differing conclusions are offered, but the debt to his brilliant pioneer work is here gratefully acknowledged.

²⁶ PLATE LXXII, A, gives a typical example.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

²⁸ In Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion*, p. 480, No. 14, pp. 503 f.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 102.

³⁰ See above, p. 329, note 16.

³¹ Early Seleucid Portraits, *Jour. Hell. Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1903, pp. 92-116.

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

GROUP A

1561. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head of Antiochus I to r., adorned with the bird's wing. Circle of dots.

Macdonald, No. 32.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In upper, inner l. field, ΠΦ. In lower, inner l. field, female HEAD WITH POLOS to l. In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) The Hague (Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. ii, 9); β) Newell (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), ♂, gr. 16.80. PLATE LXXII, 6.

α and β are from the same obverse but differing reverse dies.

1562. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r. Circle of dots.

Macdonald, No. 2.

Similar. In outer l. field, ΠΦ. In outer r. field, Ε. In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) The Hague (Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. i, 8); β) American Numismatic Society, ↑, gr. 16.91. PLATE LXXII, 7.

α and β are struck from the same pair of dies.

GROUP B

1563. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Antiochus II to r., wearing winged diadem. Circle of dots. Same die (but altered) as Nos. 1555 and 1560.

Similar. In outer l. field, ΠΦ. In outer r. field, Ε. In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

α) Athens (Palaioakastro Hoard. *Archaiologikon Deltion* XIII, 1933, p. 36, fig. 8); β) Beyrouth Museum, PLATE LXXII, 8.

α and β are from the same obverse, but from differing reverse dies.

1564. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1563.

Macdonald, No. 1.

Similar. In inner l. field, Ε above ΠΦ. In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.75. PLATE LXXII, 9.

1565. TETRADRACHM.

Elderly head of Antiochus II (?) to r. Circle of dots.

Macdonald, No. 5.

Similar. In outer l. field, Σ. In inner l. field, ΠΦ. In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

α) Sotheby Sale, July 1921, No. 324, Pl. xiv = O'Hagan Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1908, No. 647, Pl. xi = Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 453, gr. 16.01; β) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7865, Pl. 287), ↑, gr. 16.88. PLATE LXXII, 10.

α and β are from the same pair of dies.

1566. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful head of Antiochus II (?) to r.,
wearing winged diadem. Circle of dots.
Macdonald, No. 4.

Similar. In outer r. field, E. In the exergue,
FEEDING HORSE to l. and b.

α) The Hague (Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. i, 10); β) Newell (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929),
↑, gr. 16.79. PLATE LXXII, 11.
 α and β are from the same pair of dies.

As the symbol FEEDING HORSE has been definitely shown³¹ to have been the badge of Alexandria Troas, there remains no possible doubt with regard to the mint of Nos. 1561-6. Groups A and B are united by the similar style of their reverse dies, by the presence of the dotted circle on their obverses, by the invariable presence of one or both of the monograms E and M (rendered P on No. 1561), as well as by the FEEDING HORSE in the exergues of their respective reverses. Our coins have been divided into two groups according to whether the portrait on the obverse presents a youthful head of the deceased Antiochus I (Group A), or a portrait of the reigning king, Antiochus II (Group B). By analogy with the contemporary issues of other western mints, Group A should precede Group B. If so, then the transfer of an obverse die previously used at Abydus and Ilium inaugurated the use of the portrait of Antiochus II at Alexandria Troas.

At the head of the coinage would seem to have come No. 1561, PLATE LXXII, 6, because of its remarkably compact fabric (as compared with what follows), and because its style is the earliest and best of any of the coins which we possess from this mint. The idealized head of Antiochus I is clearly characterized as his by the sunken eye, the long and slightly aquiline nose, the very curly locks, the usual furrows (here softened, to be sure, but none the less present) about the nostril and mouth. The head should be compared with other certain representations of this king—for instance, those on the coins of Smyrna, PLATES LXIV, 11-12 and LXV, 1-4. The reverse is marked, aside from the FEEDING HORSE, by the monogram P, accompanied by a symbol which represents a female head to left, wearing the *polos*. Her hair is tied in a low knot behind her head, and she seems to be without a veil. The head, however, as a whole, is extraordinarily like that of Athena Ilias on the later, autonomous silver tetradrachms of Ilium.³² This does not necessarily indicate that our coin was struck at Ilium. The FEEDING HORSE in the exergue definitely fixes its mint at Alexandria Troas. It may be noted that the succeeding Seleucid tetradrachms of that mint are uniform in bearing the monograms of two magistrates. No. 1561 is exceptional in bearing but one such monogram. It is possible, therefore, that the head of Athena Ilias in its field represents the crest of the second magistrate in charge of the coinage. On the other hand, the symbol might be but a further indication of the close connection existing between the mints of Ilium and Alexandria which the transfer of the obverse die of No. 1560 from one mint to the other has already suggested.

³¹ Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

³² Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., Pl. xi, 8-11.

The next issue at Alexandria Troas is probably represented by No. 1562, PLATE LXXXII, 7, which Dr. Macdonald placed in his Series I B. The obverse of this coin presents what seems to be a slightly older head of Antiochus I, but its identification is certain, as Dr. Macdonald also recognized. This coin bears the two monograms, Ξ and Π .

Connected by identical monograms with this last piece comes No. 1563, PLATE LXXXII, 8, whose obverse die now bears the unmistakable likeness of Antiochus II. From the same obverse die is also No. 1564, PLATE LXXXII, 9, a coin we have had occasion (pp. 328-9) to discuss in pointing out its close connection with the sister mints of Abydus and Ilium. Dr. von Fritze was the first to call especial attention to this coin and to state³³ that its obverse die was identical with that used for the tetradrachm of Ilium, our No. 1560, PLATE LXXXII, 5. Von Fritze, however, believed that this die had been first used at Alexandria Troas, and that later the wing was removed from the diadem and the die used for an issue of Ilium. Dr. Macdonald, supported by the reasoned opinion of so able and practiced a numismatist as Dr. Barclay V. Head, has shown³⁴ that the inverse order of procedure was the true one—namely, that the die was first used at Ilium and only later, with the wing added to the diadem, employed at Alexandria Troas. This viewpoint is fully supported by a careful inspection of the coins themselves and by a thoughtful consideration of the engraving problem which they present. The die as used at Alexandria shows several minute flaws, coupled with a certain lack of sharpness about the hair, brow, and neck which do not appear on the die as used at both Abydus and Ilium. In the latter mints, it must still have been in a pristine state. Finally, as a careful consideration of the matter indicates, it is mechanically much easier to add successfully a small accessory (like the wing) to a finished die than it is to remove such an object *without leaving a single visible trace* and without completely recutting the die in and around the region in question. On the coins of Abydus and Ilium, there is not even the faintest indication that any alteration whatsoever had been carried out on the die in the region just above the ear.

Possibly following upon these, and associated with Nos. 1562 and 1563 by its monogram Π , came No. 1565, PLATE LXXXII, 10, bearing a head of no certain identity. The portrait should be compared with that of the gold stater from Smyrna, PLATE LXV, 7, which was probably intended as a representation of Antiochus II, although it bears no very close resemblance to his accepted likeness. The portrait on our present piece is older, fleshier, and exhibits marked signs of a double chin. In this head, Dr. Macdonald proposed³⁵ to recognize an elderly Antiochus II. In so doing he may be right, although perhaps not obviously so. But any other identification (a rejuvenated Antiochus I, for instance ?) is equally, or even more, open to objections.

No. 1566, PLATE LXXXII, 11, has been placed at the end of the series because in general appearance it seems later than any of the Alexandrian pieces with which

³³ Dörpfeld's *Troia und Ilium*, pp. 481 and 503-4.

³⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 102 and footnote 16.

³⁵ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 113-4.

we have so far dealt. The style (especially of the reverse) is poorer, the pellets of the circle on the obverse more widely spaced, the accessory details of the types, and also the lettering, more carelessly rendered. It could even be placed as late as the reign of Hierax, for in many ways it resembles the coins pictured on PLATE LXX, 7-8, here assigned to that particular king. On the other hand, its monogram Ε, and the circle of dots surrounding its obverse, still connect No. 1566 closely with Nos. 1562-4, and these latter pieces can hardly have appeared as late as Hierax. Dr. Macdonald believed³⁶ that the head now before us was that of Antiochus II, and with this the writer fully agrees, but not with the early date assigned to the coin by his learned predecessor. In its apparent youthfulness and a certain lack of iconographic individuality, our coin resembles some issues of Myrina (PLATE LXVIII, 6-8), which should be placed at the end of Antiochus II's reign. Comparing this very youthful head of PLATE LXXII, 11 with the preceding coin (PLATE LXXII, 10), one could well recognize it as a much rejuvenated representation of the same person, after the fleshiness and the accompanying lines of age had been removed. Or, again, one could consider this head as having been copied by a less able die-cutter from some such model as the almost equally youthful head of Antiochus II on Nos. 8 and 9 of PLATE LXXII.

Group B, as a whole, cannot come before the final years of Antiochus II's reign, since (as we have seen above) its opening issue, represented by Nos. 1563-4 (PLATE LXXII, 8-9), was coined from an obverse die which had previously been used at both Abydus and Ilium. And we have shown that the Abydus coin must itself be assigned to the later years of the second Antiochus, probably after 252 B. C.^{37a}

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 241-228/7 B. C.

SERIES I

GROUP A

1567. TETRADRACHM.

Head of the youthful Antiochus I to r., wearing winged diadem.

Macdonald, No. 26.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In inner r. field, ☐. In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l. and ☐.

α) Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xviii, No. 362 = Whittall Coll., Sotheby Sale, June 1867, No. 818), ↑, gr. 17.09; β) Berlin, gr. 17.095. PLATE LXXII, 12.

α and β are from a single pair of dies.

³⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 111.

^{37a} Cf. Note 17.

1568. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1567.

Macdonald, No. 27.

Similar. In inner r. field, Δ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l. and \boxtimes .

α) Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 451, Pl. iv, gr. 17.05; β) Newell, κ , gr. 16.21. PLATE LXXIII, 1; γ) Hess Sale, Lucerne, Dec. 1933, No. 97, Pl. 4 (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 929, Pl. 33 = Pozzi Coll., Naville Sale I, April 1921, No. 2942, Pl. lxxxvi = Rhousopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4440, Pl. iv), gr. 16.89. PLATE LXXIII, 2.

α and β are struck from a reverse die on which the monogram \boxtimes has been recut over a preceding monogram, Δ ; γ is struck from a second reverse die.

1569. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1567.

Similar. In the exergue, Δ Δ and FEEDING HORSE to l.

Jameson Coll., No. 1676, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXIII, 3.

1570. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1567.

Macdonald, No. 28.

Same die as No. 1569. In the exergue, Δ Δ and FEEDING HORSE. Here, Δ has been recut over the preceding Δ .

α) Basel Sale 10, March 1938, No. 371, Pl. xv (= Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 647, Pl. 15), gr. 16.50; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.84. PLATE LXXIII, 4; γ) Paris (Valton Coll., *Rev. Num.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, 1910, No. 484), gr. 16.75. PLATE LXXIII, 5.

α - γ are struck from a single pair of dies. The reverse now exhibits increasing fractures.

1571. TETRADRACHM.

 α - ϵ are from the same die as the preceding; ζ is from another but similar die.

Macdonald, Nos. 29-31.

Similar. The royal title has Ω on α and β ; ω on γ - ζ . In outer l. field, Δ or Δ . Beneath the name, κ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

α) Toronto, \uparrow . PLATE LXXIII, 6; β) Gotha; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 894, Pl. 31, gr. 16.78. PLATE LXXIII, 7; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, Pl. ii, 17), gr. 16.20; ϵ) Paris (Babelon, No. 211 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3280, Pl. cxix), gr. 17.00; ζ) Cambridge (Leake Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 16.18. PLATE LXXIII, 8.

γ - ϵ are from a single reverse die.

1572. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding (excepting No. 1571 ζ).

Macdonald, Nos. 24 and 25.

Similar, but with Ω in the royal title. In outer l. field, Δ above κ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 21, No. 14, Pl. lxxiv, 15), gr. 17.09; β) London (Gardner, p. 14, No. 6 = Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. ii, 7), gr. 17.15; γ) Newell (Gejou Hoard), \uparrow , gr. 16.09; δ) Newell (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 452 = Philippen Coll., Hirsch Sale XXV, Nov. 1909, No. 2873, Pl. xxxii), \uparrow , gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXIII, 9.

α and β are from one reverse die; γ and δ are from another.

1573. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Antiochus I to r., wearing winged diadem.

Similar. In inner l. field, Δ above κ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

Munich, gr. 16.30. PLATE LXXIII, 10.

1574. TETRADRACHM.

Slightly younger head of Antiochus I to r., wearing winged diadem.
Macdonald, No. 16.

Similar. In inner l. field, κ above PA . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 212, Pl. vi, 11 = Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. ii, 5), gr. 16.90. PLATE LXXXIII, 11; β) Consul Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4039, Pl. lii, gr. 16.92. PLATE LXXXIII, 12.

GROUP B

1575. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful head of Antiochus I to r., wearing winged diadem.

Similar. In the exergue, PA (α and β) or PA (γ - η), FEEDING HORSE to l., PA .

α) Hess Sale, Lucerne, Dec. 1933, No. 95, Pl. 4 (= Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1672, Pl. 57 = Butler Coll., Sotheby Sale, July 1911, No. 247, Pl. v), gr. 17.08; β) Berlin, gr. 17.035. PLATE LXXXIV, 1; γ) Schlessinger Sale 13, Feb. 1935, No. 1434, Pl. 50, gr. 16.80; δ) Munich, gr. 16.93; ϵ) Vienna, ζ) Copenhagen, gr. 16.95; η) Cambridge (McClellan Coll., Vol. III, No. 9259, Pl. 336, 7), θ) \uparrow , gr. 16.72; η) Berlin, gr. 17.002. PLATE LXXXIV, 2.

α - β are from one reverse die; γ - η are from another. All are struck from a single obverse die.

1576. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1575.
Macdonald, Nos. 19-20.

Similar. In the exergue, PA , FEEDING HORSE to l., PA .

α) New York, Metropolitan Museum (J. Ward Coll., No. 778 = Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1897, No. 331), gr. 16.78; β) London (Gardner, p. 14, No. 7 = Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. ii, 6), gr. 17.05; γ) Berlin, gr. 17.07. PLATE LXXXIV, 3.
 α - γ are from a single pair of dies.

1577. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1575.
Macdonald, No. 22.

Similar. In the exergue, PA and FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 213 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3279, Pl. cxix), gr. 16.85; β) Turin (Fabretti, No. 4559), gr. 16.55; γ) Berlin, gr. 16.715. PLATE LXXXIV, 4.
From a single pair of dies.

1578. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1575.

Same die as No. 1577, but the monogram PA has been altered to PA .

Yakountchikoff Coll. (*Unpublished Coins*, p. 38, No. 96, Pl. viii), gr. 16.93. PLATE LXXXIV, 5.

1579. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1575.

Similar. In the exergue, PA , FEEDING HORSE to r., PA .

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.91. PLATE LXXXIV, 6.

The long and surprisingly prolific coinages of Antiochus Hierax at Alexandria Troas have been here divided into two series, distinguished from each other by the divergent character of the portraits used on their several obverses. Following Dr. Macdonald's brilliant suggestions,²⁷ Nos. 1567 to 1592 have been assigned to Antiochus Hierax. Earlier than his reign these coins can hardly be placed. Their late style, broad flans, bevelled or hammered edges, total absence of the dotted circle on their obverses, the use of certain late forms of letters (Δ and ω), and, above all, the extensive period over which their coinage must have stretched, point unmistakably to such a conclusion. The issues progress without a break from No. 1567 through to No. 1592—and this long succession of coinages could not possibly be forced into the reign of Antiochus II, to whom we have already been led to assign a comparatively varied coinage comprising Nos. 1561 to 1566. As there is no real break in the closely successive issues of Nos. 1567 to 1592, and as all bear the name of an Antiochus, they must all be given to Antiochus II or to Antiochus Hierax. But nothing in the style and fabric of such coins as our preceding studies have given to Antiochus II would, for an instant, support an assignment of Nos. 1567 ff. to that monarch's lifetime. They can have been issued under Hierax only. As there does exist a stylistic break between Nos. 1561–1566 on the one hand, and Nos. 1567 ff. on the other, it seems natural to suppose that this break may correspond with the years (*circa* 246–241 B. C.) during which Seleucus II was at least titular ruler over western Asia Minor.

Due to some unknown cause, which may be only chance, we possess no issues of Seleucus II for Alexandria Troas. When the coinages of that mint once more are resumed with No. 1567, the name of an Antiochus (this time Antiochus Hierax) reappears upon the coins. The coins of Series I (Nos. 1567–79, PLATES LXXII, 12, LXXIII, 1–12, and LXXIV, 1–6) fall into two contemporaneous groups, here designated A (PLATES LXXII, 12 and LXXIII, 1–12) and B (PLATE LXXIV, 1–6). It has proved impossible to devise an order, proper consideration being given to the natural sequence of style, monograms and progressive wear or alteration of the dies, by which Nos. 1567–79 could all follow each other in a rational manner and then lead, as some of them do, directly into the succeeding Series II. The majority of the coins in Group A are struck from a single obverse die (PLATES LXXII, 12 and LXXIII, 1–7, 9). This die starts out in perfect condition (PLATES LXXII, 12 and LXXIII, 1–2), but soon begins to show (PLATE LXXIII, 3–5) a damaged place at the back of the head where the diadem's knot should be. This damage increases as the die continues in use (PLATE LXXIII, 6–7, 9), while the inner corner of the eye becomes at the same time more and more blurred. Finally, additional flaws about the top of the head, the profile of the nose, the lips and the chin become evident on PLATE LXXIII, 9. At this juncture, to replace the old and damaged die, a new and very similar one (PLATE LXXIII, 8) is cut. This is followed by three more, but on one (PLATE LXXIII, 10) of these the features of Antiochus I have become quite aged.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 113.

Group A, throughout, bears on all of its coins the monogram κ , in various positions and slightly divergent in form. Thus we have κ , κ , δ , alternating with δ or κ —but all obviously the signature of a single official. Associated with this monogram is always that of another and probably subordinate official. δ , δ , δ , δ , δ , and δ are recorded. The two associated monograms of Group A lead a somewhat peripatetic existence. They begin in the inner right field and right end of the exergue (PLATES LXXII, 12 and LXXIII, 1-2), thence proceed together to the left end of the exergue (PLATE LXXIII, 3-5), soon working higher (PLATE LXXIII, 6-8) and higher (PLATE LXXIII, 9) up into the outer left field, finally ending together in the inner left field (PLATE LXXIII, 10-12). The FEEDING HORSE at first faces to the left (PLATE LXXII, 12 and LXXIII, 1-5), but ends by facing to the right (PLATE LXXIII, 6-12). An interesting adjunct to this issue is the Alexander gold stater (PLATE LXXIII, A) whose monograms appear to associate it with No. 1568.

Group B, Nos. 1575-9, PLATE LXXIV, 1-6, is composed of tetradrachms which are all struck from the same obverse die. This die was evidently copied from the die which had been used so extensively (PLATES LXXII, 12 and LXXIII, 1-7, 9) in Group A. It is, however, of much poorer style and ruder execution. It, too, suffers damage in the course of its long employment, but not to the extent of the 'model' die of Group A. A comparison between its earliest (PLATE LXXIV, 1) and latest (PLATE LXXIV, 6) appearances will most clearly reveal the true extent of the wear to which it was subjected. Group B differs from Group A in that the monogram (κ , and the like) of the latter's 'supervisor' does not appear, but those of some of his subordinates (i. e., δ , δ , δ , δ , δ = δ ?) do. Furthermore, in Group B, the monograms of two officiating magistrates are invariably found in the exergue, beside the symbol of the FEEDING HORSE. As in Group A, so also in Group B, this symbol starts out by facing to the left (PLATE LXXIV, 1-5) and ends (PLATE LXXIV, 6) by facing to the right. Only by assuming that Series I was actually composed of two more or less separate, but none the less contemporaneous, groups can we logically account for both the differences and the similarities here enumerated. And only thus can we, at the same time, recognize how the entire Series eventually leads directly into the succeeding coinages of Series II.

Although issued under Hierax, the king portrayed on the obverses of our coins is still Antiochus I, represented in his now customary youthful guise. The earliest of our coins of Series I¹⁸ (No. 1567, PLATE LXXII, 12) was apparently copied from a preceding Alexandrian tetradrachm issued under Antiochus II, namely PLATE LXXII, 6. This 'model' definitely bears the somewhat idealized head of the first Antiochus. The new die even further softens the pattern which it uses, but still, through this idealizing veil, as it were, we can clearly recognize the traces of the deeply set eye, the strongly marked brow, the long, slightly aquiline nose, the characteristic line about the mouth which are all such typical features in the

¹⁸ The earliest, because here at the outset the obverse die is still in its pristine state, the reverse is still of fairly good style, and the monograms are still on the right-hand side of the reverse die.

accepted portraiture of Antiochus I. The dies used for PLATES LXXIII, 8, 11, 12 and LXXIV, 1-6 are further examples of the type, but it is always the same individual. But the artist who produced the obverse die of PLATE LXXIII, 10 was more of a realist, for here we find a greater accentuation of the deep lines and rugged profile which characterize the real Antiochus I as he must have appeared in the later years of his life. The presence of this particular portrait, among the more idealized ones, assures us that we are on firm ground in claiming for the divinized Antiochus I the accompanying more youthful heads. Hence, the very sequence of issues and the obvious artistic line of descent inherent in the iconography of Series I proclaim the fact that we cannot possibly have before us a likeness of Antiochus II,³⁹ to whose features the portraits on our series bear not the slightest resemblance.

SERIES II

GROUP A

1580. TETRADRACHM.

Very youthful head to r., wearing winged diadem.

Macdonald, No. 11.

Similar to the coins of Series I. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{M} above κ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9258, Pl. 336, 6 = Carfrae Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1894, No. 299, Pl. x, 8), \uparrow , gr. 16.92. PLATE LXXIV, 7.

1581. TETRADRACHM.

Similar youthful head to r., but from another die.

Macdonald, Nos. 14 and 15.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{M} above κ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) Newell (Rollin & Feuardent = Headlam Coll., Sotheby Sale, May 1916, No. 435 = Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. ii, 3), \nearrow , gr. 16.93. PLATE LXXIV, 8; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), gr. 16.90. PLATE LXXIV, 9; γ) The Hague (Macdonald, *loc. cit.*, Pl. ii, 4). α - γ are from the same obverse; β and γ are from a single reverse die.

1582. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1581.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{M} . In inner l. field, below Apollo's arm, κ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to r.

α) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 15.43; β) Schlessinger Sale 13, No. 1433, Pl. 50, gr. 16.50. PLATE LXXIV, 10.

α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1583. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1581, but now in a more worn condition.

Macdonald, No. 13.

Similar. In outer l. field, \mathfrak{M} . In inner l. field, above Apollo's hand, \nearrow . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) The Hague; β) Luneau Coll., Platt Sale, March 1922, No. 722, Pl. xv; γ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.77. PLATE LXXIV, 11.

α - γ are apparently from a single pair of dies.

³⁹ As Dr. Macdonald suggests.

1584. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1580.
Macdonald, No. 10.

Similar. In outer l. field, ∇ . In outer r. field, ∇ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) Brussels, gr. 16.845; β) Brussels, gr. 16.915. PLATE LXXIV, 12; γ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 27, No. 1, Pl. lxxv, 3), gr. 16.94. PLATE LXXXV, 1.
 α - γ are from a single pair of dies.

GROUP B

1585. TETRADRACHM.

Youngish head to r., wearing winged diadem.
Macdonald, No. 6.

Similar. In outer l. field, ∇ . In outer r. field, ∇ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

Berlin, gr. 16.87. PLATE LXXV, 2.

1586. TETRADRACHM.

A somewhat older head to r., wearing the winged diadem.
Macdonald, Nos. 8 and 9.

Similar, and with the same monograms and symbol similarly placed.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 214), gr. 15.95; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 216), gr. 16.70; γ) Jameson Coll., No. 1675, Pl. lxxxiv (= Montagu Coll., Sotheby Sale, March 1896, No. 695), gr. 16.89. PLATE LXXV, 3; δ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 893, Pl. 31, gr. 16.83. PLATE LXXV, 4.
 α and γ are apparently from one reverse die; β and δ from another.

1587. TETRADRACHM.

Very similar.
Macdonald, No. 7.

Similar. In outer l. field, ∇ above ∇ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7866, Pl. 287, gr. 16.91. PLATE LXXV, 5.

1588. TETRADRACHM.

Youngish head to r., wearing the winged diadem.
Macdonald, Nos. 17 and 18.

Similar. In outer l. field, ∇ above ∇ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 215), gr. 17.30; β) London (Gardner, p. 14, No. 5, Pl. v, 2), gr. 16.91; γ) Berlin, gr. 16.93. PLATE LXXV, 6.
 β and γ are from the same reverse die.

1589. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1588.

Similar. In outer l. field, ∇ above ∇ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l.

Fenerly Bey Coll., Egger Sale XLI, Nov. 1912, No. 649, Pl. xviii, gr. 16.57. PLATE LXXV, 7.

1590. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1588.

Similar. In outer r. field, ∇ . In the exergue, FEEDING HORSE to l. and ∇ .

Newell (Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 520, Pl. 16), \uparrow , gr. 17.18. PLATE LXXV, 8.

1591. TETRADRACHM.

Young head similar to No. 1588.
Macdonald, No. 12.

Similar. In outer r. field, P . In the
exergue, P and FEEDING HORSE to l. and P .

The Hague. PLATE LXXV, 9.

1592. TETRADRACHM.

Young head to r., but of rather crude style.

Similar. In upper, inner field, P . In the
exergue, P and FEEDING HORSE to l.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 930, Pl. 33 (= Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, No. 571, Pl. xvii), gr.
16.78. PLATE LXXV, 10.

As with Series I, so also Series II may be divided into two groups, A and B, according to the types of heads which they bear. In this case, however, the two groups appear to have been not so much contemporaneous as successive.

It is Sir George Macdonald's distinction to have been the first to recognize in the very youthful head of Nos. 1580 and 1584 (PLATES LXXIV, 7, 12 and LXXV, 1) the portrait of Antiochus Hierax. There can now be little doubt that these coins, as well as all that follow, must have been issued while Hierax was the paramount Seleucid ruler in the west. As a portrait, this youthful head is striking because it is in such contrast to the pieces which had immediately preceded. In individuality of features it actually has little more to recommend it than a coin such as that of Myrina, No. 1527, PLATE LXVIII, 6-8, which has here been assigned to Antiochus II, only because that city had probably become Pergamene by the time of Hierax. The portrait of Nos. 1581-3, PLATE LXXIV, 8-11, which Dr. Macdonald has also assigned⁴⁰ to Hierax, does offer a greater trace of individuality and should be compared with certain coins of that ruler struck at his capital, Sardes.⁴¹

With Series II, Group B the 'portrait' again fluctuates very considerably. At first, PLATE LXXV, 2, we seem to find the youthful head of PLATES LXXIV, 7, 12 and LXXV, 1, now grown slightly older. On its companion pieces, PLATE LXXV, 3-4, bearing the same pair of monograms, the head is very much older, and is but little altered on the succeeding coin, PLATE LXXV, 5. The long, aquiline nose seems but an exaggeration of that feature found in the preceding heads of Antiochus I. To this new head, one hesitates greatly to give a name. It *could* be merely a further degeneration of the supposed 'portrait' of the divine Antiochus I, but was perhaps actually intended as a more elderly Hierax. With Nos. 1588-91, PLATE LXXV, 6-9, the head becomes younger again; and while it might represent the continued aging of the young man of PLATE LXXIV, 8-11, it might just as well be the much rejuvenated Antiochus I—such as we see him on PLATE LXXIII, 1-9. The final issue, No. 1592, PLATE LXXV, 10, presents a very banal type of portrait, possessing no individual characteristics whatever. Curiously enough, on this piece, the old dotted border is reintroduced on the obverse. Style and fabric, however, place the coin at the end of the series.

⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.*, p. 114.

⁴¹ Nos. 1431-3, PLATE LIX, 5-7.

The foregoing notes and discussions are predicated on the assumption that the present arrangement of the individual varieties, an arrangement which differs radically from that proposed by Dr. Macdonald, is substantially correct. Let us see if it can be vindicated. Dr. Macdonald's arrangement was largely based upon what seemed to him an orderly sequence in the portraiture, little attention being paid—as he himself hints⁴²—to the monograms, except in a very general way. But one feels instinctively that little real order can be brought into a series of greatly idealized 'portraits' of a man long since dead, especially when such 'portraits' are considered one by one. For portraits of this type may be idealized, now to a greater, now to a lesser extent, entirely according to the whim or the personal ability of each engraver. Of these engravers, a glance at the plates will show there were many. Recourse must therefore be had to an attempt at arranging an acceptable sequence based on style, fabric and monograms, 'portraiture' remaining on the whole but a secondary consideration. Style and fabric were also called upon with considerable success as criteria by Dr. Macdonald, and he was thereby enabled to date the series *as a whole* correctly. Not having worked out to greater detail the issues of other portions of the Seleucid empire, Dr. Macdonald could not appreciate the preponderant rôle which the deified Antiochus I played on the coinages of his son, and even of his grandson. He thus assumed that portraits other than those of Hierax must be those of Antiochus II. This induced him to lay too great stress upon the fluctuation in the apparent ages of the heads before us. To him, there was a biological reason in the majority of these fluctuations; to us, it is but the consequence of numerous engravers (of very varying abilities) attempting to reproduce the idealized features of a deified king who by then had been dead for forty years and more.

We have seen how Series I of Hierax comprised two separate but probably contemporaneous groups (A and B) of issues, each presenting its own succession of magistrates. Group A was supervised throughout by Κ (once rendered ⌘). Group B was supervised by Μ, Ρ, or Σ. Their subordinates are frequently found signing on both groups. The obverses of both groups present us with a head of Antiochus I idealized to a greater (PLATE LXXIII, 1-9) or to a lesser (PLATE LXXIII, 10) extent. As stated before, Group B, in its use of but a single obverse die and its own sequence of magistrates' monograms always placed on either side of the symbol in the exergue, constituted something in the nature of an issue apart. Group A shows a greater variation in the placing of the monograms and ends under the charge of Κ (⌘) and Ρ (Ρ). The flans used for both groups A and B have varied between broad and very broad.

Series II, Group A, with the portrait of Hierax (PLATE LXXIV, 7-12), continues in direct sequence from Group A of Series I, being directed by the same two officials, Ρ (Ρ) and Κ. The latter, having but recently (No. 1573) used the form ⌘, now finally adopts it (No. 1583 to the end of the issue). As in Series I, Group A, so in Series II, Groups A and B, the placing of the monograms varies. At first, the

⁴² *Loc. cit.*, p. 104.

monograms are either placed both in the outer left field (PLATE LXXIV, 7-9) or one in the outer, one in the inner left field (PLATE LXXIV, 10-11). Still continuing the use of the obverse die of No. 1580, comes No. 1584, PLATES LXXIV, 12 and LXXV, 1, with a change in one of the magistrates coupled with a change in the location of his monogram. Thus Σ holds the outer left field, while the outer right field is now marked by the new monogram ρ . This arrangement continues with Nos. 1585-6, PLATE LXXV, 2-4. As Dr. Macdonald has pointed out,⁴⁵ Nos. 1584-6 are further united by the appearance of a ground line beneath the FEEDING HORSE. At this juncture, there was also an issue of the Alexander tetradrachm (PLATE LXXV, A) which bears the same two monograms as Nos. 1585-6, and whose FEEDING HORSE symbol is also provided with an 'exergual' line. No. 1587, PLATE LXXV, 5 is united to its immediate predecessor by its curious and somewhat enigmatic portrait, while Nos. 1588-90, PLATE LXXV, 6-8, are tied together by the use in common of a single obverse die. It may be noted that the monogram Σ connects the final tetradrachm No. 1592, PLATE LXXV, 10, with the preceding Nos. 1585-8.

It will be remembered that the flans of Series I varied in size from broad to very broad. In Series II, only the very broad size continued, many of the specimens also showing bevelled or hammered surfaces. Evidently older and probably already worn coins (tetradrachms of Alexander, Lysimachus, etc.?) had been selected, and their surfaces hammered into such a shape that the metal became fairly thick about the centre of each piece. These prepared coins were then put to use as 'blanks.' When the new die was not driven in completely over the entire surface of the flan so prepared, areas near its edges would remain untouched by the die, and these particular areas would still show traces of the previous hammering.⁴⁶ This technique of preparing the flans had already commenced in Series I⁴⁶ and was continued throughout Series II.⁴⁶ In the latter period, the process of striking was more and more hastily or perfunctorily carried out. Hence, a greater proportion of specimens in Series II showing evidences of the preparatory process described above, has survived. Artistically poor die-cutting, especially for the reverses, may be noted towards the close of Series I.⁴⁷ This mediocrity (or worse) increases in Series II⁴⁸ and eventually extends even to the obverse die, as may be seen in the very latest coin of the series, PLATE LXXV, 10.

The arrangement of the Seleucid issues of Alexandria Troas here proposed seems to offer, to the writer's mind at least, a more logical sequence of coinages than any yet suggested. It attempts to take into consideration the vitally important evidence of both style and fabric, coupled with the no less important probable sequence of monetary magistrates, in whose orderly succession there must once

⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 104.

⁴⁶ Very clearly shown on PLATE LXXV, 4.

⁴⁷ Cf. PLATE LXXIII, 4.

⁴⁸ Cf. PLATES LXXIV, 9, 11 and LXXV, 1, 4.

⁴⁹ Cf. PLATE LXXIII, 9-10.

⁵⁰ Cf. PLATES LXXIV, 8-9 and LXXV, 4, 6-10.

have been 'rhyme and reason.' These criteria must be fundamental. Since the 'portraits' were for the most part posthumous, their value must be considered secondary in the arrangement of the coinages before us. But when this arrangement has been completed, and when it has been grasped that the posthumous portraiture is of Antiochus I and of him alone, it becomes apparent that the portraits, whether posthumous or contemporary, fall into a sequence that is both reasonable and convincing.

At some point in the course of the disastrous wars between Hierax and Attalus I of Pergamum, the Troad was taken over by the Pergamene king. It was evidently so generously treated and wisely ruled that its principal cities remained loyal to Attalus even when the latter was attacked by the Seleucid scion, Antiochus III. In any case, Seleucid coinage at Alexandria Troas ceased with the reign of Hierax.

E: SCEPSIS

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1593. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus (I ?) to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In inner l. field, RHYTON. Between Apollo's feet, $\overline{\Pi}$.

α) Hess Sale, Oct. 1907, No. 1146, Pl. iii, gr. 17.00; β) Berlin, gr. 17.02. PLATE LXXVI, 1. α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1594. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1593.

Similar. In l. field, $\overline{\Pi}$. In the exergue, RHYTON.

α) Cambridge (McClellan Coll., Vol. III, No. 9260, Pl. 336, 8), \uparrow , gr. 17.02; β) London (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 450), gr. 16.72; γ) Berlin, gr. 17.14. PLATE LXXVI, 2.

α - γ are from a single pair of dies.

At the very outset these two coins may be assigned to the general district of the Troad, as their dies were obviously modelled after certain tetradrachms of Alexandria Troas.⁴⁹ The symbol which characterizes them is not merely the forepart of a winged horse. Close inspection reveals the fact that to the immediate right of the curved wing there rises what is obviously the bowl of a drinking horn. An exactly similar object constituted the obverse type of fourth century coins of Sepsis.⁵⁰ J. P. Six described the type as a *rhyton* or drinking horn, adorned with

⁴⁹ Compare, especially, PLATE LXXIV, 1-6.

⁵⁰ Cf. PLATE LXXVI, A and Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., Pl. xv, 7-11.

the form of a hippocamp⁵¹ or Pegasus. So peculiar to the coinage of Scepsis is this type, that its presence on our tetradrachms doubtless indicates that they were coined in that city. This assumption is supported by the placing of the symbol in the exergue on No. 1594, for in that same position is to be found the FEEDING HORSE mint-mark of the very coins of Alexandria Troas which these pieces imitate.

As for Scepsis itself, the city was situated on the head waters of the river Aesepus in the district of Cebrenia. Not only would its situation account for its copying of coins of Alexandria Troas, but we know that Antigonus had removed its inhabitants to Antigoneia, the later Alexandria Troas.⁵² Lysimachus, however, sanctioned their return and they founded a new city near their old home. We know too little of the remaining history of Scepsis in the third century B. C., even to hazard a guess as to the reason for commencing a coinage of Seleucid tetradrachms in the time of Hierax, to the period of whose reign their style and fabric clearly point.

F: SIGEUM (?)

SELEUCUS II

RULED IN ASIA MINOR *circa* 246-242/1 B. C.

1595. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo, standing to l., resting l. elbow on tripod and holding arrow in extended r. In l. inner field, LEAFY BRANCH.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXVI, 3; β) Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1065, Pl. 37 (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), gr. 17.09. PLATE LXXVI, 4.

α and β are struck from the same obverse but differing reverse dies.

That these coins were produced somewhere in north-western Asia Minor (Aeolis, Mysia, or the Troad ?) is suggested by the fact that the second of the two specimens turned up in a little hoard found in that or the neighboring region.⁵³ A careful scrutiny of the symbol renders it likely that the intention of the engraver was to depict an olive branch. The ovals of the fruit (or berries ?) are plainly discernible. Any discussion of the actual mint must be deferred until after the description of the coins which apparently followed No. 1595.

⁵¹ Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 267, footnote 50, and Brit. Mus. Cat., *loc. cit.*, p. xxiv.

⁵² For the history of Scepsis, see Pauly-Wissowa, 2, III, pp. 445-6.

⁵³ Noe, No. 82. For a brief discussion of this hoard, see above, p. 320, Note 3.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 241-228/7 B. C.

1596. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus Hierax to r.
Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting
l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in out-
stretched r. On the *omphalos*, OWL.

Newell (Neville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1067, Pl. 37), ↑, gr. 16.86. PLATE LXXVI, 5.

1597. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1596.

Similar. In outer l. field, OWL.

α) Berlin (Fox Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.655; β) Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 967, Pl. 34, gr. 16.91. PLATE LXXVI, 6.

α and β are struck from a single pair of dies.

1598. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus Hierax to r.

Similar. In inner l. field, Α. In outer l.
field, Α (placed side-ways) above OWL.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.60. PLATE LXXVI, 8.

1599. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1598, but now damaged in
the region of the diadem knot.

Similar. In upper, inner l. field, Α above
Α. In outer l. field, OWL.

α) Gotha, gr. 13.57 (coin has been holed and damaged); β) Milan (bears the Este Collec-
tion punch). PLATE LXXVI, 7.

α and β are struck from a single pair of dies.

1600. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1598.

Similar. In inner l. field, Α. In outer l.
field, (?) above OWL.

The Hague, No. 6926a, ↑, gr. 16.75. PLATE LXXVI, 9.

1601. TETRADRACHM.

Head to r., wearing winged diadem.

Similar. In the exergue, OWL.

Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 928, Pl. 32, gr. 16.59. PLATE LXXVI, 10.

1602. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Hierax to r.

Similar. In outer l. field, Α above Α (?).
In the exergue, OWL.

Newell (Neville Sale X, June 1925, No. 931, Pl. 33), ↑, gr. 16.28. PLATE LXXVI, 11.

1603. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Hierax to r.

Similar. In the exergue, OWL.

α) Berlin, gr. 16.61; β) Jameson Coll., No. 1681, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 15.96; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 14.70 (badly corroded); δ) Paris (Babelon No. 286, Pl. viii, 3 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3288, Pl. cxix), gr. 16.55. PLATE LXXXVI, 12; ε) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.48. PLATE LXXXVII, 1.

All are from the same obverse die. α and β are from one reverse die; γ from another; δ and ε from yet a third.

1604. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In inner l. field, OWL.

α) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum. Butler Coll., Sotheby Sale, July 1911, No. 248, Pl. v); β) London (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 447, Pl. iv), gr. 17.04. PLATE LXXXVII, 2.

α and β are struck from a single pair of dies.

The invariable presence of the OWL on Nos. 1596–1604 suggests that these pieces were coined in a single mint, of which that bird was the badge. The flat, spread fabric and the general style of the coins point to the Troad, which the presence of the winged diadem on No. 1601, PLATE LXXXVI, 10, practically confirms. The only city in the Troad which on its autonomous coins regularly employed the owl as a badge was Sigeum.⁵⁴ Sige or Sigeum, close to the entrance of the Hellespont, was early under the influence of Athens which had planted colonists there from time to time. Its annual assessment of a thousand drachms by the Delian League indicates that the town was not entirely negligible at that period. Its autonomous coinage is of the fourth century only, and of no great importance. Sigeum was captured by Lysimachus,⁵⁵ and in early Hellenistic times may have been of some strategic value to the rulers of north-western Asia Minor because of its command of the Dardanelles. But historically we hear nothing further concerning it beyond that about 200 B. C. it became involved in a quarrel with Ilium, was completely destroyed by the latter, and by Strabo's time no longer existed.

Babelon assigned No. 1603 without question to Sigeum. Actually, one hesitates to ascribe to so small a town of which so little is known such a considerable series of coins as is now represented by Nos. 1596–1604. But alternative choices are perhaps still more doubtful, and in no case is there as yet any definite proof. We have, for instance, Ilium. It seems curious that a centre of such historic and cultural importance as Ilium undoubtedly was in Hellenistic times, should be without any commensurate Seleucid coinage.⁵⁶ As is well known, the worship of Athena was peculiarly associated with that city, and her helmeted head is the constant obverse type on her autonomous coinage throughout the third, second, and first centuries, B. C.⁵⁷ During this same period the local cult statue of Athena Ilias is the usual reverse type, but the owl does also occur once as a full-fledged type⁵⁸ and frequently either as a magistrate's symbol⁵⁹ or even as part of the type itself. The

⁵⁴ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., Pl. xvi, 5–10.

⁵⁵ Diodorus XX, 107, 2. Many coins of Lysimachus are erroneously assigned to Sigeum by Müller.

⁵⁶ We have only No. 1560, PLATE LXXXII, 5.

⁵⁷ Cf. von Fritze, *loc. cit.*, pp. 478 ff., Nos. 1–27.

⁵⁸ Under Augustus. Cf. von Fritze, No. 42, Beilage (Plate) 62.

⁵⁹ Here, PLATE LXXXV, B. Cf. also Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., Pl. xi, 3, 5, 8; von Fritze, Pl. 61, Nos.

owl would have recommended itself for use as a symbol because of its simpler structure in comparison with the far more complicated figure of Athena Ilias. Furthermore, the latter's use as a symbol was not at all suitable to the restricted flan of a coin,⁶⁰ nor within the capacity of the less able artists of the later period. As a further alternative, the important city of Assus should not be overlooked. Although the reclining griffin was apparently the real badge of this city (to judge by its coins), the head of Athena remained the constant obverse type in Greek times.⁶¹ At one moment in the city's numismatic history, its coins were commonly counter-stamped with an owl in a circular depression.⁶² Of the three choices here presented, Sigeum still appears to be the most likely.

No. 1595, PLATE LXXVI, 3-4, of Seleucus II has been collocated with Nos. 1596-7 because of the remarkable resemblance which exists between the obverse dies of these particular coins. If the symbol LEAFY BRANCH, of No. 1595, be really an olive sprig then, because of that tree's close association with Athena, it could well have been used at a mint which in the immediate past enjoyed such close cultural and historic relations with Athens. The olive sprig, the crescent, and the owl were the outstanding elements in the reverse types of the well-known Athenian silver currency. As the inhabitants of Sigeum were largely of Athenian origin, the owl and the crescent had constituted the reverse type of that city's autonomous coinages. Similarly, the olive spray or, alternatively, the owl could well have continued as the mint-marks chosen for the Seleucid coinages produced by that mint.

The portrait on Nos. 1596-7, PLATE LXXVI, 5-6, which bears such a striking resemblance⁶³ to the head of Seleucus II on No. 1595, was probably intended to represent Antiochus Hierax. As a portrait of the latter it cannot, perhaps, be called an outstanding success for it also bears a certain resemblance to Antiochus II. Even if this head be that of Antiochus II, the coins must be considered posthumous, for by their poorer style and broadening flans PLATE LXXVI, 5-6 must be the successors, not the predecessors of PLATE LXXVI, 3-4. In other words, we have here, for the opening issue of Hierax at Sigeum, a clear parallel to his opening issues at Lampsacus (PLATE LXX, 3-9) on which the posthumous portrait of his deceased father also appeared, to be followed by his own 'portrait,' which was actually but a modified and highly rejuvenated likeness of Antiochus II. The continued use of the dotted circle on the obverse confirms the assignment to the earliest years of Hierax. With the succeeding issues it disappears for good, and in this respect the coinages of Sigeum now conform to those of neighboring mints.

The portrait on Nos. 1598-1600, PLATE LXXVI, 7-9, may represent a continuing degeneracy in the representation of Antiochus II, but because of its apparent youthfulness was almost surely intended for Hierax himself. Similar is the head with the winged diadem, PLATE LXXVI, 10. It appears to be a slightly older

⁶⁰ Cf. PLATE LXXII, 5.

⁶¹ Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, etc., Pl. vii, 10-16.

⁶² *Investigations at Assos, Coins*, 1921, pp. 301-303, Nos. 52, 57, 59, 63, 68, 71, 74, 75, 80, 83, 121-5.

⁶³ Aside from the general resemblance, note particularly the curious line or fold which appears at the back of the neck in both portraits, and runs diagonally down to the neck's truncation.

representation of the head on PLATE LXXVI, 7-9. It may be an older Hierax, and seems not unlike the heads of PLATE LXXIV, 8-11. It even possesses faint suggestions of some of the idealized heads of Antiochus I on the coins of Alexandria Troas, such as PLATE LXXII, 12. Not improbably it contains elements of all these 'portraits,' unconsciously amalgamated into one by the artist who produced it. With regard to the remaining heads, PLATES LXXVI, 11-12 and LXXVII, 1-2, perhaps the less said the better. They are all of a more or less youthful character and were probably meant to portray Hierax, within whose reign these coins were certainly struck. But for us they possess little real iconographic value. They seem to have been merely offered as ideal heads of the reigning king, comparatively young—just as he was still comparatively young. In fact, how could the die-cutters produce exact likenesses of a person they probably had never seen?

G: UNCERTAIN MINTS



a

Another city in the Troad must have commenced coining at this time, to judge by the following pieces.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1605. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful head of Antiochus I to r., wearing winged diadem.
Macdonald, No. 33.

BAΣΙΑΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In the exergue,  SHIELD .

Berlin, gr. 17.15. PLATE LXXVII, 3.

1606. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1605.
Macdonald, No. 34.

Similar, but the position of the two monograms is reversed.

α) Dr. E. P. Robinson Coll. (Walcher de Moltheim Coll., No. 2892, Pl. xxiv), gr. 16.20;

β) Brussels, gr. 16.98. PLATE LXXVII, 4.

α and β are struck from the same obverse, but from differing reverse dies.

These two varieties have already been discussed by Dr. Macdonald,⁴⁴ who could reach no conclusion as to their probable mint beyond the obvious one that the presence of the winged diadem points to an origin somewhere in the Troad. To this we unfortunately have nothing further to add. The engraver took as his model some such coin as PLATE LXXII, 6 or 12, but asserted his individuality by changing somewhat the position of the diadem-ends.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

b

ANTIOCHUS II

1607. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of the elderly Antiochus I
(or II?) to r. Circle of dots?

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting
l. on bow, and holding arrow in extended r.
In inner l. field, FEMALE (?) FIGURE to l.
Circle of dots.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 892, Pl. 31, gr. 16.93. PLATE LXXVII, 5.

The similarity of the portrait on this coin to the tetradrachm illustrated PLATE LXXII, 10, suggests the Hellespontine district. The presence of a dotted circle on the reverse is unusual on Seleucid coins for so late a date in the west, but the fabric of the piece is distinctly western. A similar circle occurs on coins of Lysimachia⁴⁸ of the period, and so further supports the tentative assignment of No. 1607 to the Hellespontine district. Whether or not there was also a circle of dots on the obverse must remain uncertain until a specimen on a broader flan is found.

The identity of the symbol in the field of the reverse is also very doubtful, as the design has been damaged at this particular spot. The general outlines, however, would seem to suggest a figure of *Elpis*, advancing to left, raising her 'skirt' with her left hand and holding a flower in her right. The symbol suggests no particular mint.

c

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1608. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed youthful head to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo seated to l., as before. In the
exergue, ☩.

Poche Coll., Aleppo. PLATE LXXVII, 6.

1609. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed and older head to r.

Similar. In inner l. field, ☩. In outer r.
field, Δ.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 21, No. 12, Pl. lxiv, 14), gr. 16.56. PLATE LXXVII, 7.

Style and the broad, thin fabric of the flans point to the Troad. The coins are not necessarily of the same mint. The reverse of No. 1608 is very like that of

⁴⁸ See below, Nos. 1610-13, PLATE LXXVII, 8-11.

PLATE LXXVII, 1, while the portrait suggests that of PLATE LXXVI, 11. The portrait of No. 1609 closely resembles that of PLATE LXXVI, 10, but is older and could be profitably compared with the mature head of Hierax on his issues at Tarsus, PLATE L, 5-7. Style, fabric and heads all point to the reign of Hierax as the probable date of these two coins.

H: LYSIMACHIA IN THRACE

Because of its strategic position, the history of Lysimachia throughout the third century B. C. was unusually eventful. Founded by Lysimachus in 309/8 B. C., levelled by an earthquake and rebuilt in 287/6 B. C., secured by Ptolemy Ceraunus after his assassination of Seleucus I in 280 B. C., nearly overwhelmed in 278 B. C. by the devastating invasion of the Celts, scene of their great defeat by Antigonus Gonatas in 277 B. C., Lysimachia appears to have been able to maintain, from the death of Ceraunus down to about the middle of the third century B. C., a state of semi-independence. Its mint produced large numbers of coins during the life-time of Lysimachus, and this coinage continued posthumously for some thirty years.⁶⁶ At about that time the city must have been taken over by Antiochus II as a necessary preliminary to his campaigns in Thrace and the capture of Cypselas.⁶⁷

The issues of Lysimachia, both under Lysimachus himself as well as after his death, almost invariably bear the city's badge, a lion's head. For that reason the following pieces have also been assigned to that mint.

ANTIOCHUS II

Circa 250 B. C. ?

1610. TETRADRACHM.

Elderly head of Antiochus I to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, LION'S HEAD.

Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1063, Pl. 37 (N. W. Asia Minor Hoard, 1929), gr. 16.99. PLATE LXXVII, 8.

1611. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1610, but now in a more damaged state.

Similar. In outer l. field, LION'S HEAD. In the exergue, ✱. Circle of dots.

α) Florence (Museo Archeologico); β) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 843, Pl. 28), ↑, gr. 16.99. PLATE LXXVII, 9.
α and β are from a single pair of dies.

⁶⁶ Cf. Müller, *Die Münzen des thrakischen Königs Lysimachus*, Nos. 38-58, which comprise both contemporary and posthumous issues of Lysimachus at Lysimachia. There also exist many varieties not known to Müller.

⁶⁷ Polyaeus IV, 16. Bevan I, p. 176. Beloch IV², I, p. 672.

1612. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. No symbol or monogram. Circle of dots.

Newell (Hess Sale 207, Dec. 1931, No. 643, Pl. 15 = Hamburger Sale, June 1930, No. 838, Pl. 25 = Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 871, Pl. 30), ↑, gr. 17.09. PLATE LXXVII, 10.

1613. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1612, but now in a more worn and damaged state.

Similar. In inner l. field, LION's HEAD. In outer l. field, H.

α) Berlin (Prokesch-Osten Coll.), ↑, gr. 17.02; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 844, Pl. 28 = Merzbacher Sale, Nov. 1910, No. 824, Pl. 14 = Hirsch Sale XIX, Nov. 1907, No. 596, Pl. xv), gr. 16.97; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXVII, 11.
α-γ are from a single pair of dies.

Of the four varieties here described, three bear as symbol the LION's HEAD. The consequent attribution of these coins to Lysimachia is supported by the presence of No. 1610 in the north-western Asia Minor Hoard of 1929 (Noe, No. 82). With the exception of only two pieces, all of the Seleucid coins in this hoard came originally from mints in the Hellespontine district.⁶⁸ In spite of the realistic appearance of the portrait of Antiochus I on these coins, we are forced to assign them to the last half of Antiochus II's reign. For even a hasty comparison with E. S. M., Plates xv, 15-17 and xvi, 1-2, reveals the fact that our present tetradrachms must have been copied from certain issues of Seleucia on the Tigris which had themselves certainly been brought out in the reign of Antiochus II. Such copying of eastern coins also clearly accounts for the presence of the dotted circle on the reverses of Nos. 1610-13, a type of ornamentation very rarely found on the reverses of coins of western mintage after the early years of Antiochus I.⁶⁹ The comparatively late date thus established for our present coins doubtless brings their issue down to the period when Antiochus II was campaigning in Thrace. They constitute visual proof of his acquisition of Lysimachia, a necessary step to any invasion of southern Thrace carried out from north-western Asia Minor. The choice of the head of the deceased Antiochus I to adorn these Thracian issues of his son, is not only in conformity with the latter's general policy, particularly in the early portion of his reign in Asia Minor, but perhaps it was specifically felt that Antiochus I's portrait would in Thrace lend the coinage greater prestige than would the portrait of the less well-known Antiochus II.

⁶⁸ Cf. p. 320 and footnote 3.⁶⁹ With the exception of Nisibis (as late as Seleucus III), Apamea and Laodicea ad Mare (as late as Antiochus III), and Tarsus (as late as Antiochus II), we possess only three instances in the West, namely PLATES LXI, 14, LXVI, 7, and LXXVII, 5, in which the dotted circle occurs on the reverses of Seleucid silver issues after *circa* 278 B. C.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 227-226 B. C. (?)

1614. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head to r. Same die as No. 1558 δ .

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, seated to l. on *omphalos* as usual. In inner l. field, LONG TORCH. In the exergue, \mathcal{E} and LION'S HEAD.

Egger Sale XXXIX, Jan. 1912, No. 337, Pl. xi, gr. 17.10. PLATE LXXVIII, 1.

Again we appear to possess a coinage at or for Lysimachia during one of the three occasions⁷⁰ on which Seleucid kings are stated by our classical sources to have secured a foothold, however precarious or ephemeral, in north-eastern Europe. In the present case, we know that Hierax was in Thrace at the end of his lifetime, for the scene of his death is laid there⁷¹ at the hands of certain Gauls. It follows, therefore, that the coin No. 1614 must be placed in the latter half of his reign, for its obverse was struck from a die previously used at Abydus.⁷² Just as that particular coin of Abydus bears on its reverse the symbol of a LONG TORCH, so too does the present specimen. An essential difference, however, exists between the two coins. While the tetradrachm of Abydus bears in its exergue the badge of that city, the EAGLE, so No. 1614 presents in the same place a LION'S HEAD, the accepted badge of Lysimachia.

It has been suggested above⁷³ that at one time certain dies and die-cutters were transferred (possibly in anticipation of an Egyptian attack) from Abydus to Lampsacus, and that the coinage was then continued at the latter mint. Using one of these old obverse dies previously transported from Abydus, No. 1614 was coined either at Lampsacus or at Lysimachia, probably in connection with that final campaign of Hierax which eventually led to his death while fighting the Gauls in Thrace. The presence of the LION'S HEAD in the exergue speaks for the coinage having taken place in Lysimachia itself. This supposition is perhaps further strengthened by the fact that the monogram which accompanies this symbol is not known at either Abydus or Lampsacus, thus suggesting a magistrate belonging to some other mint—in this case, Lysimachia.

⁷⁰ Antiochus II, Antiochus Hierax, Antiochus III.

⁷¹ Polybius V, 74, 4; Eusebius I, 253.

⁷² No. 1558 δ , PLATE LXXII, 2.

⁷³ See p. 330.

ANTIOCHUS III

Circa 196–190 B. C.

1615. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
 Apollo to l., seated upon *omphalos*, as be-
 fore. In inner l. field, ☸ above LONG TORCH.
 In the exergue, LION'S HEAD to r.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.14. PLATE LXXVIII, 2.

1616. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☸. In the ex-
 ergue, ☉ and LION'S HEAD to r.

Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 33, No. 28, Pl. lxxv, 14), gr. 17.04. PLATE LXXVIII, 3

1617. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1616.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☸. In the ex-
 ergue, ☉ and LION'S HEAD to r.

Aberdeen (Newnham Davis Coll., *Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part II, Pl. xix, No. 372), ↑, gr. 17.20. PLATE LXXVIII, 4.

1618. TETRADRACHM.

From the same dies as Nos. 1615–17.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☸. In the ex-
 ergue, LION'S HEAD to r. and ☉.

α) Lyon. PLATE LXXVIII, 5; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.96. PLATE LXXVIII, 6.

α and β are from the same reverse die, while the obverse die of α is that of No. 1615, the
 obverse die of β is that of Nos. 1616–7.

1619. TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as No. 1615, but now
 showing signs of wear.

Similar. In outer l. field, Α. In the ex-
 ergue, ☉.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 352, Pl. ix, 4), gr. 17.00; β) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.66. PLATE LXXVIII,
 7; γ) Newell, ↑, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXVIII, 8; δ) Newell (White-King Coll., Schulman
 Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 526, Pl. v), ☸, gr. 16.91. PLATE LXXVIII, 9; ε) Berlin (Imhoof-
 Blumer Coll.), ☸, gr. 17.065. PLATE LXXVIII, 10.

α–ε are struck from the same obverse die. α–γ are from one reverse die; δ–ε are from
 another.

1620. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1615, but now very worn.

Similar. In outer l. field, ☸ above Α.

Paris (Babelon, No. 353), gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXVIII, 11.

1621. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r., of
 usual type. Circle of dots.

Similar. In inner l. field, SCEPTRE (?).
 In inner r. field, ☸. In the exergue, ☉ Α.

α) Newell, ↑, gr. 16.45; β) Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1676, Pl. 57),
 gr. 17.26. PLATE LXXVIII, 12.

In their several catalogues, Babelon, Macdonald, and E. S. G. Robinson are unanimous in ascribing the curious portrait on Nos. 1615-20, PLATE LXXXVIII, 2-11, to Antiochus III. That they must be correct in their judgment is definitely proved by the portrait on No. 1621, PLATE LXXXVIII, 12. Here, one can instantly recognize the high, domed forehead, the incipient baldness above the brow, the thin, sharp, forward jutting nose, the small mouth; in other words, all the well-known characteristics peculiar to the later portraits of the third Antiochus. This particular coin is intimately connected with its predecessors, Nos. 1615-20, by the continued presence of the monograms Λ^{P} (also on No. 1620), CE (also on Nos. 1616-19), A (also on No. 1619). Nos. 1615-20 in themselves form a unit, tied together by the use in common of two obverse dies and by the frequent recurrence of certain monograms such as E and CE .

No. 1621 once more displays the dotted circle on its obverse, like the other coinages of Antiochus III except where the newly introduced fillet border held sway. On the other hand, the conspicuous absence of any border at all on Nos. 1615-20 points to a western origin for these pieces. The first four tetradrachms, Nos. 1615-18, are also provided with the LION'S HEAD symbol, which clearly indicates Lysimachia as the mint for the entire issue. The appearance of the LONG TORCH, as well, on No. 1615 is indeed surprising, and had it not been for the necessary collocation of No. 1621⁷⁴ with its immediate predecessors, one could almost have persuaded oneself that Nos. 1615-20 had been coined under Hierax.

An active mint at Lysimachia under Antiochus III is no surprise. The city's immense strategic importance was at once apparent to the king on his arrival in Asia Minor in 197 B. C. From Ephesus, in the spring of 196 B. C., Antiochus proceeded with his fleet to the Hellespont and occupied the site of Lysimachia, while his army advanced overland towards the same destination. The city had previously, in 202/1 B. C., been taken from the enfeebled hands of Egypt by Philip V of Macedon, but he had to evacuate it after his disastrous defeat by the Romans at Cynocephalae. The neighboring Thracians had thereupon ravaged the district of Lysimachia, burning the city and leaving it a dismal ruin. In this sad state was it found by Antiochus. He assigned half his army and his entire fleet to the task of rebuilding Lysimachia, the while he bent every effort to secure new settlers and to recall its former inhabitants, now scattered far and wide, many of them sold into slavery. It was Antiochus' purpose to reconstitute the old kingdom of Lysimachus and to install as king or viceroy in the former capital, Lysimachia, his second son, Seleucus.⁷⁵ To Antiochus at this time the certainty of future trouble with Rome had become evident. Lysimachia was to be not only the new capital but also a great fortress, guarding the Hellespont and the land approaches to Asia from the west. The city now became his main base,⁷⁶ a mighty arsenal and depôt of arms

⁷⁴ The symbol on No. 1621 seems to represent some object more in the nature of a sceptre or thyrsus, rather than a torch.

⁷⁵ Livy XXXIII, 40; Zonaras IX, 18.

⁷⁶ Zonaras, *ibid.*

and supplies. Small wonder, then, that under such circumstances an active mint should also have been erected at Lysimachia to supply the necessary monetary reserves and circulating medium for a military establishment of this kind.

CHAPTER XI

UNCERTAIN MINTS

Here are gathered together the many early Seleucid coins whose attribution even to provinces, let alone actual mints, is still most uncertain. All are described in detail, but only such pieces will be discussed as offer some point of interest or a faint possibility of assignment to some particular district. Little can be said concerning the bronze coins until definite records of their usual provenance can be secured.

SELEUCUS I

1622. STATER.

Head of Athena to r., wearing a triple-crested, serpent-adorned Corinthian helmet.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on l. Winged Nike standing to l., holding *stylis* in l., and wreath in extended r. Beneath the wings, traces of obscure letters or monograms.

Lambros Coll., Hirsch Sale XXIX, Nov. 1910, No. 818, Pl. xii, gr. 8.55. PLATE LXXIX, 1.

1623. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful head of Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. upon sceptre, and holding Nike in outstretched r. In l. field, Σ . Beneath throne, BEA.

Paris (Babelon, No. 26, Pl. i, 10), gr. 17.20. PLATE LXXIX, 2.

1624. DRACHM.

Similar. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Type similar to the preceding except that Zeus holds an eagle. In inner l. field, Φ I.

Newell, Λ , gr. 3.83. PLATE LXXIX, 3.

1625. DRACHM.

Similar, but of different style. Circle of dots.

Similar, but the name is on the r. and the title is on the l. In inner l. field, Σ .

Oxford (unfortunately the cast of the reverse was damaged in transit), Λ , gr. 3.99. PLATE LXXIX, 4.

1626. TETRADRACHM.

Laureate head of Zeus to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in the exergue. Fighting Athena in quadriga of elephants to r. To r. of anchor, ⚓.

Jameson Coll., No. 2343, Pl. cxxiii, gr. 17.06. PLATE LXXIX, 5.

1627. BRONZE UNIT.

Head of Medusa to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ beneath bull butting to r. Behind bull, ⚓.

α) London (Gardner, p. 107, No. 63α); β) Oxford (cast of reverse damaged in transit), ↑, gr. 2.18. PLATE LXXIX, 6.

1628. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar, but ⚓ between hind legs of bull.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 94), gr. 3.00; β) Newell (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7842, Pl. 286), ⚓, gr. 2.39. PLATE LXXIX, 7.

The stater of Alexandrine types, No. 1622, PLATE LXXIX, 1, appears to bear traces of some magistrate's letters or monograms, but they are very obscure. Their explanation as 'Phoenician letters' in the Lambros catalogue is impossible.

The Alexandrine tetradrachm No. 1623, PLATE LXXIX, 2, has been discussed in E. S. M., p. 22. Its style varies so greatly from that of the other issues of Seleucia on the Tigris that its assignment to that mint still appears dubious. The parallel arrangement of the inscriptions on the two drachms, Nos. 1624-5, PLATE LXXIX, 3-4, points to the west of the Seleucid empire as their probable origin.

The elephant quadriga tetradrachm No. 1626, PLATE LXXIX, 5, does not seem by its style or monogram to fit well with the similar issues of Seleucia on the Tigris or Susa. If, however, it should be attributed to the former mint (the more probable of the two), it will have to be connected with such coins as E. S. M., Pl. vi, 3-4, which it most nearly resembles.

The two bronze units Nos. 1627-8, PLATE LXXIX, 6-7, to judge by their style, fabric and the source of at least one of them,¹ originated in some mint in western Asia Minor, possibly Sardes. As no examples appear to have turned up in the excavations of that site, the coins have been placed, for the present at least, among those of uncertain mintage.

ANTIOCHUS I

1629. TETRADRACHM.

Head of young Heracles to r., wearing lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ANTIOXΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the exergue. Zeus enthroned to l., resting l. hand on sceptre, and holding eagle in outstretched r. In l. field, ⚓.

The Hague, No. 6883, →, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXIX, 8.

¹ Purchased from A. O. van Lennep of Smyrna by Sir Hermann Weber.

1630. DRACHM.

Similar in type but of different style.

Similar, but the inscription placed in two parallel lines to r. and l. of the type. Beneath throne, ☉ (?).

London (from Peshawar), ↑, gr. 4.07. PLATE LXXIX, 9.

1631. BRONZE DOUBLE (?).

Head of Artemis to l., quiver at back.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Inverted anchor.

London, ↑, gr. 4.31. PLATE LXXIX, 10.

ANTIOCHUS I OR ANTIOCHUS II

1632. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of the elderly Antiochus I to r.

Inscription disposed as on the preceding. Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, ΔΙ.

Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum. Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 483), gr. 16.98. PLATE LXXIX, 11.

Little can be said with regard to the tetradrachm and drachm of Alexandrine types, Nos. 1629-30, PLATE LXXIX, 8-9. The tetradrachm may be western. The drachm also looks more western than eastern. The monogram, unfortunately none too clear, does indeed remind one of similar monograms found on Bactrian issues, and the piece originally came from the well-known dealer Chanda Mall of Peshawar. But the style, the disposition of the inscription, and the die position are western, rather than eastern.

No. 1631, PLATE LXXIX, 10, appears to be of western style, although whether it came from as far west as Asia Minor is doubtful. The reverse type of the anchor suggests Syria and an early period, probably the reign of the first Antiochus.

The hard, dry die-cutting, and the generally poor style of its reverse die, suggest an eastern origin for No. 1632, PLATE LXXIX, 11. The magistrate's letters ΔΙ may also point to the east, where they occur on various early issues of Persepolis,² Ecbatana,³ and Bactra.⁴ But our present tetradrachm will not readily fit among the coinages of these mints, although it may represent an issue of another, as yet unknown mint in that general region.

² E. S. M., Pl. xxxii, 1-4.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. xxxv, 1-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. li, 9-11.

ANTIOCHUS II

1633. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
 Apollo, as before, seated to l. upon *omphalos*. No monograms visible.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 882, Pl. 30, gr. 17.04. PLATE LXXIX, 12.

1634. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus II (?) to r. Similar.
 Circle of dots.

American Numismatic Society, ♀, gr. 16.77. PLATE LXXIX, 13.

1635. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head to r. of yet different style. Similar.

London (Gardner, p. 20, No. 5), ♂, gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXIX, 14.

No. 1633, PLATE LXXIX, 12, certainly bears a portrait of Antiochus II; No. 1634, PLATE LXXIX, 13, probably so, although in this case a faint resemblance to Antiochus I may be also recognized. As the coins possess no monograms or other criteria by which to judge, their true mints must for the present remain extremely doubtful. Even more uncertain is the portrait on No. 1635, PLATE LXXIX, 14, but it was probably intended for that of the second Antiochus. By its allocation in the British Museum Catalogue, Gardner evidently also sensed in it a certain similarity to other heads of Antiochus II, heads which he there assigned to Hierax but which are now known to represent Antiochus II.

SELEUCUS II

1636. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Seleucus II to r. Circle
 of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l.
 Apollo, seated upon *omphalos* to l., resting
 l. hand on bow, and holding arrow in extended r. In outer l. field, ΠΡ.

Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll. Cf. *Choix*, etc., Pl. vi, 207 and *Monnaies grecques*, p. 426, No. 31), ↑, gr. 16.12. PLATE LXXIX, 15.

1637. DRACHM.

Similar.

Same inscription as on the preceding.
 Apollo standing to l., resting l. on bow, and
 holding arrow in extended r. In outer l.
 field, Π. In outer r. field, ΠΡ.

Paris (Babelon, No. 247, Pl. vii, 3), gr. 4.15. PLATE LXXIX, 16.

1638. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of an entirely different style.
Circle of dots.

Similar, but Apollo leans l. elbow on tripod.
In inner l. field, $\Lambda\Sigma$ above $\text{W}\Sigma$.

New York, Metropolitan Museum (Ward Coll., No. 779, Pl. xix = Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 461 = *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, Pl. iv, 7), \nearrow , gr. 16.89.
PLATE LXXX, 1.

1639. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. Between Apollo and tripod, $\Lambda\Sigma$ above Δ .

The Hague, No. 6941, \uparrow , gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXX, 2.

1640. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar, but without any letters at all.

Newell (Cahn Sale 71, Oct. 1931, No. 522, Pl. 17), \uparrow , gr. 17.20. PLATE LXXX, 3.

1641. TETRADRACHM.

Similar but of differing style. Circle of dots.

Similar but of differing style. In inner l. field, H. In outer r. field, Δ . Circle of dots.

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 17.16. PLATE LXXX, 4.

1642. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1641.

Similar. In inner l. field, Δ . In outer r. field, $\text{H}\Sigma$.

Paris (Babelon, No. 251, Pl. vii, 4), gr. 17.25. PLATE LXXX, 5.

1643. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of different style.

Similar to the preceding, but of different style. In inner l. field, Σ and ΔI (both placed sideways).

Paris (Babelon, No. 248), gr. 16.50. PLATE LXXX, 6.

1644. TETRADRACHM.

From a die very similar to the preceding.

Similar. In inner l. field, $\text{A}\Sigma$ above ΔI .

Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1951, Pl. 56, gr. 16.17. PLATE LXXX, 7.

1645. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of different style. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, NA.

London (Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7860, Pl. 286 = Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 460 = *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, Pl. iv, 8), \uparrow , gr. 16.78.
PLATE LXXX, 8.

1646. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1645, but now in a more damaged state.

Similar, but cruder. In outer r. field, W .

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 915, Plate 32, gr. 16.58. PLATE LXXX, 9.

1647. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head to r., but of somewhat crude workmanship. Similar. In inner l. field, Σ l above Σ E.

Bement Coll., Naville Sale VII, June 1924, No. 1673, Pl. 57 = Hirsch Sale XXXIV, May 1914, No. 502, Pl. xv = Consul Weber Coll., Hirsch Sale XXI, Nov. 1908, No. 4041, Pl. lii, gr. 16.38. PLATE LXXX, 10.

1648. TETRADRACHM.

Of fine style and high relief. Similar, but of fine style. No monograms.

Commerce, Σ , gr. 16.00. PLATE LXXX, 11.

1649. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Similar. In outer l. field, Σ l(?).

α) Jameson Coll., No. 1677, Pl. lxxxiv, gr. 16.68; β) Oxford, \uparrow , gr. 16.90. PLATE LXXX, 12.

1650. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, of high relief but not quite so good in style. Circle of dots. Similar. In outer l. field, Σ P. In outer r. field, Σ .

Newell, Σ , gr. 15.47 (badly corroded). PLATE LXXXI, 1.

1651. TETRADRACHM.

Similar in type, of lower relief and less fine style. Circle of dots. Similar. In outer l. field, Σ . In outer r. field, Σ .

α) Newell (Yakountchikoff Coll., No. 99, Pl. viii), \uparrow , gr. 16.72. PLATE LXXXI, 3;
 β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.72. PLATE LXXXI, 4.
 α and β are from the same obverse, but from differing reverse dies.

1652. DRACHM.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Attic helmet. Similar to No. 1637, but no monogram visible.

Paris (Babelon, No. 264 ? or 265, but monogram not visible), gr. 4.10. PLATE LXXXI, 2.

1653. DRACHM.

Draped bust of Athena to r., wearing crested Attic helmet. Similar. In outer l. field, uncertain letter or monogram.

Paris (Babelon, No. 266, Pl. vii, 8 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3286, Pl. cxix), gr. 4.00.

1654. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Attic helmet. Circle of dots. Similar. No letters or monogram in the field.

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 267, Pl. vii, 9), gr. 8.70; β) Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7862 (purchased at Smyrna), Pl. 286, gr. 6.35; γ) London (Gardner, p. 17, No. 17); δ) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 26, No. 15, Pl. lxiv, 23), gr. 6.54. PLATE LXXXI, 5; ϵ) Turin (Fabretti, No. 4566), gr. 8.23; ζ) Oxford (a very corroded coin, but said to have the letters Σ I— Σ I in outer l. field), \uparrow , gr. 7.56.

1655. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{P}}$. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$.

α) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., Vol. III, p. 26, No. 17), gr. 4.02; β) Sir H. Weber Coll., Vol. III, 2, No. 7863, Pl. 287), gr. 5.24; γ) London (Gardner, p. 17, No. 18, Pl. vi, 6), gr. 3.98. PLATE LXXXI, 6; δ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \uparrow ; ϵ) Paris (from Susa); ρ) Newell (countermarked: $\overline{\text{B}}$ in oval), \uparrow , gr. 4.58. PLATE LXXXI, 7.

1656. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{P}}$. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{Z}}$.

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 5.04. PLATE LXXXI, 8.

1657. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{H}}$. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{Z}}$ (?), or $\overline{\text{M}}$ (?), or $\overline{\text{A}}$.

α) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), \uparrow , gr. 4.76; β) Glasgow (Hunter Coll., p. 26, No. 16), gr. 3.66. PLATE LXXXI, 9; γ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.95. PLATE LXXXI, 10; δ) Paris (Babelon, No. 269), gr. 4.55; ϵ) Adib Coll., Antioch, \uparrow , gr. 3.95.

1658. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{A}}$. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{A}}$.

London (Gardner, p. 17, No. 19), gr. 3.36. PLATE LXXXI, 11.

1659. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{AE}}$ above $\overline{\text{A}}$. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{P}}$.

α) London; β) Turin (Fabretti No. 4567), gr. 3.38; γ) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), \uparrow ; δ) Zygman Coll., \uparrow , gr. 4.20. PLATE LXXXI, 12.

1660. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{A}}$. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{K}}$ above $\overline{\text{A}}$.

Istanbul (*Sardis*, No. 384. 'Basis Hoard'), gr. 4.08.

1661. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{K}}$ above $\overline{\text{M}}$. In outer r. field, $\overline{\text{A}}$.

α) London; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 3.64. PLATE LXXXI, 13; γ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 4.15. PLATE LXXXI, 14; δ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 4.45.

1662. BRONZE HALF.

Similar.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Elephant's head to r. In outer l. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$. Beneath type, $\overline{\text{K}}$. Probably in outer r. field, $\overline{\text{M}}$ (?).

Newell, \uparrow , gr. 2.04. PLATE LXXXI, 15.

1663. BRONZE QUARTER.

Similar.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Inverted anchor. In outer l. field, uncertain letter or monogram. In outer r. field, κ above Δ .

α) London (Gardner, p. 5, No. 48, Pl. ii, 9), gr. 1.07. PLATE LXXXI, 16; β) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 1.12. PLATE LXXXI, 17.

1664. BRONZE UNIT.

Similar.

Similar to Nos. 1654-61, but with circle of dots around. In outer l. field, EY. In outer r. field, N (?).

α) Paris (Babelon, No. 270 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3287, Pl. cxix), gr. 4.20; β) American University, Beyrouth; γ) London (Gardner, p. 17, No. 20), gr. 3.78. PLATE LXXXI, 18.

1665. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Similar, but of cruder style.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Nike to l. holding palm in l., and wreath in extended r. In the exergue, ANCHOR.

Paris (Babelon, No. 273, Pl. vii, 10), gr. 7.70. PLATE LXXXI, 19.

To Seleucus II belong an unusually large number of uncertain pieces, doubtless due to the kaleidoscopic nature of his reign and to his many and far-flung campaigns. It is extremely probable that from time to time necessity dictated the coinage of small or special issues at places which otherwise possessed no established mints. Because of the absence of sufficient criteria, such issues would be very difficult to assign to their several places of mintage.

The tetradrachm No. 1636 and the drachm No. 1637, PLATE LXXIX, 15-16, must be the issues of a single mint, as indicated by their similar style and the identity of one of their monograms. They evidently belong to the early years of the reign, as it was only in that period that the *seated* Apollo appeared upon the tetradrachms of Seleucus II,⁵ or his portrait upon the drachms⁶ with the standing Apollo reverse.

By their general style and fabric, Nos. 1638-40, PLATE LXXX, 1-3, appear to belong to Syrian territory. Moreover, their style is so individual that the coins must have been produced by a single engraver and therefore have emanated from a single mint. This assumption is confirmed by the presence of the letters AΣ, recurring on two of the reverse dies. Bunbury⁷ hesitatingly offered the suggestion that the letters which he read as NΔ on his specimen, might represent a date, although he was at considerable loss to explain the unfortunate fact that these 'numbers' would not fit any date in the reign of Seleucus II. Sir George Hill later read⁸

⁵ Cf. E. S. M., Nos. 545-7, Pl. xi, 4-6.

⁶ Cf. W. S. M., Nos. 1420-3, PLATE LVIII, 7-10.

⁷ Num. Chron., 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, p. 82.

⁸ Greek Coins and their Parent Cities, p. 126, No. 779.

the letters in question as NE, thus eliminating any possible thought that they could be numerals. Bunbury's suggestion is finally disposed of by the existence of No. 1639 which in the place of the enigmatic letters has a monogram Δ .

Likewise, to some mint south or east of the Taurus mountains may be assigned the two tetradrachms Nos. 1641-2, PLATE LXXX, 4-5. This is indicated by their fabric and the presence of the dotted circle on their reverses, the latter ornament not being known on coins of Seleucus II from Asia Minor. These particular pieces are closely united by the fact that they were coined from a single obverse die, while their reverses bear similar monograms. Whether the two succeeding tetradrachms, Nos. 1643-4, PLATE LXXX, 6-7, were also coined in that same mint is very much open to question. Although they, too, bear the magistrate's letters Δ I, in style and fabric they seem utterly at variance with Nos. 1641-2.

Nos. 1645-6, PLATE LXXX, 8-9, are likewise from a single mint, as shown by the fact that their obverses were coined from one die, and their reverses are marked by the letters NA or the monogram ∇ , obviously representing one and the same magistrate. The die-cutter used a coin of Apamea, such as PLATE XXXV, 6, as his model, both for the portrait and for the figure of Apollo. Were it not for stylistic differences, these two pieces might be assigned to the mint of Tarsus because of the presence of the monogram ∇ , a monogram which also occurs (and in this very form) on No. 1317, PLATE L, 3, of that mint.

For the moment little can be said with regard to Nos. 1647-51, PLATES LXXX, 10-12 and LXXXI, 1, 3-4. Some day they may be found to fit in with issues from already known mints, but at present positive links are still missing. No. 1649, PLATE LXXX, 12, offers some stylistic affinities with certain issues of Antiochus III (PLATE XLVII, 1-3) probably from Damascus, but it is not yet possible to substantiate this suggestion. It rests only upon a purely subjective impression of style and fabric.

Similarly, the low relief, general style, and the youthfulness of the portrait of Seleucus II on No. 1651, PLATE LXXXI, 3-4, suggest a mint somewhere in Asia Minor, but nearer than this our present available data will hardly allow us to come.

The uncertainty as to the monograms on the two drachms Nos. 1652-3, PLATE LXXXI, 2, renders their assignment too problematical to hazard at the present stage of our studies.

No attempt has been made to distribute to their several mints the large series of bronze coins Nos. 1654-63, PLATE LXXXI, 5-17, which bear the well-known types of Seleucus II. Here, again, the data at our disposal are as yet insufficient for any well-based attribution. The few find- or source-records which we do possess extend all the way from Smyrna and Sardes to Susa. On the whole, however, it seems safe to claim that these particular coins were issued in Asia Minor. Their style and fabric are absolutely typical of that district, and the coins themselves have a marked tendency to turn up in mixed lots of Greek and Roman coins from Asia Minor. In more concrete support of this general assignment may be cited the purchase of No. 1654 β from a well-known dealer of Smyrna, and the

finding of No. 1660 in the excavations of Sardes. To the latter mint, however, they cannot very well be assigned. In the first place, they represent a very common type, yet only a single specimen was found there. In the second place, the short reign of Seleucus II over the Lydian capital (*circa* 246/241 B. C.) is amply provided for by a series of bronze coins,⁹ of which no less than six specimens turned up in that city's excavations. Our coins were not issued at Magnesia on the Maeander, as a special type of bronze coin,¹⁰ clearly marked by that city's own peculiar badge (the Maeander pattern), represents her coinage under Seleucus II. Nor in style do our coins fit at Ephesus, a mint which also is provided with its own type of bronze coin¹¹ under Seleucus II. Thus, of all the larger Seleucid coining centres in Asia Minor which would seem to be likely mints for Nos. 1654-65, only Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum remain. As actual specimens have reached us from both Smyrna and Sardes, the general region of the Hermus valley may be suggested tentatively as the original home of our bronze coins. In this connection it may be noted that both the elephant's head of No. 1662, as well as the tight fitting Attic helmet which marks the obverse type of all our coins, are to be found on a preceding Seleucid bronze issue of Smyrna.¹²

The mint of the bronze 'unit' No. 1664, PLATE LXXXI, 18, of the same types as the preceding, is almost certainly to be sought further to the east. This is suggested by the presence of the dotted circle on the *reverse*, similar to the tetradrachms, Nos. 1641-2, PLATE LXXX, 4-5, and is further supported by the existence of a specimen of this particular variety in the collection of the American University at Beyrouth.

We have no suggestion as to the possible origin of the rather crudely made No. 1665, PLATE LXXXI, 19.

ANTIOCHUS II OR ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1666. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l.
Apollo, as usual, seated to l. upon *omphalos*.
In outer l. field, ΑΦ. In outer r. field Ξ.

Poche Coll., Aleppo. PLATE LXXXI, 20.

1667. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, Α.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.80. PLATE LXXXI, 21.

⁹ Our Nos. 1424-8, PLATE LVIII, 11-18.

¹⁰ Cf. Nos. 1484-5, PLATE LXIII, 16-18.

¹¹ Cf. No. 1491, PLATE LXIV, 8.

¹² Cf. No. 1495, PLATE LXV, 5.

No. 1666, PLATE LXXXI, 20, bears a head not unlike the rather characterless type of PLATES LXVI, 14 or LXVIII, 6-8. As such, the coin could have been issued either towards the close of Antiochus II's reign or early in the reign of Hierax. The good style of the reverse suggests the former period.

No. 1667, PLATE LXXXI, 21, offers a type of head which may be, in its elderly character, a degeneration of the deified Antiochus I type or of Antiochus II, himself.¹³ This would point to the reign of Antiochus II, but the poor style, and especially the crude die-cutting of the reverse, suggests, rather, the disturbed reign of Hierax.¹⁴ Both coins are almost certainly issues of western Asia Minor.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1668. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, youthful head to r. Circle of dots. Same inscription and types as on the preceding. In the exergue, $\Delta\epsilon$.

Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1959, Pl. 57, gr. 16.07. PLATE LXXXII, 1.

1669. TETRADRACHM.

Similar head, but now wearing a light beard, to r. Circle of dots. Similar. No monogram present.

Naville Sale XV, July 1930, No. 1066, Pl. 37 (= Rhoisopoulos Coll., Hirsch Sale XIII, May 1905, No. 4444, Pl. lv), gr. 16.88. PLATE LXXXII, 2.

The comparatively early style of Nos. 1668-9, combined with a youthful portrait which is utterly unlike that of any other of the Antiochi, indicate that these coins must be issues of Hierax. The presence of a light beard on No. 1669 may be compared with that of another portrait of Hierax, this time from the mint of Tarsus.¹⁵ Curiously rendered on our present coins is the staring eyeball, with the indication of the pupil, which suggests that both coins emanated from one mint. The monogram on No. 1668 may be identical with that found in the outer left field of No. 1666, but the style of the two coins is very different.

1670. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, youthful head to r. with curly hair. Same inscription and type as on the preceding. No symbol or monogram present.

Paris (Babelon, No. 288), gr. 16.65. PLATE LXXXII, 3.

1671. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed, youthful head to r. Circle of dots. Similar, but the type is smaller. In outer l. field, $\Delta\epsilon$. In the exergue, Δ .

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.29. PLATE LXXXII, 4.



¹³ Compare it, for instance, with such coins as PLATE LXXII, 10, or PLATE LXXVII, 5.

¹⁴ Compare such reverses as PLATE LXXIV, 8-9.

¹⁵ Cf. PLATE L, 5-7.

1672. TETRADRACHM.

Somewhat similar head to r. Circle of dots.


Similar, but the figure of Apollo is larger.
In outer l. field, . In the exergue, .

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.84. PLATE LXXXII, 5.

One cannot be really certain of the correct attribution of these nondescript heads. They do not resemble greatly the known portraits of Hierax (extremely variable though the latter are), but still less do they resemble any of the portraits of Antiochus I, II, or III. Hence an assignment to Hierax, however questionable, seems the best solution of the problem. That was apparently the decision of Babelon in attributing the Paris specimen of No. 1670. With regard to Nos. 1671-2, something could possibly be said for Antiochus III, but their style and fabric seem to be too early for any date after 223 B. C. Further than this we cannot go, until some connecting link between these and definitely assignable coins will have been found.

1673. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus Hierax to r.

Same inscription and types as on the preceding. In outer l. field, uncertain letter above  (or H, if placed sideways). In outer r. field, TP (placed sideways).

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.94. PLATE LXXXII, 6.

1674. TETRADRACHM.

Very similar head to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. No monograms or letters.

Berlin, gr. 16.445. PLATE LXXXII, 7.

1675. DRACHM.


Similar.

Similar.

Berlin (restruck on a drachm of Alexander's types), gr. 3.84. PLATE LXXXII, 8.

1676. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1674.

Similar. In the exergue, .

Munich, gr. 16.96. PLATE LXXXII, 9.

1677. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1674 but recut (eye, nose and lips), and now showing a damaged place on cheek.

Similar. In the exergue, EII.

α) Naville Sale IV, June 1922, No. 966, Pl. xxxiv (= Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 1028, Pl. 37), gr. 16.62; β) Lyon. PLATE LXXXII, 10.
α and β are from a single pair of dies.

1678. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1674, now showing greater signs of damage. Similar. In the exergue, ΠΘ.

Brussels, gr. 17.26. PLATE LXXXII, 11.

1679. TETRADRACHM.

Same die as No. 1674. Similar. In the exergue, ΕΠΘ.

α) Salting Coll. (*Sylloge*, Vol. I, Part I, Pl. viii, No. 39), ↑, gr. 16.95; β) Berlin (Löbbecke Coll.), ↑, gr. 16.835. PLATE LXXXII, 12; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 992, Pl. 36, gr. 16.85. PLATE LXXXII, 13.
α and β are from one reverse die; γ from another.

The portrait on these pieces appears to be a somewhat crude rendering of that on PLATE LXXXII, 1. In any case, we find the same shape of nose on Nos. 1 and 2 of PLATE LXXXII, in the present pieces (PLATE LXXXII, 6-13), as well as on certain coins of Tarsus (PLATE L, 5-7) which must belong to Hierax. We would seem justified, then, in assigning Nos. 1673-9 to that king. If so, then these particular coins doubtless date from towards the close of his reign, as may be surmised by the matured appearance of the portrait and by the spread flans. The almost barbaric character of the die-cutting would well suit a period when Hierax' hold on Asia Minor was fast weakening. They would be symptomatic of his last desperate efforts to maintain himself there. The difficult situation in which he now found himself doubtless caused feverish and hastily prepared issues of coin at temporary mints in a country kept loyal only by the presence of his bandit-like army and his treacherous allies, the Gauls.

ANTIOCHUS III

1680. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo, seated to l. upon *omphalos*, resting l. on bow, and holding arrow in outstretched r. In outer l. field, ♂ above Σ.

Newell, ↑, gr. 16.74. PLATE LXXXIII, 1.

1681. TETRADRACHM.

Youthful, diademed head of Antiochus III to r.

Same inscription and types as on the preceding. No monograms.

Cambridge (McClellan Coll., Vol. III, No. 9266, Pl. 337, 2), ↑, gr. 16.78. PLATE LXXXIII, 2.

1682. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Circle of dots.

Same inscription and types as on the preceding. In outer l. field, $\Pi\epsilon$ (placed sideways).

α) London, \uparrow , gr. 16.47; β) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.97. PLATE LXXXIII, 3; γ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.72; δ) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.71; ϵ) Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Coll.), gr. 16.95. PLATE LXXXIII, 4.

α and β are from the same obverse but different reverse dies; γ - ϵ are from another obverse die; δ and ϵ are from a fourth reverse die.

1683. TETRADRACHM.

Somewhat similar, but smaller head to r. Circle of dots.

Similar. In outer l. field, $\Pi\epsilon$.

α) Newell, \uparrow , gr. 16.94; β) Paris (Babelon, No. 347, Pl. ix, 3), \uparrow , gr. 17.10. PLATE LXXXIII, 5.

α and β are from the same obverse but differing reverse dies.

1684. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Laureate head of Apollo to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Inscription similar to the preceding. Victory advancing to r., carrying palm-branch over l. shoulder.

Paris (Babelon, No. 440, Pl. x, 18), gr. 7.45. PLATE LXXXIII, 6.

1685. BRONZE DOUBLE.

Diademed head to r. Circle of dots. Bevelled edge.

Same inscription as on the preceding. Apollo, as usual, seated to l. upon *omphalos*. In outer l. field, Φ (?) or Φ (?). In outer r. field, $\Pi\epsilon$.

Paris (Babelon, No. 293, Pl. viii, 8), gr. 5.30. PLATE LXXXIII, 7.

No. 1680, PLATE LXXXIII, 1, presents a somewhat 'eastern' appearance, but nothing further can as yet be hazarded with regard to its actual mint. The edge of this coin has been hammered, which also points eastward.

No. 1681, PLATE LXXXIII, 2, was evidently copied from such Antiochene issues as PLATE XXVII, 5. The broad flan and the absence of any border on the obverse, suggests Asia Minor as a possible origin for this tetradrachm.

Nos. 1682-3, PLATE LXXXIII, 3-5, are certainly eastern in character and were probably, as suggested before,¹⁶ later issues of the Susa mint, immediately following the latest pieces described in E. S. M. (No. 404) and W. S. M. (Nos. 403A-B).

The bevelled edges of Nos. 1684-5, PLATE LXXXIII, 6-7, as well as the circle of dots on the reverse of No. 1685, point to an eastern origin. In that case, Babelon's assignment of this latter piece to Hierax must be erroneous. In many ways, such as style, fabric, portrait, and monograms, No. 1685 is not unlike certain issues of Ecbatana,¹⁷ and the piece may well have been coined in that mint.

¹⁶ E. S. M., p. 148.

¹⁷ Cf. E. S. M., pl. xlii, 14.

1686. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of the mature Antiochus
III to r. Circle of dots.

Inscription and types as on Nos. 1680-3.
In outer l. field, M (?).

Copenhagen, gr. 16.49. PLATE LXXXIII, 8.

1687. TETRADRACHM.

A very similar head to r.

Similar. No monogram or letters.

White King Coll., Schulman Sale, Sept. 1904, No. 531, Pl. v. PLATE LXXXIII, 9.

This full-cheeked type of Antiochus III, which is so similar to one found on certain bronze coins of Ecbatana,¹⁸ suggests an eastern origin for Nos. 1686-7. The presence of the second of these coins in the White King Collection tends to support this vague indication.

1688. STATER.

Head of Athena to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a coiled serpent.

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ on r. Nike standing facing to l. In her l. hand she holds a trident-shaped *stylis*, and in her outstretched r., a wreath. In l. field, Α above ΚΗΣ. In r. field, FA.

Paris. PLATE LXXXIII, 10.

1689. STATER.

Head of Athena to r., as before.

ANTIOXOY on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on l. Nike as on the preceding, but in her l. she now holds a long sceptre. In l. field, ΠΕ. In r. field, FA.

Paris (Babelon, No. 102, Pl. iv, 1 = de Luynes Coll., No. 3270, Pl. cxviii), gr. 8.40. PLATE LXXXIII, 11.

1690. HALF STATER.

Similar.

Similar in type and inscription to the preceding, but the style is a little more 'barbarous.' In l. field, ΠΕ. In r. field, FA.

Paris. PLATE LXXXIII, 12.

In spite of their divergent inscriptions, these gold coins are united by the presence of the letters FA. The *digamma* constitutes a curious survival of an archaic letter at so late a date, a letter which at this period was being used anachronistically only in the coin legends of such places as Elis and Axus. In the present case, the letters FA can hardly be explained otherwise than as representing the signature of some magistrate.¹⁹ Elis is certainly out of the question, and it would be most difficult to suppose an issue of gold staters for an Antiochus in the Cretan town of

¹⁸ Cf. E. S. M., Pls. xlviii, 2-11 and xlix, 1.

¹⁹ Cf. the *digamma* used as a magistrate's letter on No. 1498.

Axis, even for the purpose of hiring mercenaries for his armies. On the other hand, the form 'F' continued down to a late period in the local alphabet used at Aspendus in Pamphylia, and the initials FA, of some magistrate, is actually found on a third century bronze coin of that city.²⁰

This curious issue of gold single and half staters should perhaps be assigned to the period of the campaigns of Antiochus III in Asia Minor. Stylistically, however, an assignment to Hierax would not be out of the question. Obviously, the style of Nos. 1688-90 is very late. No. 1689, in particular, is not unlike the Alexandrine stater coined under Hierax at Alexandria Troas,²¹ while the Nike figure on No. 1690 is very similar in its barbarity to the Apollo figure on the tetradrachms PLATE LXXIV, 8-9. On the whole, however, the style of our coins seems to be a little later than that of the examples just mentioned, and an issue of gold to support Antiochus III's great military efforts in Asia Minor remains the more likely. The actual mint is not yet determinable, although Aspendus might be a suggestion.

1691. TETRADRACHM.

Head of Antiochus III to r., with narrow, In inner l. field, II.
straight diadem-ends. Fillet border.

London (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 471. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., Vol. III, 1883, Pl. v, 4), gr. 16.65. PLATE LXXXIII, 13.

1692. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Similar. In outer l. field, A or Λ (?). In
Fillet border. outer r. field, T.

Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 983, Pl. 35, gr. 16.90. PLATE LXXXIV, 1.

1693. TETRADRACHM.

Large, diademed head of Antiochus III to r. Similar, except that the *nu* of the inscription
is reversed, and Apollo here faces to the r. No letters or monograms.

α) Florence (Museo Archeologico). PLATE LXXXIV, 2; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 994, Pl. 36, gr. 16.85. PLATE LXXXIV, 3; γ) Berlin (Morel Coll. = Photiades Pacha Coll., Hoffmann Sale, May 1890, No. 1479. Cf. Macdonald, *Zeit. für Num.*, Vol. XXIX, 1912, Pl. iv, 15. Countermarked for Byzantium), gr. 16.94. PLATE LXXXIV, 4. β and γ are from the same obverse die; α-γ from the same reverse die.

1694. TETRADRACHM.

Similar. Similar, but Apollo again faces to the l.
No letters or monograms.

Brussels (Bunbury Coll., Sotheby Sale, Dec. 1896, No. 469, Pl. iv), gr. 16.73. PLATE LXXXIV, 5.

²⁰ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lycia*, etc., p. 102, No. 70.

²¹ Cf. PLATE LXXXIII, A.

1695. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but of more barbaric style.

Similar.

α) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum). PLATE LXXXIV, 6; β) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 935, Pl. 33, gr. 16.95. PLATE LXXXIV, 7; γ) Cambridge (McClean Coll., Vol. III, No. 9269, Pl. 337, 5), ↑, gr. 16.83. PLATE LXXXIV, 8; δ) Munich, gr. 16.34. PLATE LXXXIV, 9.

α and β are struck from a single obverse die and also from the same reverse die as No. 1694; γ is overstruck on a tetradrachm of the Alexander type.

1696. TETRADRACHM.

Somewhat similar head to r. Circle of dots. Similar. In outer l. field, 𐌆.

London (Gardner, p. 25, No. 12), gr. 17.00. PLATE LXXXIV, 10.

1697. TETRADRACHM.

Diademed head to r., of poor style. Circle of dots. Similar type. No letters or monograms.

Paris (Babelon, No. 289, Pl. viii, 5), gr. 16.85. PLATE LXXXIV, 11.

To Asia Minor may certainly be assigned the preceding Nos. 1691-7, PLATES LXXXIII, 13 and LXXXIV, 1-11, although they were probably not coined in a single mint. Nos. 1691-2 are perhaps issues of Sardes, as their style is comparatively good and their workmanship careful. Less may be said in this regard of Nos. 1693-5. While some of the heads (PLATE LXXXIV, 2-5, 9) are still well made, others (PLATE LXXXIV, 6-8) are barbarous. The reverses of Nos. 1693-5 are, throughout, of execrable style and very careless workmanship. All of these coins, Nos. 1693-5, because of the great similarity of their reverses and the interchange of certain dies, were almost certainly coined in one place. Nos. 1696-7 are of particularly poor and insipid style. They appear to have been coined in yet another mint.

At first sight one might suspect some of these coins to be *fourné*, i. e., ancient forgeries—so bad is their style. Yet their weights speak against this, and not one of them shows any sign of being plated. It is possible that a few, especially Nos. 1696-7, might have been coined in imitation of Seleucid pieces of regular mintage when the latter's supply had begun to give out after the ejection of Antiochus III from Asia Minor by the Romans in 189 B. C. More acceptable would seem to be the explanation that the majority of these coins were products of the years from *circa* 197-190 B. C., when Antiochus was campaigning in Asia Minor and Greece, and money in great quantities would be needed in a hurry for his armies. They indeed have all appearances of hurried and careless rather than of spurious workmanship.

1698. TETRADRACHM.

Head of mature type to r., wearing diadem with fringed ends. The whole within border of large dots.

Same inscription and types as on the preceding. In outer l. field, BIRD'S HEAD.

Newell, ↑, gr. 15.89 (has been corroded and cleaned). PLATE LXXXV, 1.

1699. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but much more crudely rendered.

Similar, but of poor style. No symbol or monograms present.

Newell (restruck on an earlier Seleucid tetradrachm), ϵ , gr. 17.12. PLATE LXXXV, 2.

1700. TETRADRACHM.

Similar.

Similar. In outer l. field, \ddagger (?).

α) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 937, Pl. 33, gr. 17.09; β) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 981, Pl. 35), \uparrow , gr. 16.03. PLATE LXXXV, 3; γ) Oxford (presence of the monogram on the reverse is not certain), \uparrow , gr. 15.85. PLATE LXXXV, 4.
 α and β are struck from the same obverse but differing reverse dies.

1701. TETRADRACHM.

Similar, but the dots of the surrounding circle are smaller and closer together.

Similar. No monogram present.

α) Newell (Naville Sale XII, Oct. 1926, No. 1960, Pl. 57), \uparrow , gr. 16.74. PLATE LXXXV, 5; β) Newell (Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 936, Pl. 33), \uparrow , gr. 16.33. PLATE LXXXV, 6; γ) Naville Sale X, June 1925, No. 884, Pl. 30. (This coin is *fourré*), gr. 12.76.

With the exception of No. 1698, these coins present an even more barbarous aspect than do Nos. 1693–7. Again one might be justified in considering them ancient forgeries, were it not for their excellent weights, and the fact that their surfaces and edges are above all suspicion. The sole exception is specimen γ of No. 1701, which is both obviously *fourré* and represents a copy of No. 1701 β , PLATE LXXXV, 6. It is included in our catalogue as furnishing an instructive example of what an ancient forgery of this very type would look like. By weight it is many grammes lighter than even the lightest of the coins with which it is associated. Its surfaces reveal the tell-tale breaks and imperfections almost invariably to be found on ancient plated forgeries. Its unequivocal evidence proves that the remaining coins were *bona fide* issues, either of the Seleucid régime itself or of communities desiring to make good a deficiency caused by the gradual disappearance of the Seleucid currency to which they had grown accustomed.

The portrait on No. 1698, PLATE LXXXV, 1 (from which those of Nos. 1699–1700, PLATE LXXXV, 2–4, evidently descended), is indeed of puzzling identity. It actually resembles none of the early Antiochi. It cannot be Antiochus I or II. It can hardly be Hierax, whose oldest heads are seldom so mature in appearance. It does not resemble very greatly the sole remaining king at our disposal, Antiochus III. However, by the exercise of a certain amount of imagination one could suppose it to represent an inexpert attempt to reproduce a distant likeness to that king. The coin has been struck over an earlier piece, but only vague traces (a mere outline of the top of a Heracles head on the obverse, a portion of a dotted circle on the reverse) still remain. Thus far the overstriking does not tell us much, except that the original piece was a tetradrachm of the Alexander type—as was also the case with No. 1695 γ . With No. 1699, we are more fortunate. Here enough traces of the earlier coin remain (on the reverse are portions of a dotted circle, the back of the

head and arm of the seated Apollo, the letters ΑΣΙ of βασιλεύς, and the monogram ✠) to show that the overstruck piece was an example of E. S. M., Pl. xxix, 2-3 or 8-10. As the latter pieces are all tetradrachms of Antiochus III coined before *circa* 212 B. C., No. 1699 must be later than that period. We may be certain, therefore, that No. 1699 and its companion piece No. 1700 were produced late in the reign of Antiochus III, probably (like Nos. 1693-7) during his campaigns in Asia Minor or²² shortly after his expulsion from that province. This may not prove beyond question that the perfectly regular tetradrachm No. 1698 was actually coined under Antiochus III, but it at least suggests²³ that to be the case. What the true reason may have been for thus overstriking earlier coins at this particular period, is as yet not quite clear. If the 'portraiture' on these restrikes had been of a more realistic nature, one could have supposed that Antiochus III was anxious to disseminate his own type of coin among his newly recovered subjects in Asia Minor, and so for that purpose employed whatever older type of coin he may at the moment have had in his treasury. On the other hand, this restriking of older coins seems to eliminate the suggestion that these crude pieces could have been irregular issues of a later period. There would seem to be little sense in recoinage pieces which were well known and everywhere acceptable.

The date of No. 1701, PLATE LXXXV, 5-6, is even less certain. The head on its obverse seems utterly unlike any portrait, however poor, of Antiochus III. It might even be taken as a very inferior copy of some portrait of Antiochus II. In that case this variety must represent an issue under Hierax. It has been described at this point because of its crude appearance and because the whole character of its reverses appears to be closer to those of PLATE LXXXIV, 2-11, than to anything known to have been struck in the time of Hierax. But with such barbarous pieces any judging based on 'style' alone is apt to be like building on shifting sands. One can only say in this case that No. 1701 is but another example of the almost barbaric issues brought out apparently in the time of Antiochus III in Asia Minor.

There remain a few scattered bronze coins which have been assigned by Gardner, Babelon, or Macdonald to the earlier Seleucid kings, but which are probably of a later date. Thus Babelon, No. 97, Pl. iii, 12, attributed to Seleucus I,²⁴ should probably be associated with a considerable coinage of Seleucus IV in silver, bearing as its principal marks a wreath and the letters ΔΙ (sometimes ΑΙ or ΙΑ), or a monogram composed of these letters.²⁵ These bronze coins continue, in ever

²² Assuming these crude pieces to be irregular issues brought out in imitation of Seleucid coins, although they were not actually forgeries for the nefarious purposes of counterfeiters.

²³ Because, like No. 1695 γ and 1699 (themselves, actually issues of Antiochus III), it represents one of the rare cases of recoinage in the Seleucid series.

²⁴ Only hesitatingly followed by Dr. Macdonald, *Hunter Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 10, No. 37, footnote.

²⁵ Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat., Kings of Syria*, p. 31, No. 2, Pl. x, 6; de Luynes *Coll.*, Pl. cxx, 3307; Sir Hermann Weber *Coll.*, Pl. 288, 7883.

poorer style, into the reign of Antiochus IV. The earliest of the bronzes in question²⁶ also bear the letters ΔΙ or ΑΙ.

The coin described by Babelon, No. 98, Pl. iii, 13 (de Luynes Coll., Pl. cxviii, 3269), has also been assigned to Seleucus I. Its late and poor style suggests, rather, the reign of Seleucus IV.

The coins which Babelon, Nos. 401-4, Pl. x, 5, ascribes to Antiochus III had been more correctly attributed to Antiochus IV or V by Gardner, p. 43, Nos. 5-6, Pl. xiii, 10.

The large issue of coins given by Babelon, Nos. 424-35, Pl. x, 12-13, and more hesitatingly by Macdonald, p. 36, Nos. 50-7, Pl. lxxv, 19, to Antiochus III, were seen by Gardner, p. 43, Nos. 1-4, Pl. xiii, 9, to be issues of Antiochus IV or V. By the present writer these coins have all been vindicated²⁷ for the opening years of Antiochus IV's reign.

Finally, Rouvier has clearly shown²⁸ that the coin attributed to Antiochus III by Babelon, No. 456, Pl. xi, 7, actually belongs to the reign of the Roman emperor, Claudius I.

²⁶ Here, PLATE LXXXV, 10.

²⁷ *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, Amer. Jour. of Num., Vol. LI, 1917, p. 21.

²⁸ *Jour. int. d'arch. num.*, Vol. IV, p. 213, No. 991. Accepted by [Sir George Hill, Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia*, p. lxxix.

CHAPTER XII

RÉSUMÉ

In order to render possible a systematic study and appreciation of the truly enormous coinage brought out by the first seven legitimate rulers of the Seleucid empire, we have found it necessary to break up this massive coinage according to the many mints which produced it. This entailed a mint by mint description and discussion. To round out our study by a brief résumé of the results obtained, this time reign by reign, may therefore prove of value.

SELEUCUS I

312-280 B. C.

The standard coinage which Alexander the Great had introduced was continued by his successors Cassander, Lysimachus, Antigonos, Ptolemy and Seleucus. The gold denominations comprised double staters, staters and rare fractions, with a helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and a standing Nike on the reverse. The bulk of the silver comprised tetradrachms and drachms, accompanied at times by small issues of didrachms, hemidrachms (triobols) and obols. Their obverse type was a youthful head of Heracles wearing the lion's skin and often displaying features possibly of the great conqueror himself. On the reverses a seated figure of Zeus holds an eagle in his outstretched right hand. The coins all bore the name, with or without the royal title, of Alexander. For a brief interval between 323 and 316 B. C., a few scattered mints substituted the name of Philip Arrhidaeus. On the death of the latter, the name of Alexander everywhere reappeared (or continued to appear) upon the standard coin, regardless of where or by whom it was issued. Only Ptolemy saw fit to bring an early alteration to the types, although he still retained the name of the great Macedonian hero.

In 306/5 B. C., Seleucus followed the example set by his bitterest rival, Antigonos, and openly assumed the royal title. By that time he had already established his rule over the eastern provinces, which certainly included Babylonia, Susiana, Persis, Media, Parthia, Bactria, Aria, Drangiana and Carmania. His mints were Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana and, possibly, Persepolis. In addition to the standard Alexander coinage, there continued to be produced at Babylon an anepigraphic series of silver staters, bearing types long ago introduced by the Persian Mazaeus, the first satrap of Babylonia under Alexander. These types comprised a seated figure of Baal-Tars on the obverse and a prowling lion on the reverse—the so-called 'lion staters.' Whether these coins were brought out by the Greek authori-

ties, or by the municipality of Babylon, or by the privileged priesthood of the great Babylonian temple of Esagila, still remains a moot point.

At some time between 311 and 306 B. C., Seleucus founded Seleucia on the Tigris, and removed thither his government and his principal mint. Only the coinage of the 'lion staters' continued at Babylon (E. S. M., Pl. xxi). With his assumption of the royal title in 306/5 B. C., the name of Seleucus replaced that of Alexander on the standard coinage, now issued from Seleucia (E. S. M., Pls. i-ii). At this point a series of bronze coins was for the first time brought out by Seleucus. They bear an Athena head, wearing an Attic helmet, on the obverse, and a bull, perhaps emblematic of Seleucus himself, on the reverse (E. S. M., Pl. iii, 1-5). One variety displays, in addition, the badge of Seleucus—the anchor. At Susa, we find the gold and silver issues still bearing the name of Alexander, but in their reverse fields now appear the various emblems or badges connected with the name of Seleucus—the anchor, the bull's head, and the horned horse's head (E. S. M., Pl. xxii, 1-8). The issues of Ecbatana continue to retain the pure Alexander types (E. S. M., Pls. xxxiii-xxxvi).

The year 304/3 B. C. found Seleucus campaigning in the far eastern portion of his realm in an attempt to recover for Greek dominion the lost provinces of Afghanistan and India. The true extent of his successes we do not know, beyond the fact that the campaign ended with a treaty of peace between the Indian leader, Chandragupta, and Seleucus, who then returned in triumph from the East bringing with him some five hundred war-elephants ceded by the enemy. The coinages reflect these events. At Seleucia on the Tigris, a little figure of victory now replaces the customary eagle in the right hand of Zeus (E. S. M., Pl. iv, 1-2), while the accompanying bronze coins proudly display an Indian elephant on their reverses (E. S. M., Pl. iv, 3-11). At the other two mints of Susa and Ecbatana, contemporaneous victory issues in bronze were also coined (E. S. M., Pls. xxii, 10-11, 14-19 and xxxv, 4-5). They all bear on their obverses the head of Alexander wearing the elephant's skin, ostensibly to liken the Indian expedition of Seleucus to that of Alexander. On the reverses at Susa, the anchor of Seleucus is at first shown, but after the final victory this was displaced by the more significant figure of Nike. The Alexander-Nike types also appear at Ecbatana, not only on bronze coins similar to those of Susa, but also on an issue of rather ostentatious gold double-staters (E. S. M., Pl. xxxv, 6-7).

The next great landmark in the career of Seleucus was the short but decisive war waged against Antigonos by the coalition formed between Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy and Seleucus. At this time Seleucus apparently occupied the provinces of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, where he ordered his general (and nephew?) Nicanor to found the strategically situated fortresses of Edessa, Nisibis and Dura-Europus. Thence invading Asia Minor with his veteran army, now aided by hundreds of war-elephants secured from Chandragupta, Seleucus advanced westwards until he was able to join hands with Lysimachus. Together they won the overwhelming victory of Ipsus, which ended the life and rule of Antigonos and

left his son Demetrius a fugitive, possessed only of his famous fleet. Seleucus gained for his empire a great increase of territory, extending from eastern Asia Minor south to Orthosia in Phoenicia and east to the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. His resounding success is at once reflected upon his coinages. At his old capital of Seleucia on the Tigris, the silver once more displays a victory in the hand of Zeus (E. S. M., Pl. v, 6-12). Soon, however, an entirely new series of silver coins is introduced which is there destined to last until the very end of the reign (E. S. M., Pls. vi-xii). On the obverses of the tetradrachms and most of the fractions is a laureate head of Zeus, the 'giver of victory.' On the reverses we find portrayed a fighting Athena in a chariot drawn by four mighty Indian elephants, to whom much of the credit for the happy outcome at Ipsus was justly ascribed. From time to time, accompanying single and half drachms bear the old Alexander types (E. S. M., Pls. vii, 5 and xii, 11-19), but more often the same types as the tetradrachms. At one moment several issues of obols were also brought out—obverse: Apollo's tripod; reverse: the anchor of Seleucus alternating with the bow and quiver of Apollo (E. S. M., Pl. viii, 7, 9-10). The gold coinage still retained the Alexander types (E. S. M., Pls. vii, 6, 10; ix, 2; xi, 9), probably both because of their wide-spread commercial standing and because these types were in themselves emblematic of victories gained.

The mint of Persepolis now (*circa* 303-300 B. C.) comes to the fore with a victory issue bearing significant types (E. S. M., Pl. xxxii), types which were thenceforward retained at that mint until the close of the reign. On the obverse is a helmeted head of Seleucus endowed with the features of his hero, Alexander. On the reverse, victory crowns a trophy of arms. At Susa these same types were also employed for a short period (E. S. M., Pl. xxiii, 6-9). It remains a possibility that together with these silver coins were actually struck the commemorative bronze coins (E. S. M., Pl. xxii, 14-20) mentioned above, and that the entire group was inaugurated at Susa, as well as at Persepolis, immediately following the Indian successes of Seleucus. The helmet covered with the panther skin (the latter of Indian connotation) and the Alexander-like features of Seleucus may be the proof of this suggestion. Be that as it may, Susa soon abandoned these types for something closer to the victory issues of Seleucia. On their obverses we have a similar wreath-encircled head of Zeus, and on their reverses a fighting Athena in her chariot of elephants. But at Susa the chariot is at first drawn by two elephants only (E. S. M., Pls. xxiii, 14-17; xxiv, 6-11, 19-20; xxv, 1-2), while above these a spear-head at first replaces the anchor always found on the issues of Seleucia. Later, the *biga* becomes a *quadriga* (E. S. M., Pl. xxv, 3-4, 10, 16-18) and the anchor replaces the spear-head, thus finally making the issues of Susa uniform with those of Seleucia. For commercial reasons, Susa still continued to issue gold staters and silver tetradrachms, drachms and smaller denominations of the old Alexander type, but now in the name of Seleucus (E. S. M., Pls. xxiii, 1-5, 10-13, 18-19; xxiv, 1-5; xxv, 9, 15). As if there were not thus a sufficient variety of types, the Susa mint also coined silver lion-staters (E. S. M., Pl. xxiv, 13-17) in imitation of the Babylonian ones,

later replacing these with silver staters bearing a Zeus head on the obverse and a walking elephant on the reverse (E. S. M., Pls. xxiv, 18 and xxv, 6-7). These were further accompanied by rare gold staters (E. S. M., Pl. xxv, 5, 8) with an Apollo head on the obverse and Artemis in an elephant *biga* on the reverse. There were also fractions in silver with an Athena head on the obverse and an elephant's head on the reverse (E. S. M., Pl. xxiv, 12 and 21), as well as bronze with a bearded Heracles' head associated, on the reverses, with a walking elephant (E. S. M., Pl. xxv, 11-12).

In striking contrast to Susa, Ecbatana continued down to the end of the reign to issue gold and silver coins of the old Alexander type only (E. S. M., Pls. xxxv-xxxviii). It took no cognizance whatever of the decisive victory of Seleucus at Ipsus,¹ although on some later occasion it did bring out certain extremely rare drachms and hemidrachms (E. S. M., Pl. xxxvi, 9-10) of a commemorative nature, as suggested by their reverse type of an armed and helmeted horseman galloping to right with lowered spear.

About 289 B. C. probably, in direct consequence of the appointment of Seleucus' son Antiochus to the viceroyalty of the East, and of his known great personal interest in the affairs of Bactria (his mother was the Bactrian princess, Apama), a royal mint began to function at Bactra, the capital of that immensely rich and populous satrapy. It brought out an issue of silver coins with laureate Zeus head on the obverse and the fighting Athena in her elephant-chariot on the reverse (E. S. M., Pl. I, 1-8). The tetradrachms always have the *quadriga*, the fractions almost invariably the *biga*. Before the end of the reign, the customary Attic weight system was for these coins changed to the so-called Indian system. The types remain the same (E. S. M., Pl. I, 9-22), but to the old inscription of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ was added ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ or, simply, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

Now let us return to the contemporary issues of the West. Here the consequences of Ipsus became immediately visible. The old mint of Carrhae began after *circa* 302 B. C. to function for Seleucus. The former Alexandrine types (W. S. M., PLATE IV) were indeed retained, but on them the name of Seleucus henceforth replaced that of Alexander (W. S. M., PLATE V). Also in northern Mesopotamia the recently refounded fortress-city of Nisibis appears to have commenced coining certain bronzes (W. S. M., PLATE VII, 1-3) which bear the Dioscuri busts on the obverse and a victory on the reverse. In this same general district, or in the contiguous districts of northern Syria and southern or south-eastern Cappadocia, other as yet unidentified mints produced gold and silver coins of Alexandrine types but in the name of Seleucus (W. S. M., PLATES LI, 5-11 and LII, 1-11). Further, during the period of flux which followed Ipsus, and down to the establishment of a definite boundary between the territories of Seleucus and of Ptolemy, certain mints (Marathus and another uncertain one) situated in the debatable ground in northern Phoenicia, also struck a few ephemeral issues (W. S. M., PLATES XLIII, 1-3 and XLIV, 1-13) of the Alexander type variously bearing the names of Alexander, of Philip, or of Seleucus himself.

¹ For a possible reason, cf. Tarn, *Jour. Hell. Studies*, Vol. LIX, 1939, p. 322.

That portion of Syria proper which had been secured by Seleucus was henceforth known as *Συρία Σελευκίς*. There the mint formerly opened by Antigonus at his new capital of Antigonea on the Orontes (W. S. M., PLATE XIV, 1-9) was at once transferred to Seleucus' own new foundation of Seleucia Pieria, where silver of Alexandrine type was now produced bearing Zeus Nicephorus and the name of Seleucus (W. S. M., PLATES XIV, 10-13 and XV, 1, 3-4, 11). These were accompanied by bronze coins of local type, struck in the name of the Seleucians (W. S. M., PLATE XV, 2, 5-10, 12-14). Only on the final issue (*ibid.*, 15) does Seleucus' own name replace that of the municipality.

Not long after the foundation of Seleucia Pieria, there was erected on a neighboring site the city of Antioch, destined soon to become the capital of the entire empire. Here, too, gold and silver coinages of similar Alexandrine types (W. S. M., PLATES XVI, 1-6 and XVII, 7-9) were inaugurated, together with an initial issue in bronze (W. S. M., PLATE XVI, 7-8) bearing the name of the Antiochenes. Before long, Seleucus definitely made up his mind to establish Antioch (rather than either Seleucia on the Tigris or Seleucia Pieria) as the true capital of his empire. While silver of the Alexander type continued to be produced, there now also appeared enormous issues of *royal* bronze coins in two denominations (W. S. M., PLATE XVI, 9-16) bearing an Apollo head on the obverse and a fighting Athena on the reverse. These issues were later continued in three denominations, but now the 'unit' and the 'half' have a tripod on the reverse (*ibid.*, 17-22 and PLATE XVII, 1-4). Before the close of this coinage, a lyre replaced the tripod on the 'halves' (*ibid.*, 5-6). Probably contemporaneously with these coins of Antioch, there appeared at Seleucia on the Tigris a new issue of bronze coins. These have a very similar head of Apollo on the obverse, but on their reverses the butting bull of Seleucus (E. S. M., Pl. xi, 6-8; W. S. M., PLATE I, 7-8). Eventually, perhaps about 285 B. C., an entirely new issue of bronze coins was brought out at Antioch, displaying a Medusa head on the obverse and the bull of Seleucus on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATE XVII, 10-22). It seems that at about this time (*circa* 284 B. C.), an attempt was made to unify the types of the bronze coinages at many of the mints of the empire. Coins with the Medusa and bull types were accordingly struck also at Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl. xii, 1-3), Susa (E. S. M., Pl. xxv, 19), and Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pl. xxxvii, 14-15). Immediately after the battle of Corupedium, similar issues appeared at Sardes (W. S. M., PLATE LIII, 14) and Magnesia on the Maeander (W. S. M., PLATE LXII, 6).

To Seleucus' new foundation of Apamea in Syria, only some bronze coins appear attributable (W. S. M., PLATE XXXIII, 1-3). They bear an elephant on the obverse and a horned horse's head on the reverse, types significant of the vast military arsenal and training depôt which the first Seleucus had established in that city.

The great seaport of Laodicea ad Mare, also founded by Seleucus shortly after Ipsus, soon began to issue a large series of Alexander tetradrachms and drachms (W. S. M., PLATE XXXIX), provided with the name of Seleucus, but with Zeus still holding the eagle.

The sudden seizure of Cilicia in 294 B. C. brought its central mint of Tarsus under Seleucid jurisdiction. Here again gold and silver coins of Alexandrine type were struck in the name of Seleucus (W. S. M., PLATE XLVII, 8-12).

Finally, the advance into Asia Minor against Lysimachus, and the capture (*circa* 283/2 B. C.) of the latter's great mint and treasury at Sardes, produced there a new issue of Alexandrine tetradrachms and drachms (W. S. M., PLATE LIII, 1-13), but now in the name of Seleucus and bearing his usual Zeus Nicephorus. There was little time between the ensuing decisive battle of Corupedium (summer, 281 B. C.) and the death of Seleucus, seven months later, for any considerable issue of commemorative victory coins. We possess an ephemeral but splendid coinage of tetradrachms (W. S. M., PLATE LXVIII, 9-10) at Pergamum, with a fiery horse's head on the obverse and a lifelike war-elephant striding across the reverse. Similarly, the mint at Antioch seems to have had just time enough to bring out a small issue of bronze coins with a representation of the seated Seleucus holding an elephant's goad on the obverse, and on the reverse, an elephant's head (W. S. M., PLATE XVII, 23-25). These bring to a close the varied and interesting issues of Seleucus Nicator, founder of the great empire which bore his name.

ANTIOCHUS I

280-261 B. C.

The vast empire of Seleucus now showed serious signs of disintegrating before the onslaughts of jealous rivals and the centrifugal forces of regional nationalism and local rebellion. Antiochus was hard put to it, during the early years of his reign, to maintain his rule over even the principal portions of his heritage. Doubtless at this time the great province of Persis broke away and, in consequence, no further Seleucid issues are known to have been struck there. Such mints as he still held produced, between *circa* 280 and 278 B. C., principally issues of the Alexandrine type. At some, the older Zeus aetophor was preferred to the Zeus nicephor introduced by Seleucus. Tetradrachms and drachms, now of the one variety, now of the other, were coined at Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl. xiii, 3-6), Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pl. xxxviii, 3-10), Eastern Persia or Afghanistan (E. S. M., Pl. iv, 14-15), Carrhae (W. S. M., PLATE VI, 1), Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XVIII, 1-2), Apamea (W. S. M., PLATE XXXIII, 4), Damascus ? (W. S. M., PLATE XLVII, 7), Tarsus (W. S. M., PLATE XLVIII, 1), Uncertain mint in Cappadocia or Syria (W. S. M., PLATE LII, 12-14), and Sardes (W. S. M., PLATE LIV, 2-4). These coins now all bear the name of Antiochus himself. But Pergamum for a time (W. S. M., PLATES LXVIII, 12 and LXIX, 1-6), as well as Susa (E. S. M., Pls. xxvi, 1-8, 10-13 and xxvii, 1) and Laodicea ad Mare (W. S. M., PLATE XL, 1-7) to the end of the reign, continued to strike their Alexandrine tetradrachms in the name of Seleucus. Susa at the same time coined Alexandrine gold staters (E. S. M., Nos. 347 and 353, Pl. xxvi, 14) in the name of Antiochus himself, while Seleucia on the

Tigris, in the first year, was alone in bringing out some drachms in the name of Antiochus but with the old Zeus-quadriga types (E. S. M., Pl. xiii, 1-2) of Seleucus. Local considerations probably dictated at this same period the coining of certain special but inter-related types. Thus at Bactra, gold staters and silver of various denominations bore the head of Antiochus on the obverse, and a horned horse's head on the reverse (E. S. M., Pl. li, 1-8). Similarly at Carrhae, we find gold staters and silver tetradrachms still in the name of Seleucus (W. S. M., PLATE VI, 2-4), accompanied by drachms in the name of Antiochus (*ibid.*, 5-7), bearing the horned head of Seleucus on the obverse and a horned horse's head on the reverse; at Dura-Europus, bronze coins of similar types in the name of Antiochus (W. S. M., PLATE XIII, 1-4); at Sardes, similar tetradrachms (W. S. M., PLATE LIV, 1) also in the name of Antiochus.

About 278 B. C., or shortly thereafter, a more personal coinage in the precious metals was introduced throughout the empire. For the sake of convenience, this is called the standard type of Antiochus I. The coins bear on their obverses the characteristic features of Antiochus, while on the reverses may be seen the nude figure of Apollo seated on his *omphalos*, resting his left hand on his grounded bow, and in his outstretched right, grasping one, two, or even three arrows. Such pieces appeared at Hecatompylus or Artacoana (E. S. M., Pl. liv, 1-3; W. S. M., PLATE III, 19-20), Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pls. xxxviii, 11-15 and xxxix, 5-10), Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pls. xiii, 7-12; xiv, 1-2, 4-12; xv, 1-2, 8-9, 15), Antioch on the Orontes (W. S. M., PLATES XVIII, 7-11 and XIX, 24-26), Tarsus (W. S. M., PLATE XLVIII, 2-8), Smyrna (W. S. M., PLATES LXIV, 9-12 and LXV, 1-4, 6), and Phocaea (W. S. M., PLATES LXV, 13-14 and LXVI, 1). For the most part, Bactra continued its issues with the Antiochus portrait on the obverse and the horse's head on the reverse (E. S. M., Pls. li, 9-22 and lii, 1-3), but towards the end of the reign at last adopted (E. S. M., Pl. lii, 4-16) the standard type long prevalent at her sister mints. As stated above, Susa and Laodicea ad Mare continued throughout this reign to strike their Alexandrine tetradrachms in the name of Seleucus. The western capital, Sardes, possessed for a time its own special issues of silver, with the rugged portrait of Seleucus I on the obverse and a seated Apollo on the reverse holding in his outstretched right not the usual arrow but a bow (W. S. M., PLATE LIV, 5-10). Eventually Sardes, too, adopted the standard type (W. S. M., PLATE LV, 1-8). Magnesia on the Maeander employed a modification of the standard type, in that while the obverse is occupied by a portrait of Antiochus, the reverse presents the bow-holding Apollo favored for a time at Sardes (W. S. M., LXII, 7-9).

Only a very short time before the death of Antiochus, a new type suddenly made its appearance at two or three mints in western Asia Minor, where it became popular under the succeeding reign. On the obverse is again the portrait of the elderly Antiochus I, but on the reverse is depicted the hero Heracles resting after his labors. Under Antiochus himself, issues of this type are now known for Magnesia ad Sipylum (W. S. M., PLATE LXI, 1-3), Phocaea (W. S. M., PLATE LXV, 15), and Cyne (W. S. M., PLATE LXVII, 1).

In retrospect it may be said that, except at Bactra, gold issues of Antiochus I are still extremely rare. Only two examples of the Alexander type are known for Susa (E. S. M., Nos. 347 and 353). For Carrhae there are three specimens with the posthumous portrait of Seleucus I (W. S. M., Nos. 784 and 786).

The attempt made in the last years of Seleucus to bring some uniformity into the types used for the bronze coinages, was short-lived. Under his successor their types again become as varied as ever. At Ecbatana, the king's head on the obverse and the standing or the seated Apollo on the reverse were favorites (E. S. M., Pls. xxxviii, 16; xxxix, 1-4, 11-13), but Apollo heads, lyres and tripods were also used (E. S. M., Pl. xxxix, 14-17, 19). For Susa, Dioscuri busts alternate with the royal portrait, and an elephant with the seated Apollo (E. S. M., Pl. xxvi, 9, 15). Seleucia on the Tigris produced three extensive issues of bronze coins: Apollo head with fighting Athena (E. S. M., Pls. xiii, 13-14; xiv, 3), facing Apollo bust with Nike and trophy (E. S. M., Pls. xiv, 13; xv, 3-7, 10-11), and Athena head with standing Apollo (E. S. M., Pl. xv, 12-14). Nisibis used a facing Hermes bust on the obverse, and a standing Apollo on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATE VII, 4-5); Edessa, Athena head and trophy (W. S. M., PLATE VI, 17-25); Carrhae, Medusa-adorned shield and elephant (W. S. M., PLATE VI, 8-15); while little Dura-Europus, following its initial coinage got out two more issues with anchor-adorned shield and elephant, or horse's head and bow (W. S. M., PLATE XIII, 6-10). As for Antioch, which by now had become the administrative centre of the empire, her issues are not only many and varied, but also of very considerable size. The first issue, in three denominations, has an Apollo head on the obverse, while a tripod adorns two denominations, a bow the smallest (W. S. M., PLATE XVIII, 3-6). The second issue offers an anchor-adorned shield on the obverse, and an elephant on the reverse of all three denominations (W. S. M., PLATE XVIII, 12-19). The third issue has similar types but with a different system of control marks (W. S. M., PLATE XIX, 1-7). The fourth has a Zeus head on the obverse and a thunderbolt (once a half-thunderbolt, once a tripod on the smallest denomination) on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATE XIX, 8-15). The fifth has an Apollo head on the obverse and a tripod (alternating with an *omphalos* or an arrow-point on the smallest denominations) on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATE XIX, 16-23). The sixth and final issue of bronze has the royal portrait on the obverse and a seated Apollo on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATES XIX, 27-28, XX, 1-11).

The bronze coins of Seleucia Pieria under Antiochus I may have been struck at the neighboring Antioch. The types are the usual Zeus head and thunderbolt (W. S. M., PLATE XV, 16-18). The bronze issues of Apamea are as yet only tentatively assigned. Their obverses bear a Heracles head, or a tripod or anchor on a shield; their reverses, the bow-case of Heracles or an arrow-point (W. S. M., PLATE XXXIII, 5-9). Tarsus for its bronzes used an Athena head on the obverse; and on the reverses, either the Dioscuri caps or their stars (W. S. M., PLATE XLVIII, 9-17). The types of the rather scanty bronze issues of Asia Minor under Antiochus I are more uniform. A facing Athena bust for the obverse, and a Nike for the

reverse mark the coins of Sardes (W. S. M., PLATE LIV, 11-15), Magnesia ad Sipylum (W. S. M., PLATE LXI, 4-6), and Magnesia on the Maeander (W. S. M., PLATE LXII, 10-11). Athena's head in profile accompanied by an elephant's head on the reverse mark the coins of Smyrna (W. S. M., PLATE LXV, 5). Finally, in the last years of the reign, Sardes appears to have brought out another issue of bronze with a short-haired Apollo head, coupled with an arrow-point or with his tripod placed above the Seleucid anchor (W. S. M., PLATE LV, 9-14).

ANTIOCHUS II

261-246 B. C.

At many mints of the empire the second Antiochus continued the silver issues of his father, without modification. Thus, throughout the new reign Seleucia on the Tigris issued gold and silver (E. S. M., Pls. xv, 16-17 and xvi, 1-2, 7-12) which, were it not for style and changing monograms, would be indistinguishable from the preceding issues of Antiochus I. The same is true of Hecatompylus or Artacoana (E. S. M., Pl. liv, 4-8). Susa (E. S. M., Pl. xxvii, 2-7, 9-10) and Laodicea ad Mare (W. S. M., PLATE XL, 8-13) continued their coinages of the Alexandrine type in the name of Seleucus unchanged. Lysimachia in Thrace coined the standard type of Antiochus I (W. S. M., PLATE LXXVII, 8-11). Other mints, such as Bactra (E. S. M., Pl. lii, 16 and 18-20), Sardes (W. S. M., PLATES LV, 15-16 and LVI, 1-5), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (here with the bow-holding Apollo, W. S. M., PLATES LXII, 12-13 and LXIII, 1-13), Smyrna (W. S. M., PLATE LXV, 8), Aegae (W. S. M., PLATE LXVI, 9-12), Lampsacus (W. S. M., PLATE LXIX, 9-12), and Alexandria Troas (W. S. M., PLATE LXXII, 6-7) continued, some for a longer, some for a shorter period, to use the standard type of Antiochus I,² before eventually adopting the portrait³ of the ruling king, Antiochus II.

A group of mints in western Ionia and Aeolis chose for their issues the special types (head of Antiochus I—seated Heracles) which had been introduced in the last year or two of Antiochus I's reign.⁴ These mints were Phocaea (W. S. M., PLATE LXVI, 3-6), Aegae or Temnus (W. S. M., PLATE LXVI, 8), Cyme (W. S. M., PLATE LXVII, 2-11), and Myrina (W. S. M., PLATE LXVIII, 1-8).

For their silver, the mints of Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pls. xxxix, 24-25 and xl, 2), Antioch (W. S. M., PLATES XX, 12-14, 24-25; XXI, 1-14 and XXII, 1-2), Apamea (W. S. M., PLATES XXXIII, 10-19 and XXXIV, 1-7), Tarsus (W. S. M.,

² In some of these mints a true portrait of Antiochus I was employed; at others, the features have become youthful or almost unrecognizably idealized.

³ Cf., for Bactra (E. S. M., Pls. lii, 17, 21 and liii, 1-3), Sardes (W. S. M., PLATE LVII, 7-8), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (W. S. M., PLATE LXIII, 15), Smyrna (W. S. M., PLATE LXV, 9-12), Aegae (W. S. M., PLATE LXVI, 13-14), Lampsacus (W. S. M., PLATE LXX, 1-2), and Alexandria Troas (W. S. M., PLATE LXXII, 8-10).

⁴ It would be safer to say that these types were *apparently* introduced just before the death of Antiochus I. The date is not yet entirely provable. It is well within the bounds of possibility that these types were first used after the opening of his son's reign.

PLATE XLIX, 3-5, 7-9), Ephesus (W. S. M., PLATE LXIV, 1-5), Abydus (W. S. M., PLATE LXXI, 9), and Ilium (W. S. M., PLATE LXXII, 5) appear to have employed, during his reign, the portrait of Antiochus II only. The majority of these portraits are excellent and truly characteristic of the man. Some, however, especially in western Asia Minor, are merely youthful heads of a rather nondescript character which can be claimed for Antiochus II only because of their probable date of issue. At Ecbatana the portraiture, although far from good, is at least recognizable.

The gold issues of Antiochus II are extensive at Bactra, but still very rare elsewhere. For Ecbatana (W. S. M., PLATE III, 3), Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXI, 5), and Smyrna (W. S. M., PLATE LXV, 7) we possess staters, although they are all known in single specimens only. For Seleucia on the Tigris, we have a single stater bearing the portrait of his father (E. S. M., Pl. xvi, 8), while for Tarsus we have several staters (W. S. M., PLATE XLIX, 1-2, 6) employing the old types of Alexander the Great.

About the year 250 B. C., Bactria under its governor Diodotus fell away from the Seleucid empire, although it continued to coin for a time in the name of Antiochus II (E. S. M., Pl. liii, 4-17). The name appearing on these coins is that of Antiochus; the types, however, are those peculiar to his rebellious governor.

The bronze issues of Antiochus II are slightly less varied than those of his two predecessors. The favorite types are an Apollo head on the obverse, and his tripod placed above the Seleucid anchor on the reverse. Such coins were issued at both Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXII, 3-7) and Sardes (W. S. M., PLATES LVI, 6-17, 19-20 and LVII, 1, 3-6, 9-11, 13-22). For the latter mint, there exist also 'halves' marked by a lyre on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATES LVI, 18 and LVII, 2, 12); while at Antioch, there is an additional large coinage of 'units' (W. S. M., PLATE XX, 15-23) with an Apollo seated on the reverse leaning his left elbow on his lyre. At Ecbatana we find a more or less successful portrait of the king on the obverse, while the reverses have a seated Apollo (E. S. M., Pls. xxxix, 13, 18 and xl, 3), a standing Apollo (E. S. M., Pl. xxxix, 20-21), an uncertain male or female divinity (*ibid.*, 22-23), or a tripod (*ibid.*, 19). In one instance, we may note a helmet on the obverse, a tripod on the reverse (E. S. M., Pl. xl, 1). Susa employs the king's portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse a fighting Athena (E. S. M., Pl. xxvii, 8). At Seleucia on the Tigris we find a facing bust of Apollo coupled with a standing Apollo (E. S. M., Pl. xvi, 3-6) or a tripod (*ibid.*, 19 and W. S. M., PLATE I, 15); Apollo's head in profile coupled with a standing Athena (E. S. M., Pl. xvi, 13-16) or, finally, a facing bust of Athena coupled with a beautiful figure of the seated Apollo with tripod and lyre (*ibid.*, 17-18). Nisibis introduces the jugate busts of the Dioscuri, coupled on the reverse with an elephant's head (W. S. M., PLATE VII, 6-7). Tarsus uses the galloping Dioscuri and the fighting Athena (W. S. M., PLATE XLIX, 10-13); Magnesia on the Maeander, Apollo-head and butting bull above an anchor (W. S. M., PLATE LXIII, 14); Ephesus, Artemis' bust and the fore-part of a stag (W. S. M., PLATE LXIV, 6).

SELEUCUS II

246-226/5 B. C.

Unlike his father, Seleucus II made consistent use of his own types for the gold and silver issues of practically all the mints which were or which came under his jurisdiction. The exceptions are Laodicea ad Mare, where the coinage of Alexandrine types in the name of the first Seleucus continued as before (W. S. M., PLATES XL, 14 and XLI, 1-6), and Susa, where a similar practice obtained (E. S. M., Pls. xxvii, 11-12 and xxviii, 1-2, 4). But at the latter mint, alongside the Alexandrine type, issues were coined from time to time bearing the personal types of Seleucus II (E. S. M., Pls. xxvii, 13 and xxviii, 3).

For his gold issues, Seleucus II adopted his own portrait on the obverse and on the reverse Apollo standing to left, resting his left hand upon his grounded bow, the outstretched right holding an arrow.⁵ Antioch had now become the principal Seleucid gold-coining mint (W. S. M., PLATES XXII, 8-10, 12; XXIII, 3, 7, 9; XXIV, 7-8), thus replacing the revolted Bactra which had for so long enjoyed this privilege. In addition to Antioch, we possess a single gold issue at Apamea (W. S. M., PLATE XXXV, 2) and another at Ecbatana (W. S. M., PLATE III, 8)—both doubtless produced in connection with Seleucus II's ambitious attempt to reconquer the lost eastern provinces.

At Apamea appeared in 246/5 B. C., an interesting but ephemeral coinage of tetradrachms and bronze pieces (W. S. M., PLATE XXXIV, 8-13), bearing the portrait of the long dead Antiochus I, and inscribed with his name and special epithet, ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ANTIOXOY. This issue was apparently brought out during the disturbed period which followed the sudden death of Antiochus II and before Seleucus II had been able to secure his Syrian heritage, a time when civil war raged between the adherents of the rival queens Laodice and Berenice, and when Ptolemy III of Egypt had invaded the country, ostensibly to avenge his sister's death but actually to seize as much as possible of the Seleucid realms.

The vast majority of the tetradrachms coined by Seleucus II bore his own portrait on their obverses. Very rarely did he combine with it the *seated* Apollo type of his predecessors. So far as is known, this happened only at Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pl. xl, 4-6 and W. S. M., PLATE III, 4) and at an as yet unidentified mint (W. S. M., PLATE LXXIX, 15), possibly situated in Syria or Mesopotamia. On all of his remaining tetradrachms: Hecatompylos or Artacoana (E. S. M., Pl. liv, 9-12), Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pls. xl, 18 and xli, 6), Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 1, 3 and W. S. M., PLATES I, 18 and II, 6, 8), Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATES VII, 14-18 and VIII, 1-7, 10), Antioch (W. S. M., PLATES XXII, 11, 13-17; XXIII, 1-2, 4-6, 8, 10-15; XXIV, 1-2, 9, 11; XXV, 1-2), Apamea (W. S. M., PLATE XXXV, 1, 3-10), Tarsus (W. S. M., PLATE L, 1, 3-4, 8-9), Sardes (W. S. M., PLATE LVIII, 1-6), Magnesia ad Sipylum ? (W. S. M., PLATE LXI, 7).

⁵ There are two instances, Ecbatana and Antioch (W. S. M., PLATES III, 8 and XXII, 12), in which on the gold, Apollo leans against his tripod—a type usually employed only for the silver.

Ephesus ? (W. S. M., PLATE LXIV, 7), Sigeum ? (W. S. M., PLATE LXXVI, 3-4), and at many as yet unidentified mints (W. S. M., PLATES LXXX, 1-12 and LXXXI, 1, 3-4), the reverse type portrays Apollo leaning against his tripod.

Seleucus II appears to have issued drachms in greater numbers than did either Antiochus I or II. At Hecatompylus or Artacoana (E. S. M., Pl. liv, 13-15 and W. S. M., PLATE III, 23), Sardes (W. S. M., PLATE LVIII, 7-10), and once at Seleucia on the Tigris (W. S. M., PLATE II, 7), as well as on a hemidrachm at Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATE VIII, 8), these coins display the same types as the tetradrachms. Elsewhere, at Tarsus (W. S. M., PLATE L, 2, 10-11), Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXIV, 3-6, 10, 12), Apamea (W. S. M., PLATE XXXV, 11), Ecbatana (W. S. M., PLATE III, 5-6), the drachms always bear an Athena head (sometimes wearing an Attic, sometimes a Corinthian helmet) on the obverse, and on the reverse a standing Apollo resting his left hand on the bow. Once at Seleucia on the Tigris (W. S. M., PLATE I, 21), there was a special issue of drachms with the usual Athena head on the obverse, but with a Nike on the reverse—the latter type to commemorate the recent astonishing success of the young Seleucus II in so speedily driving out the forces of Ptolemy III from their extensive conquests in Asia.

Finally, a small issue of silver diobols (E. S. M., Pl. lii, 7) was produced at Ecbatana to celebrate the initial successes of Seleucus over the Parthians. On the obverses we find the head and neck of one of the famous Nisaeen horses, on the reverse the combined quiver and bow-case peculiar to the Parthians and other Scythian nomads.

As revealed by his coins, the portrait of Seleucus II was highly individual, and is instantly recognizable on the issues of the majority of his mints. His generally youthful appearance, high forehead, long nose (sometimes represented as straight, sometimes gently curving), long upper-lip, and small, slightly receding chin were evidently characteristic. Usually clean-shaven, he often affects a lock of hair hanging down in front of his ear. At times, this lock extends into a short cheek-beard (cf. W. S. M., PLATES II, 8; VII, 18; XXII, 17; XXIII, 2, 6, 14; XXIV, 11; XXXV, 1; L, 4; LVIII, 1-3). Early in the latter half of his reign this 'side-whisker' becomes, on the coins of certain mints, a rather sparse beard extending to the point of the chin (cf. E. S. M., Pls. xxvii, 13; xxviii, 3, 5-7 and W. S. M., PLATE VIII, 1-9). At three mints it continues to grow into a really acceptable beard (E. S. M., Pl. xli, 8-12; W. S. M., PLATES XXXVI, 9 and L, 8-9), thus giving point to the epithet *παρών* by which Seleucus II is known to Polybius.⁶ Nearly all of Seleucus II's portraits end at the truncation of the neck, as was the practice under his predecessors. At three mints, however, we find rare instances of a draped bust (Susa, E. S. M., Pl. xxviii, 5-6; Apamea, W. S. M., PLATE XXXVI, 9; Tarsus, W. S. M., PLATE L, 8-9). These constitute the first appearance on Seleucid coins of that convention, which may have been copied from earlier Ptolemaic coins and was certainly a forerunner of the general practice in use for the portraiture of the Greco-Bactrian and Greco-Indian kings beginning with Demetrius.

⁶ II, 71, 4.

The bronze coinages of Seleucus II are once more extremely varied in type. At Magnesia on the Maeander and Ephesus we find a bust of Artemis occupying the obverse, and the usual standing Apollo on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATES LXIII, 16-18 and LXIV, 8); at Sardes, Apollo head—tripod (W. S. M., PLATE LVIII, 11-12) and youthful Heracles—seated Apollo (*ibid.*, 13-18). Of uncertain mintage, probably partly in Asia Minor and partly in Syria, is a considerable group (W. S. M., PLATE LXXXI, 5-18), in four denominations, with a helmeted Athena-head for the obverse, and the reverses provided with three separate types: standing Apollo, elephant's head, or anchor. At Antioch we have two, apparently contemporaneous series; the one with Athena-head and Nike (W. S. M., PLATES XXIV, 13-15 and XXV, 3), the other, with Apollo head and tripod (W. S. M., PLATES XXIV, 16-20 and XXV, 4). Apamea has very extensive bronze coinages comprising several denominations including the 'octuple' (?), the largest size we meet in the West until the time of Antiochus IV. The first series presents Apollo on the obverse, and on the reverse a butting bull, or a standing bull, or the forepart of a bull (W. S. M., PLATE XXXV, 12-19). A later series has the king's portrait on the obverse, while on the reverse is the mounted king galloping to left (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVI, 1-3, 6), or a trotting horse (*ibid.*, 4-5, 7-8, 21), this latter type being peculiar to Apamea in Seleucid times. A special issue (*ibid.*, 9) displays the draped bust of the bearded king, accompanied on the reverse by a flying Pegasus—an issue doubtless connected with the events of the Parthian war. Finally, at Apamea we have a series (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVI, 10-20) bearing the helmeted bust of Athena on the obverse, and a Nike on the reverse, types based on the contemporaneous coinages of Antioch.

At Nisibis, we have consecutive bronze issues with the Dioscuri busts on the obverse accompanied by elephant's head or anchor on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATE VII, 8-13, 19-22). These were followed by a portrait coin with Nike on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATE VIII, 9); after which Nisibis reverted once more to the popular Dioscuri types in an issue (W. S. M., PLATE VIII, 11) which presents the profile busts of the twins on the obverse, and their mounted figures on the reverse. Seleucia on the Tigris produced under Seleucus II an unusually varied assortment of types in bronze. The earliest of these are doubtless commemorative of the young king's amazing victory over the powerful forces of Ptolemy III. Here we find a very striking *en face* representation of the horned Seleucus I, accompanied by the reverse type of the mounted king riding down a prostrate foe (E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 2 and W. S. M., PLATE I, 20). Associated with these pieces is a 'half' (W. S. M., PLATE I, 19) with a facing Athena bust on the obverse and a Nike on the reverse. Succeeding these 'victory pieces,' come several issues with facing Apollo busts or Apollo heads in profile, accompanied on the reverse by a walking bull, a bull's head and neck, a facing and filleted bull's head, or a horse's head and neck (E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 4-6 and W. S. M., PLATE I, 22-23). Perhaps connected with Seleucus II's eastern expedition comes an issue bearing the Dioscuri busts on the obverse and Nike crowning a trophy on the reverse (W. S. M., PLATE II, 1-5). Later we have an issue

marked by Apollo's facing, laureate, draped bust, with lyre on the obverse, and Seleucus crowned by Nike on the reverse (E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 7-10). Finally, we have prolific issues with the king's head in profile on the obverse and the usual standing Apollo on the reverse (E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 11-14 and W. S. M., PLATE II, 9-10).

The bronze issues of Susa present the king's portrait (sometimes draped) on the obverse; on the reverse Nike (E. S. M., Pl. xxviii, 5), standing Apollo (*ibid.*, 6), or Artemis advancing to right (*ibid.*, 7). Other types are a facing, draped and diademed male bust, with seated Apollo on the reverse (*ibid.*, 8-9); Apollo head, reverse, Nike and trophy (*ibid.*, 10-11); jugate busts of Apollo and Artemis, reverse, Nike (*ibid.*, 12). Ecbatana, too, has many and prolific bronze issues comprising numerous denominations. First comes a group with the king's youthful portrait on the obverse; and on the reverse, Apollo standing to left, holding a bow and resting his left elbow on a tall tripod (E. S. M., Pl. xl, 7-10). Then follows a coinage marked by either the king's portrait or a helmeted Athena-head on the obverse, while on its reverse is seen an elephant, surmounted by its *mahout*, advancing to right (E. S. M., Pl. xl, 11-17). Perhaps connected with the opening of Seleucus II's expedition to the East, comes an issue (containing the heavy 'octuple' denomination) which has for its types a draped, facing bust of the ivy-wreathed Dionysus on the obverse, and on the reverse an Indian elephant to left (E. S. M., Pls. xl, 19 and xli, 1-5). Certainly commemorating the king's victories over the Parthians, is the succeeding group displaying the king's bearded portrait on the obverse and the typically Parthian combined quiver and bow-case on the reverse (E. S. M., Pl. xli, 8-12). Finally, we have two more series bearing a bearded Heracles head, with lion's skin and club, or a helmeted Athena-head, on the obverse, while on their respective reverses may be seen either Apollo or Nike leaning against a tripod (E. S. M., Pl. xli, 13-19).

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Circa 241-228/7 B. C.

The realm of Antiochus Hierax comprised such portions of Asia Minor as he was able to wrest from his brother Seleucus II—or managed to keep from the grasping hands of the Pergamene king, and his own unstable allies, the Gauls. Save for Cilicia, he struck in mints lying on or near the coasts of the Aegean in western Asia Minor. To judge by his issues, the principal citadels of his power lay in Lydia and in the Hellespontine district.

On his silver coinages, Hierax followed his father's practice in employing the portraits of his forebears (Antiochus I or II) more often than his own. However, at his capital Sardes and at a neighboring mint (probably Magnesia ad Sipylum), his own portrait was exclusively used (W. S. M., PLATES LIX, 1-8; LXI, 8-14; LXII, 1-3). These coins do not provide a distinctive portrait, although with their assistance we do manage to secure a general idea of the young king's real physiognomy. Hierax evidently possessed certain features characteristic of his father,

Antiochus II, others of his brother, Seleucus II, while the general effect frequently bears a deceptive similarity to the early portraits of his cousin, Antiochus III. Probably for this latter reason his coins have usually been assigned by previous scholars to the last named king. But when analyzed it will be found that, aside from their common youthfulness, the features of Hierax do not really parallel those of the third Antiochus. Unlike that of Antiochus III, the forehead of Hierax is generally low. On certain dies (cf. W. S. M., PLATES LIX, 2-4 and LXXXII, 2, 4-5) his nose is almost *retroussé*; more often it borders on the aquiline, or is definitely so (cf. W. S. M., PLATES L, 5-7; LIX, 5-8; LXI, 13; LXXIV, 8-11; LXXV, 3-5; LXXVI, 7-10; LXXVII, 2, 6-7; LXXXII, 1, 6-13). His cheekbone is generally rather prominent, as in the portraits of his father; while he seems to have possessed the long upper-lip so characteristic of his brother. The broad area of his cheek is squarish in form, like that of his father, not long like that of Seleucus II. In fact, on certain issues of Lampsacus (W. S. M., PLATES LXX, 5-12 and LXXI, 1-5), and Abydus (W. S. M., PLATE LXXI, 10-11), the portrait probably intended for Hierax bears a disconcertingly close resemblance to that of his father, Antiochus II. The various die-cutters, from the Troad in the west to Cilicia in the east, seem indeed to have experienced unusual difficulties in catching the likeness of Hierax. Certainly in their finished work they seldom agree as to every detail of his physiognomy, some emphasizing one particular feature, some another. The result is that they have given to the portraits of Hierax a Proteus-like quality which proves rather disconcerting when we attempt to select any one likeness as being that of this man. The later portraits of Hierax are even more varied, if that were possible, than his youthful ones. Sometimes they are banal, characterless and perhaps intentionally idealized (cf. W. S. M., PLATES LXXI, 6-8, 12; LXXII, 1-3; LXXVIII, 1); sometimes they present a heavy-jowled individual utterly unlike any of his more youthful heads (W. S. M., PLATE LXII, 1-3); sometimes they are quite virile, with reminiscent resemblances to some of his younger portraits (W. S. M., PLATES L, 5-7 and LXXXII, 7-13). Perhaps the best and most lifelike of these later portraits is the convincing head found at Tarsus (*ibid.*, PLATE L, 5-7).

As stated above, the coinages of Hierax centered in Lydia and the Troad. In the former district they were produced at two mints and always display his portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse the standard Seleucid type of Apollo seated on his *omphalos* holding an arrow in his outstretched right hand while his left rests upon his grounded bow. At Sardes, we find an accompanying issue of bronze coins (W. S. M., PLATE LIX, 9-15) bearing on the obverse a ringleted head of Apollo, copied from the final issues of Antiochus II, while on the reverses is to be seen the standard type of his brother Seleucus II's silver issues, Apollo standing beside the tripod.

In the Hellespontine district, the principal mint of Hierax was at Alexandria Troas, which coined an extensive series of tetradrachms during his reign. Lampsacus, Abydus and Sigeum (?) were also active, while such mints as Scepsis and Lysimachia were of minor importance. The first issue of Alexandria Troas used an

almost unrecognizably idealized 'portrait' of Antiochus I (W. S. M., PLATES LXXII, 12; LXXIII, 1-9, 11-12; LXXIV, 1-6) wearing the locally significant winged diadem. The succeeding issue begins (W. S. M., PLATES LXXIV, 7-12 and LXXV, 1) with a more individual and very youthful head which Macdonald has shown must be accepted as intended for the portrait of Hierax. Later on (W. S. M., PLATE LXXV, 2-5), these heads grow older and the portrayal is sometimes modified by the influence of earlier issues bearing the idealized head of Antiochus I. In varying degrees this modification is true of the succeeding issues of Hierax at Alexandria (W. S. M., PLATES LXXV, 6-9), at Sigeum (W. S. M., PLATE LXXVI, 10) and at another as yet unidentified mint (PLATE LXXVII, 7). Before reaching this stage, however, the issues for Hierax at Lampsacus (W. S. M., PLATES LXX, 3-4) had employed a portrait more probably that of Antiochus II. The succeeding issues at Lampsacus (W. S. M., PLATES LXX, 5-12 and LXXI, 1-5) and some of those at Abydos (W. S. M., PLATE LXXI, 11) have made the portrait of Hierax more like that of his father. Either the die-cutters at these mints did this deliberately, or, being ignorant of the true physiognomy of Hierax, assumed that he ought to resemble his father and so produced a head which suggests to us Antiochus II rather than Hierax. At Scepsis (W. S. M., PLATE LXXVI, 1-2), we find under Hierax only the idealized 'portrait' of Antiochus I, apparently copied from the contemporaneous and similar issues of Alexandria Troas (cf. W. S. M., PLATE LXXIV, 1-6).

Finally, during the short period when the forces of Hierax held Tarsus, a more mature portrait bust of this ruler, now slightly bearded, occurs on his ephemeral coinage (W. S. M., PLATE L, 5-7) attributable to that mint.

SELEUCUS III

226/5-223 B. C.

Just as we have issues of Hierax for Asia Minor only, so we possess for Seleucus III coinages at mints from Cilicia eastwards only. Despite the brevity of his reign the silver issues of Seleucus III were not small. This was probably due to his extensive preparations for the reconquest of Asia Minor. The coins bear the young king's portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse the standard Seleucid type of the seated Apollo. Two instances of a slight variation in the reverse type occur at Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXV, 9) and at Seleucia on the Calycadnus (W. S. M., PLATE LI, 1). On these particular coins, Apollo is depicted with his mantle covering his legs as far as the waist, while his left elbow rests upon a tripod, and his outstretched right hand grasps the bow. Examples of the usual type are found at Tarsus (W. S. M., PLATES L, 12-13 and XXXVII, 6⁷), Antioch (W. S. M., PLATES XXV, 5-8, 10-13 and XXVI, 1-2), Apamea (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVII, 1-5), Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATE VIII, 12), Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl.

⁷ Cf. text on p. 232.

xvii, 15-17), and Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pl. xli, 20). As had been the practice in preceding reigns, Laodicea ad Mare (W. S. M., PLATE XLI, 7) and Susa (W. S. M., PLATE II, 22 and E. S. M., Pl. xxviii, 13-14) continued to strike tetradrachms of the Alexander type.

No gold coins of Seleucus III are as yet known, while his bronze issues are undistinguished in character. A voluminous coinage in the latter metal is known for Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXVI, 3-10) with Artemis bust, portrait head, or laureate Apollo-head on the obverse, and on the reverse the usual seated Apollo. Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATE VIII, 13-14) has a very effeminate Apollo-head on the obverse and the mounted Dioscuri on the reverse. Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl. xvii, 18-19) offers the royal portrait on the obverse, Apollo Musagetes on the reverse. A similar Apollo appears on the reverses of the Susian issues (E. S. M., Pl. xxviii, 15-16), but here accompanied by an Athena-head on the obverse. Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pl. xli, 21-23) has the Apollo-head, accompanied on the reverse by a tripod placed above a horse's head, symbolic of the Median mint.

ANTIOCHUS III

223-187 B. C.

Due to the length of his rule, as well as to his many and ambitious campaigns, the issues of Antiochus III are large, numerous and varied. His earliest coinages in silver present a still youthful portrait. This continues to appear for the space of eight or more years, and then gradually changes to a slightly older head. We have examples of the young portrait in the opening issues of Seleucia on the Calycadnus (W. S. M., PLATE LI, 2-4), Tarsus (W. S. M., PLATE L, 14-15), Antioch (W. S. M., PLATES XXVI, 11-18 and XXVII, 1-7), Apamea (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVII, 8-12), Laodicea ad Mare (W. S. M., PLATES XLI, 8-11 and XLII, 1-9), the early captured but briefly held Tyre (W. S. M., PLATE XLV, 1-2), Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATES VIII, 15-16 and IX, 1-3), Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pls. xviii, 1-3, 11-14 and xix, 1-3), Susa (E. S. M., Pls. xxix, 2-4, 7-10), Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pl. xlii, 5-6, 9-10), and at certain as yet unidentified mints (W. S. M., PLATE LXXXIII, 1-2). From the very first, Antioch, immediately followed by Apamea and Nisibis, introduced a novelty to the Seleucid coinages in surrounding the obverse die with a fillet, instead of the hitherto customary dotted border. But even at Antioch, during the first fifteen years, the dotted circle still appears from time to time, alternating with the fillet border. At Nisibis the fillet border continues until about 209 B. C., is then replaced by the dotted border (W. S. M., PLATES IX, 10-12; X, 1-14; XI, 1-12; XII, 1-4), which finally gives way again to the fillet border (W. S. M., PLATE XII, 12-14). The coinages of Apamea present a similar history. The opening issues of Antiochus III were temporarily interrupted at Ecbatana and Seleucia on the Tigris by the rebellion of Molon, 222-220 B. C. No gold or silver coins of this usurper have come to light,

although there is every probability that such were actually coined. Specimens that had escaped the general order for recall and remelting, or had been hidden away from the searching eyes of Antiochus' efficient *ogpu*, may some day appear—as have two still unique examples of the gold and silver issues of that other rebel, Achaeus (W. S. M., PLATE LX, 1-2). During the first year or two of the reign of Antiochus III, the mint of Susa continued to issue its long accustomed coinage of the old Alexander type (E. S. M., Pl. xxix, 1), but now in the name of the new ruler. It is possible that the mint of Laodicea ad Mare also continued for a brief space to issue its old Alexandrine coinage, and that the coin (W. S. M., PLATE XLI, 7) which we have tentatively assigned to Seleucus III was actually an issue of Antiochus III. It was not long, however, before both mints finally conformed their coinage to that of the remainder of the empire.

At varying periods after about 215 B. C., the several still active mints began to place slightly older heads of Antiochus upon their issues. This may be seen at Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXVIII, 1-11); Apamea (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVII, 13); Laodicea ad Mare (W. S. M., PLATE XLII, 10); Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATE IX, 4-6); Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl. xix, 4-6); Susa (E. S. M., Pl. xxix, 11); Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pl. xlii, 21-22); and Sardes (W. S. M., PLATE LX, 12-13). In a very short time a new type in the portraiture of Antiochus III was evolved, and this continued, practically unchanged, to the end of the reign. Antiochus has now changed considerably. His features have become sharper, his cheek is frequently emaciated and so brings into greater relief his prominent cheek-bone. His nose seems to have become a little longer and certainly is more pointed. At times, furrows crease his brow. The bony structure of his forehead is more in evidence, accentuated by the thinning hair which has very obviously commenced to recede from above his temple. The well-known marble portrait head of Antiochus III in the Louvre^a is a splendid example of this type in the round. The matured type of head, fully developed, first appears about 211-210 B. C. at Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXIX, 8) and Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATE IX, 7-8 and following). We next see it at Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl. xix, 7-8) and Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pls. xlv, 5-12 and xlv, 1-9) beginning about 209-208 B. C. At Susa, the process of change is more gradual (E. S. M., Pls. xxx, 1-12 and xxxi, 1-3), the fully developed form does not appear until about 206-204 B. C. (E. S. M., Pl. xxxi, 4-6). At Tyre, of course, it does not appear until after the second capture of that place in 201 B. C. (W. S. M., PLATE XLV, 5-10 and following); while at Lysimachia in Thrace (W. S. M., PLATE LXXVIII, 2-12) it does not come until after the refounding of that city in 198 B. C.

At Antioch the use of the fully realistic type was of very short duration, for almost at once it becomes considerably idealized, continuing in this modified form to near the close of the reign (W. S. M., PLATES XXIX, 9-17, 20-21; XXX, 2-16; XXXI, 1-2, 14-19). Then faint indications of advancing age commence to creep into this 'ideal' portrait of the third Antiochus (W. S. M., PLATE XXXII, 4-8).

^aFor a good reproduction of this head, see Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, frontispiece to Vol. II.

The same change to an elderly Antiochus may also be noted on the final issues of Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATE XII, 12-14). The idealistic or modified type of head also appears at Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pls. xix, 15 and xx, 1), Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pls. xlvii, 12-13 and xlviii, 1), Apamea (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVIII, 15-16), and Tyre (W. S. M., PLATE XLVI, 6). With the exception of the issues at Seleucia on the Tigris and at Tyre, all of these idealistic heads are surrounded by the fillet border, the Antiochene coins representing the original or model type from which the others were copied. The 'idealistic' type at Seleucia on the Tigris soon gives way to one which is of local origin and more realistic (E. S. M., Pl. xx, 4-8, 11, 13), revealing the aging Antiochus. At Ecbatana the 'idealistic' type is also soon replaced, but the heads which now follow on the tetradrachms and drachms are either realistic once more (E. S. M., Pl. xlviii, 12, 16-17; W. S. M., PLATE III, 13) or comparatively youthful (E. S. M., Pl. xlviii, 13-15).

The famous expedition of Antiochus III into the East brought about heavy coining in all metals. His notorious spoliation of the gold and silver tiles and plates stored in the temple of Aene at Ecbatana is related in Polybius X, 27, 12-13, who claims that therefrom Antiochus coined just short of four thousand talents of money. The process of converting the silver bullion into coin was carried out principally in the mints of Ecbatana, Susa and Nisibis. Specimens are illustrated on the E. S. M., Pls. xlv-xlv (Ecbatana), xxx-xxxi (Susa) and the W. S. M., PLATES IX-XII (Nisibis). The golden tiles seem to have been converted into coin at Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXVIII, 8-11). The ensuing successes of Antiochus against Euthydemus of Bactria and Sophagasenius of Afghanistan, which netted him some one hundred and fifty of the coveted Indian war-elephants, were duly commemorated (*circa* 205 B. C.) on the silver issues of Nisibis (W. S. M., PLATES X, 11-12; XII, 5 and E. S. M., Pl. lvi, 5), Ecbatana (E. S. M., Pls. xlvii, 9-16; xlviii, 1 and W. S. M., PLATE III, 11-12), Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., Pl. xx, 1), and on a gold issue of Susa (E. S. M., Pl. xxx, 11).

The final campaigns of Antiochus III in Asia Minor from 197 B. C. to 190 B. C. occasioned numerous issues of silver coin (W. S. M., PLATES LXII, 4-5; LXXVIII, 2-12; LXXXIV, 1-11; LXXXV, 1-6), and possibly one of gold (W. S. M., PLATE LXXXIII, 10-12). The style of the majority of these pieces is poor, sometimes almost barbaric, thus betokening the confusion of the times and the haste with which the issues were produced at the insistent demands of military necessity. Their several mints are not yet ascertainable, with the exception of Bargylla (W. S. M., PLATE LXII, 4-5) and Lysimachia (W. S. M., PLATE LXXVIII, 2-12), whose mint officials were careful enough to provide the coins with mint-marks of sufficiently obvious a nature.

The gold coins bearing the portrait of Antiochus III have survived in surprisingly few numbers. We possess at present but two staters from Seleucia on the Tigris (E. S. M., No. 242), two from Susa (E. S. M., Nos. 384 and 397), and ten quadruple staters (W. S. M., Nos. 1074 and 1097) from Antioch. Therefrom it may be surmised that gold coins did not get into general circulation but remained locked

up in the royal treasuries. But following the disastrous defeat at Magnesia, the enormous indemnity exacted by the victorious Romans⁹ drained these treasuries of Antiochus. A goodly portion of this indemnity was doubtless paid in gold coin,¹⁰ not only of his own minting but also from the accumulated stores of earlier Philip, Alexander and Seleucid staters. Thus the surprising rarity of Seleucid gold in our modern collections, as compared to the frequency there of Ptolemaic gold, may be at least partially accounted for. After the reign of the third Antiochus, the Seleucid kingdom was no longer in a position to afford large issues in gold.

The bronze coinages of the third Antiochus were both numerous and voluminous, although few if any appear to have been struck in Asia Minor. There the usurper Achaëus is the only one to provide a generous issue of bronze coins at this time. These comprise four denominations (W. S. M., PLATE LX, 3-11), invariably bearing Apollo's head on the obverse, the reverses having eagle with palm, eagle on wreath, tripod, or horse's head. It is almost certain that after his recovery of Asia Minor, Antiochus permitted the large Greek cities of that region to meet the needs of general circulation of small denominations with their own autonomous issues. In fact, we know¹¹ that he granted autonomy to the larger cities, barring only

⁹ The indemnity, as listed by Livy XXXVII, 47, Polybius XXI, 16, and Appian, *Syr.* 38, totalled fifteen thousand Euboic talents, of which five hundred were to be handed over at once, two thousand five hundred upon ratification of the peace treaty, and the remainder in twelve annual instalments. In addition, Antiochus had to pay Eumenes four hundred talents.

¹⁰ That most of the indemnity was paid in silver can be proved only if the *argenti* of Livy XXXVIII, 37 and the *argenti probi* of Livy XXXVIII, 38 be taken literally and not generically. That is not likely to have been the case. The sums were indeed reckoned in silver, but were probably for the most part paid in gold. It is interesting to note that Livy XXXVII, 59 states that in the triumphal procession of Scipio Asiaticus, the victor over Antiochus, one hundred and forty thousand *nummos aureos Philippeos* were borne. This was in Livy's day a general term covering not only gold staters of the Philip type in particular, but also gold coins of the succeeding Alexander, Lysimachus, and also, doubtless, of the Seleucid types. Accompanying these gold coins borne in the procession, were also two hundred and twenty-four thousand *tetradrachmum Atticorum* and three hundred and thirty-one thousand and seventy *cistophorum*. The *cistophori* were the current coin in the great semi-autonomous cities of Asia Minor; the Attic tetradrachms may have been partially just that, but probably to a great extent tetradrachms of *Attic weight* bearing the types of Alexander, of Lysimachus, of the Pergamene kings, and of the Seleucids—all of which were then current throughout the peninsula and eastern Europe. Most of these great sums, particularly of the silver, must have represented booty captured in the advance, as well as levies on, or 'contributions' by, the cities freed from Seleucid domination. Certainly only the first instalment of the actual indemnity (i. e., five hundred Euboic talents = three million Attic silver drachms = sixty thousand gold staters) could have been included in the booty borne in the procession, for the second instalment of two thousand five hundred talents was not secured until the following year (Livy XXXVIII, 37). We have thus good reason to assume that at least the first instalment was paid in gold, as this represents much less than half of the actual numbers of gold staters alone, carried in the procession. Because of the greater convenience in transportation, the next instalment, to say nothing of the later annual instalments, was probably also largely paid in gold. Furthermore, the famous trial of Scipio Asiaticus, of his legate A. Hostilius, and of his quaestor C. Furius Aculeo—all suspected of having accepted substantial bribes from Antiochus (Livy XXXVIII, 55)—shows that Furius paid, or at least was supposed to have paid, principally in gold. For Scipio was accused of having received from Antiochus six thousand pounds of gold and only four hundred and eighty of silver; Hostilius, eighty pounds of gold and forty-three of silver; Furius, one hundred and thirty of gold and two hundred of silver. Whether or not the accusation was based on fact, matters little here; the point of interest to us, is the belief that Antiochus not only had plenty of gold at his command—but was also prepared to use it.

¹¹ Cf. Bickermann in *Hermes* LXVII, 1932.

Sardes which still constituted his capital in the West. At her mint the small bronze piece (W. S. M., PLATE LX, 16), which because of its style and fabric should be assigned to the reign of Antiochus III, was probably coined.

For Syria and eastwards other conditions obtained, as under the Seleucids the individual cities there did not yet possess the right of autonomous coinage, even in bronze. Royal coinages in that metal had therefore still to be provided for the daily use of the citizens. West of the Tigris river the bronze issues of Antiochus III are not particularly interesting. At Antioch, throughout his reign, the obverse is invariably occupied by a laureate head of Apollo. During the first fifteen years after his accession, the reverses present the usual seated or standing Apollo (W. S. M., PLATES XXVII, 9-18; XXIX, 1-7, 18-19; XXX, 1), with one ephemeral issue (W. S. M., PLATE XXVIII, 12) having a standing Nike to commemorate some victory of the king. With the return of Antiochus from his eastern expedition, the reverses henceforth almost invariably display the significant elephant (W. S. M., PLATES XXXI, 3-4, 6-13; XXXII, 9-12). At Apamea, too, Apollo's head invariably occupies the obverse, while on the accompanying reverses we find his tripod (W. S. M., PLATES XXXVII, 14; XXXVIII, 1-9) or the god's standing figure (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVIII, 10-11). Once only do we run across the type peculiar to Apamea, the trotting horse (W. S. M., PLATE XXXVII, 15). The recaptured Tyre produced, after c. 200 B. C., a long series of bronze coins in four denominations, each provided on the reverse with its own special type of local significance: ship's stern, ship's prow, palm tree, or the club of Heracles (W. S. M., PLATES XLV, 7-10; XLVI, 8-14). The first two celebrate the fact that Tyre at this time constituted the great naval base of the Seleucids; the tree (*φοινῖς*) is a punning reference to the district of which Tyre was the principal city and fortress; the club is of course the emblem of Tyrian Heracles or Melkarth. The obverses display the royal portrait, while on the reverses of the largest denomination may be found a date, the first definitely established use of dates in the entire Seleucid series.

At Nisibis under Antiochus III, we know of only one issue of bronze coins (W. S. M., PLATE XII, 6-10), whose reverse type of Nike must commemorate the king's successes in the East—as the accompanying monograms connect this coinage with the tetradrachms of the years following 208 B. C. The types to be seen on the bronze coinages of Babylonia and Iran are much more varied than they are for the West. At Seleucia on the Tigris, the opening issue displays a very youthful head of the king, while the reverse type of Apollo Musagetes (E. S. M., Pl. xviii, 4-5 and W. S. M., PLATE II, 11) is the same as had been used for the preceding issues of Seleucus III. The rebellion and invasion of Babylonia by Molon at this point abruptly broke off the coinage of Antiochus III, and substituted therefor the issues of the rebel (E. S. M., Pl. xviii, 6-10). These have a similar reverse type, but now accompany it on the obverse with a head of Zeus. The rebellion successfully suppressed, issues in the name of Antiochus III were resumed. These again bear the youthful head of the legitimate king, associated on the reverse either with the appropriate type of Nike (E. S. M., Pl. xviii, 15-16) or with the coiled serpent

(E. S. M., Pl. lvi, 19). The latter is unique in the entire range of Seleucid coin types. Does it represent the companion of Pythian Apollo, or have we here an allusion to the alleged¹² divine descent of Seleucus I, founder of the dynasty? If so, the serpent type might have appeared appropriate at a time when Antiochus III had but just wrested from the usurper's grasp his own ancestral heritage, the capital and metropolis first founded by Seleucus. Somewhat later came another issue of 'doubles' (W. S. M., PLATE II, 16), in types very similar to a corresponding coinage at Antioch (W. S. M., PLATE XXVIII, 12) commemorating the victory of Antiochus over Achaëus. There follow a rapidly changing series of types: bust of Artemis and Apollo playing upon his lyre (E. S. M., Pl. xix, 9-10); facing Apollo head and fighting Athena (*ibid.*, 11); facing Demeter (or Artemis ?) bust and Apollo holding a lyre and seated on the *omphalos* beside his tripod (*ibid.*, 12-13); facing Apollo bust with standing Tyche or tall tripod (*ibid.*, 14, 16-17); jugate heads of Apollo and Artemis with a tall tripod (W. S. M., PLATE II, 18); facing bust of Zeus, and on the reverse a statue of Apollo holding out a *phiale* above a tripod (E. S. M., Pl. xix, 18-19). With the return of Antiochus from the East, there took place an issue (E. S. M., Pl. xx, 2-3) bearing Apollo's head on the obverse and the usual Indian elephant on the reverse. Later, comes a facing Hermes accompanied on the reverse by a herm in profile or an elephant (W. S. M., PLATE II, 19-20 and E. S. M., Pl. xx, 10, 12).

Susa, too, during this reign, offers a varied assortment of types on her bronze coinages: first an interesting horned and diademed head of the young Antiochus, accompanied on the reverses by an armed and seated Athena placing a wreath over the king's name, or by a Nike with a palm-branch and likewise holding a wreath above the royal name (E. S. M., Pl. xxix, 5-6, 12-13). The Athena and the Nike doubtless refer to Antiochus' victories over Molon, perhaps also to his first successes against Ptolemy IV in Phoenicia. Later, we have the usual diademed portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse either a standing Athena resting on her spear, or an Artemis crowning the king's name (E. S. M., Pls. xxix, 14 and xxxi, 7). Then follow a veritable galaxy of types: Hermes head in profile, and herm; Medusa head and prow; Apollo head, and Artemis advancing left with a torch or a winged Athena holding a wreath and long palm-branch, or Apollo leaning against his tripod (E. S. M., Pl. xxxi, 8-14). Finally, we find an interesting female (?) head wearing the elephant's scalp on the obverse, while on the reverse is seen a standing figure of Artemis holding a long torch in her right hand (*ibid.*, 15-17). This as well as two other types (the horned Alexander head with Nike in a chariot, and facing Apollo head with horse's head, *ibid.*, 18-19) may actually be issues of the fourth Antiochus.

At Ecbatana, very early in the reign, comes an issue of bronze (Apollo head with Nike, E. S. M., Pl. xlii, 1-4) brought out by the rebel, Molon. The succeeding issues of Antiochus III are voluminous. Without exception, they bear the royal portrait on the obverse. On the reverses we have the usual seated Apollo, or Nike advancing to left holding a wreath above a large Seleucid anchor, or Apollo stand-

¹² Cf. the story as found in Appian, *Syr.* 56.

ing to right (E. S. M., Pls. xlii, 7, 11-20 and xliii, 4-9). Next come two series, comprising many denominations and including the heavy 'octuple,' with another seated Apollo or a tall, filleted tripod (*ibid.*, 10-23). With the arrival of Antiochus in Ecbatana (209 B. C.) and the ensuing victorious campaigns in Parthia, Bactria and Afghanistan, we have several consecutive series, which include all denominations from the 'octuple' to the 'half.' The reverse types bear significant allusion to the stirring events now taking place in the East. We have Nike advancing to left holding a wreath in her outstretched right hand, while at her feet may be seen a large horse's head (E. S. M., Pls. xlv, 10-12 and xlvi, 1-3); the king mounted and charging with couched spear (E. S. M., Pl. xlvi, 4-12); a feeding horse to left (*ibid.*, 13-18); a mare suckling her foal (*ibid.*, Pl. xlvii, 1-8). The successful outcome of the expedition is finally celebrated by large issues of coins bearing on their reverses an Indian war-elephant, sometimes surmounted by his *mahout* (*ibid.*, Pls. xlviii, 2-11 and xlix, 1-10).

The eastern victories of Antiochus III were further commemorated by an issue bearing on its obverses an Indian elephant with its *mahout*, and on the reverses Nike advancing to right holding in her outstretched hand a wreath with fillets attached (E. S. M., Pl. lvi, 2-4). Unfortunately, the mint of these pieces is uncertain, but it probably lay in eastern Iran or Bactria, as the types were later imitated by the Bactrian king Antimachus on his own bronze coins. Thus may be brought to a close our survey of the wide-spread coin issues of the first seven legitimate sovereigns of the Seleucid line, ruling over the vast territories stretching from the Hellespont in the West to the borders of India in the East.

APPENDIX

The following study had been sent early in 1939 to M. Dussaud and accepted by him for publication in a future number of *Syria*. Before that could take place, however, the disasters of June 1940 intervened, since which time no answer to repeated letters has been received from M. Dussaud. Unfortunately, the chances for a resumption of the publication of *Syria* now seem to be extremely doubtful. It has therefore been decided to include the study with the related material in this volume.

A SELEUCID MINT AT DURA-EUROPUS

BY ALFRED R. BELLINGER AND EDWARD T. NEWELL

Among the Seleucid bronze coins found in the excavation of Dura-Europus are a number which seem to have been struck in the town itself and therefore to warrant separate study. There are three series, each of two denominations, all belonging to the reign of Antiochus I (280-261 B. C.).

The largest series consists of nine "doubles"¹ and one "unit."

1. BRONZE DOUBLE (W. S. M., No. 878 γ-t).

Diademed and horned head of Seleucus I
to r. Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (sic!) ANTIOXOY around the
horned head of a horse to r.

a) γ, gr. 4.43; b) γ, gr. 4.14; c) γ, gr. 4.71. PLATE XIII, 2; d) γ, gr. 3.51. PLATE XIII, 1; e) γ, gr. 2.73; f) γ, gr. 2.03; g) γ, gr. 3.59. PLATE XIII, 3; h) γ, gr. 3.42. PLATE XIII, 4.

2. BRONZE DOUBLE (W. S. M., No. 878 α).

Similar.

Similar, but horse's head much smaller.

γ, gr. 2.81.

3. BRONZE UNIT (W. S. M., No. 879).

Similar.

Inscription illegible. Anchor.

γ, gr. 1.25. PLATE XIII, 5.

The condition of all the foregoing is so poor that their weights are extremely unreliable. The most that can be said is that, making all due allowance for breakage, wear and corrosion, they seem to have been lighter than the norm for their denomi-

¹ Cf. E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, New York, 1938, pp. 270-274.

nations. The inscription is very obscure, traces appearing on *lb*, *d* and *e* from which the restoration in Fig. 1 is made.² There is, however, enough left on *lb* to make it certain that the name is Antiochus and not Seleucus.



FIGURE 1

The horned head of Seleucus combined with the horned horse's head appears on staters and a tetradrachm with the name of Seleucus himself,³ but on drachms with the name of Antiochus.⁴ Although it is assumed by Babelon⁵ that the coins with Seleucus' name were struck by Seleucus himself, all denominations are, in fact, to be attributed to the early years of Antiochus' reign and to the mint of Carrhae.⁶ The gold and silver evidently furnish the models for our bronzes, which may be dated *circa* 280–276 B. C. The fact that so many have turned up in the excavations though none were known before, strongly suggests that Dura itself was their place of issue. Although no inscription can be read on the unit, the similarity of the obverse to that of the double makes it certain that it belongs with the larger pieces. The anchor is so common a Seleucid type as to call for no comment.

But there is reason to believe that this was not a regular and official coinage. Not only is the style inferior, and the inscription clumsy, strangely placed and incomplete, but the metal itself seems to be of poor quality. It is noticeable that, in general, early Seleucid coins from the excavations are in good condition and, although they may be much worn, are less likely to be corroded than the Roman coins. But this series is deeply pitted and eaten, and the edges tend to be broken. There is no trace of a monogram on any of them, but, on the other hand, all the doubles except No. 2 and possibly *1e* are countermarked as follows:

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) <i>Rev.</i> lyre → | e) <i>Rev.</i> uncertain |
| b) <i>Rev.</i> lyre ← | f) <i>Obv.</i> lyre ↖, <i>Rev.</i> horse's head → |
| c) <i>Rev.</i> lyre ←, horse's head → | g) <i>Rev.</i> lyre ←, horse's head ↘ |
| d) <i>Obv.</i> lyre ↗, <i>Rev.</i> horse's head ↗ | h) <i>Obv.</i> lyre ↘, <i>Rev.</i> horse's head ↘ |

² Professor C. B. Welles has assisted in deciphering the inscriptions and Miss D. H. Cox has made the drawings and offered valuable suggestions.

³ Gardner, *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, p. 3, No. 24, Pl. i, 6; Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, Paris, 1890, p. 9, No. 54, Pl. ii, fig. 8; *Museo Numismatico Lavy*, Turin, p. 239, No. 2528, fig. xxxi. Cf. W. S. M., Nos. 784–6, PLATE VI, 2–4.

⁴ Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 424, No. 16, Pl. H, 11. Cf. W. S. M., Nos. 787–8, PLATE VI, 2–4.

⁵ *Ibid.* xviii ff.

⁶ See above, pp. 49–53.

These countermarks (Figs. 2, 3) are not otherwise known⁷ and are most likely to have been stamped at Dura, for countermarks do not often wander far from their point of origin. Evidence that there was an official in the town authorized to countermark the coins, is furnished by EY, so marked on pieces of Antiochus I and II struck at Antioch (PLATE XX, 4, 17-20). This is not a mark found at Antioch itself, and outside of the excavations at Dura, where it is common, it has been recorded only on one piece in the Hunterian Collection⁸ and on one in the Yale Collection from Mesopotamia. There are also other countermarks on later Seleucid pieces which seem to have been stamped at Dura. In the case of our present series,




FIGURES 2 AND 3

we cannot altogether dismiss the possibility that the coins were struck elsewhere and countermarked in Dura, or even that both coin and countermark belong to some other Mesopotamian city not yet unearthed. But with due regard to the fact that certainty must await the excavation of other Mesopotamian sites, we may say that the likeliest explanation is that these coins were struck at Dura to supply the needs of the young community in the first years of Antiochus I, and that after a short time they were officially accepted by being countermarked with the lyre. Later still, those which were in circulation (No. 1, *c, d, f, g, h*) were again validated by the proper official with the horse's head. Perhaps the small size of the unit, No. 3, kept it from being marked; perhaps it had been lost before the first stamp was used.

It is impossible to be sure of the relation of the remaining double, No. 2, to the others. Artistically it is the least successful of all and therefore may have been a first attempt, rejected when the others were produced. It is very badly corroded but there is no sign of a countermark.

The next step in the development of the local currency is represented by our second series.

4. BRONZE DOUBLE (W. S. M., No. 880 α-γ)

Macedonian shield, bearing an anchor as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ANTIOXO below elephant advancing to r. On r., .

a) \swarrow , gr. 7.38; b) \downarrow , gr. 5.63. PLATE XIII, 6; c) \downarrow , gr. 4.22. PLATE XIII, 7.
b and c are from the same obverse die.

⁷ A horned horse's head is sometimes found but of totally different appearance, e. g. Newell, *op. cit.* Pl. xxxix, 1. It should be remarked that the lyre sometimes has one string, sometimes, apparently, two. PLATE XIII, 1.

⁸ Vol. III, p. 16, No. 37 = W. S. M., PLATE XX, 19.

5. BRONZE UNIT (W. S. M., No. 881 α - β)

Similar.

Similar. Inscription and monogram illegible.

a) \nearrow , gr. 1.56. PLATE XIII, 8; b) \uparrow , gr. 1.31.

These also are in very poor condition, so that the weights are misleading and the inscription far from clear. Here again, however, there is no doubt about the name.

The new types are imitated from a common issue⁹ of Antioch (PLATE XVIII, 12-16) but our specimens are distinguished from that issue by the clumsy workmanship, the poor fabric (note the cracked die of PLATE XIII, 6, 7), the abnormal inscription and the monogram. The presence of the monogram, however, shows that the coins were regulated by a competent official, and none of them has been counterstruck. It is evident, therefore, that these were intended to supplement or to supersede the irregular issue of the first series. Since the Antiochene models are to be dated *circa* 278-275 B. C., a reasonable date for the pieces from Dura would be *circa* 276-270 B. C.

Apparently the inferior quality of both series troubled the citizens, or the central government, for still a third appeared.

6. BRONZE DOUBLE (W. S. M., No. 882 α - γ)

Bridled and horned head of horse to r.
Circle of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ANTIOXOY in two lines
within and to l. of a strung bow. Below,
following name, Ξ .

a) \nearrow , gr. 6.17; b) \nwarrow , gr. 6.10; c) \swarrow , gr. 4.17. PLATE XIII, 9.7. BRONZE UNIT (W. S. M., No. 883 α - β)

Similar.

Similar, and with the same monogram.

a) \nwarrow , gr. 3.35. PLATE XIII, 10; b) \nearrow , gr. 2.40.

This last attempt is the most satisfactory. The style is attractive and the fabric excellent so that the coins are far better preserved than their predecessors. The weights, therefore, are more worthy of attention, and their variation is remarkable. Among the doubles it is *c* which has suffered least from wear and corrosion. What seems to be wear on the reverse is more likely the effect of weak striking, for the obverse shows almost no sign of circulation. And the hard brown oxide with which the coin is covered has protected it from corrosion and must actually add something to its weight. Yet it is the lightest of the three, whereas *a*, the heaviest, has certainly lost some of the original surface, particularly toward the edges. There can be no doubt that all three are intended for the same denomination, and we must therefore conclude that there was a variation of at least two

⁹ Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 11, Nos. 35-38.

grammes, which seems high considering their light weight¹⁰ (this variation in the units is at least partly due to a difference in their condition). This may be added to the evidence of provenance and the fact that the bow is a new type for Antiochus to indicate that we are dealing with a local issue.¹¹

This third series may be dated *circa* 270–265 B. C., for from 265 to 261 B. C. Dura was supplied with bronze from the great mint of Antioch, in the form of the common units showing an elderly head of Antiochus and Apollo seated left on an omphalos¹² (PLATES XIX, 27–28 and XX, 1–8.) Over forty of these have been found in the excavations, of which seven at least are countermarked EY, as already mentioned. The fact that the same mark occurs on bronze of Antiochus II makes it likely that the stamping was done in the latter's reign, although of course it might have begun in the earlier reign and continued for a time into the next. It is not found later than Antiochus II. Whatever its purpose was, it is apparent that Antiochus Soter's bronze from Antioch could circulate without it and was imported in sufficient quantity to make unnecessary any further minting at Dura itself.

¹⁰ Cf. Newell, *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, p. 272, Table II.

¹¹ The only other occurrence of $\Pi\Gamma$ is combined with Φ from Susa. Cf. Newell, *op. cit.*, No. 349, Pl. xxvi, 8, 10.

¹² Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 10, Nos. 26–28.

TABULAR SURVEY

ADDENDA TO THE COINAGE OF THE EASTERN SELEUCID MINTS

SELEUCIA ON THE TIGRIS

SELEUCUS I

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
28A	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus		Δ I Π
43A	Stater	Athena	Nike		ΑΓ / Π Ε
66A	Drachm	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		Δ ⊙
70A	"	"	" " "		Α ⊙
78A	"	"	" " "		⊙ Α
98A	½ "	"	" " biga		⊙ Α
99A	Æ Quadr.	Apollo	Bull		⊙ ⊙
99B	" Double	"	"		"
133A	½ dr.	Heracles	Zeus		Anchor Π ⊙

ANTIOCHUS I

155A	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo		Α
174A	Æ Double	Athena	"		Ε Ε

ANTIOCHUS II

199A	Æ Double	Apollo (¾ fac.)	Tripod		Π
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SELEUCUS II

201A	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo		Ε Ε
203A	Æ Half	Athena (¾ fac.)	Nike		Α Ε
204A	Dr.	"	"		Ε Ε
206A	Æ Unit	Apollo (¾ fac.)	Horse's head		Ε Ε
207A	" Double	Dioscuri (¾ fac.)	Nike & Trophy		Ε Ε
207B	" Unit	" " "	" " "		" "
207C	" Half	" " "	" " "		" "
210A	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo		Ε Ε
210B	Dr.	"	"		" "
210C	4dr.	"	"		" "

WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS

ANTIOCHUS III

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
224A	Æ Double	Antiochus III	Apollo	☉	☉
239B	" Unit	"	"	"	☉ (☉)
243A	" Double	Apollo	Nike	☉ (?)	☉
244A	" Unit	Artemis	Apollo	☉	☉
250A	" "	Apollo & Artemis	Tripod		

SUSA

SELEUCUS I

Series III, Group E

325A	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in biga	☉ Bee
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ANTIOCHUS I

345A	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	☉ ☉
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SELEUCUS II

368A	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	☉ ☉
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ANTIOCHUS III

403A	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	☉	☉
403B	"	"	"	☉/Rose	N(?)

PERSEPOLIS

SELEUCUS I

421A	4dr.	Seleucus I	Nike and Trophy	☉
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ECBATANA

SELEUCUS I

480A	2dr.	Heracles	Zeus	☉/Anchor/Horse.	☉
507A	Dr.	"	"	Anchor/☉	☉

ANTIOCHUS II

541A	Stater	Antiochus II	Apollo	☉/☉/Horse	
541B	4dr.	"	"	"/☉/"	

SELEUCUS II

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.	
547A	Dr.	Athena (Attic)	Apollo		ⲁ	ⲁ
547B	"	"	(Corinthian)	"	ⲁ	ⲁ
556A	"	Seleucus II	"		Horse's head	ⲁ ⲁ

ANTIOCHUS III

579A	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	ⲁ/Horse's head	ⲁ
588A	Dr.	"	"	" " " ΔIo	
631A	"	"	Elephant	ⲁ	ⲁ
638A	4dr.	"	Apollo	ⲁ/Horse's head/X	

BACTRA

SELEUCUS I

661A	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga	No monogram	
662A	Dr.	"	" " biga	ⲁ (?)	ⲁ
668A	½ dr.	"	" " "	ⲁ, II	

ANTIOCHUS I

697A	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	ⲁ	
704A	Dr.	"	"	Δ	

HECATOMPYLUS OR ARTACOANA

ANTIOCHUS I

727A	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	BA	Δ (Δ?)
728A	"	"	"	AΔ	ⲁ

ANTIOCHUS II

731A	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	ⲁ / ⲁ	ⲁ
731B	Dr.	"	"	?/Δ	ⲁ

SELEUCUS II

740A	Dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	ⲁ	
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UNCERTAIN MINTS

SELEUCUS I

754A	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	ⲁ	ⲁ
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ANTIOCHUS I

755A	½dr.	Heracles	Zeus	ⲁ	(?)
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WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS

MESOPOTAMIA

A) CARRHAE

ANTIGONUS OR SELEUCUS I

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
1	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	☼/Bee	⊗
2	"	"	"	"	"
3	Stater	Athena	Nike	⊗/Crescent/⊙E	"
4	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	" / "	"
5	"	"	"	" / ⊙EO	"
6	Stater	Athena	Nike	⊗ / "	⊗
7	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	" / "	"
8	Stater	Athena	Nike	⊗ / "	ΔI
9	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	" / "	"
10	Dr.	"	"	"	"
11	4dr.	"	"	" / ⤴	"
12	Stater	Athena	Nike	MO/Fish/⊗	"
13	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	" / "	⊗
14	Dr.	"	"	"	"

SELEUCUS I

Series I

766	Stater	Athena	Nike	⊗	
767	"	"	"	(ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above) "	
768	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ax	⊗
769	Æ Unit	Horse's head	Bull		⊗
770	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Crescent/⊗	ΔIO
771	Dr.	"	"	" "	ΔI
772	4dr.	"	"	⊗/Ax	⊗
773	½ dr.	"	"	" "	⊗
774	Stater	Athena	Nike	Bucranium/⊗	⊗
775	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	" "	⊗
776	"	"	"	Wreath/⊗	AY
777	"	"	"	No symbol or letter	

Series II












778	Stater	Athena	Nike	Dog's head	⊗
779	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	"	⊗
780	"	"	"	"	⊗
781	Dr.	"	"	"	⊗
782	4dr.	"	"	"	⊗

ANTIOCHUS I

Series I

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
783	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus		II

Series II, Group A






784	Stater	Seleucus I	Horse's head		 
785	4dr.	"	" "		" "
786	Stater	"	" "		A  
787	Dr.	"	" "		A/ 
788	"	"	" "		E 
789	Æ Unit	Shield	Elephant		Anchor
790	" "	"	"		 "
791	" "	"	"		 "
792	" Half	"	"		" "
793	" Unit	"	"		" / 
794	" "	"	"		" / 
795	" "	"	"		" / 

Group B

796	Æ Double	Shield	Anchor
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

B) EDESSA

ANTIOCHUS I



797	Æ Unit	Athena	Trophy	 (M) EΔE
798	" Half	"	"	
799	" Unit	"	"	
800	" Half	"	"	
801	" Unit	"	"	
802	" "	"	"	

C) NISIBIS

SELEUCUS I

803	Æ Double	Dioscuri busts	Nike	 
804	" Unit	" "	"	" "
805	" Half	" "	"	" "

ANTIOCHUS I

758*	Æ Double	Hermes (¾ fac.)	Apollo	 
759*	" Unit	" "	"	" "

ANTIOCHUS II

806	Æ Half	Dioscuri busts	Elephant's head	+
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* These coins given to an uncertain mint in E. S. M., p. 265, are now assigned to Nisibis. Cf. p. 58, above.

SELEUCUS II

Series I

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
807	Æ Double	Dioscuri busts	Elephant's head	⊕
808	" Unit	" "	" "	"
809	" Half	" "	" "	"
810	" Double	" "	" "	N
811	" Unit	" "	" "	"

Series II, Group A

812	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	⊕	⊕
813	"	"	"	⊕	"
814	"	"	"	⊕	⊕
815	Æ Double	Dioscuri busts	Anchor	⊕-Horse	
816	" Unit	" "	"	" "	
817	" Half	" "	"	" "	

Group B

818	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	⊕	⊕
819	"	"	"	⊕	⊕
820	"	"	"	⊕	⊕
821	"	"	"	⊕	⊕
822	"	"	"	⊕	"
823	"	"	"	⊕	"
824	Obol	"	"	⊕	"
825	Æ Double	"	Nike	⊕	No monograms (?)

Series III

826	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	⊕	⊕
827	Æ Unit	Dioscuri busts	Dioscuri mounted	⊕	⊕

SELEUCUS III

828	4dr.	Seleucus III	Apollo	⊕	A	⊕
829	Æ Double	Apollo	Dioscuri mounted	⊕	K	⊕
830	" Unit	"	" "	"	"	"

ANTIOCHUS III

Series I

831	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	⊕	⊕	⊕
832	"	"	"	"	⊕	"
833	"	"	"	"	⊕	"
834	"	"	"	"	⊕	"
835	"	"	"	"	⊕	⊕
836	"	"	"	"	⊕	A

Series II

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.	
837	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		M	o
838	"	"	"		"	E
839	"	"	"		No letters	
840	"	"	"		Thyrus	

Series III

841	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		No letters	
842	"	"	"		□	
843	"	"	"		ΑΣ	□
844	"	"	"		Α/Σ	"
845	"	"	"		ΑΣ	
846	"	"	"		ΑΣ	ΣΩ
847	"	"	"		ἄ	□
848	"	"	"		ΔΙ	"
849	"	"	"		ΕΣ/□	
850	"	"	"		ΕΣ	
851	Dr.	"	"		"	
852	"	"	Elephant		ΕΣ	
853	"	"	"		No letters	
854	4dr.	"	Apollo		ΔΙ	
855	"	"	"		□ (once □)	
856	"	"	"		Μ	
857	"	"	"		Σ ΑC	
858	"	"	"		ΑΣ, ΣΑ	
859	"	"	"		Κ/ΕΡ	
860	"	"	"		ΕΡ	Κ
861	"	"	"		ΜΕ/ΗΡ	
862	"	"	"		" / Ρ	
863	"	"	"		Ρ Κ	
864	"	"	"		ΑΠΟ/ΑΡ	
865	"	"	"		Ρ	
866	"	"	"		Ρ/Μ	
867	"	"	"		"	□ ±
868	"	"	Elephant		Ε	Κ
(765)						
869	Æ Double	Apollo	Nike			
870	" "	"	"		Α	
871	" "	"	"		Ι	
872	" "	"	"		Σ	
873	" "	"	"		Ξ	
874	" "	"	"		ΑC	

Series IV, Group A

875	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		Ρ	
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		<i>Group B</i>			<i>Monograms, etc.</i>
<i>No.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Types</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	
876	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		Α-ΔΙ
877	"	"	"		Α-ΝΙ

PARAPOTAMIA

DURA-EUROPUS

ANTIOCHUS I

Series I

878	Æ Double	Seleucus I	Horse's head		
879	" Unit	"	Anchor		

Series II

880	Æ Double	Shield	Elephant		Σ
881	" Unit	"	"		?

Series III

882	Æ Double	Horse's head	Bow		Ε
883	" Unit	" "	"		"

UNCERTAIN ISSUES OF THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES REGIONS

SELEUCUS I

884	Æ Double	Apollo	Horse's head		
885	" "	"	Bull's head		

ANTIOCHUS I

886	Æ Unit	Horse's head	Anchor		3-1
887	" "	Apollo (Dionysus ?)	Horse's head		
888	" "	Helios	Anchor		

ANTIOCHUS II (?)

889	Æ Double	Antiochus II	Elephant's head		Anchor
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SYRIA

A. SELEUCIA PIERIA

SELEUCUS I

Series I

890	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	⊙	KP
891	Dr.	"	"	"	"
892	4dr.	"	"	"	Τ
893	"	"	"	"	KA
894	Æ Double	Zeus	Thunderbolt		Α⊙

Series II, Group A

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
895	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ⓐ (or Ⓐ)
896	Æ Quadr.	Zeus	Winged thunderbolt	Ⓐ
897	" Double	"	Thunderbolt	Ⓐ

Group B

898	Æ Double	Zeus	Winged thunderbolt	Ⓐ
899	" Unit	"	" "	"

Series III, Group A

900	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ⓐ
901	Æ Double	Zeus	Thunderbolt	"
902	" Unit	"	"	"

Group B

903	Æ Unit	Zeus	Thunderbolt	Ⓐ
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Group C

904	Æ Double	Zeus	Thunderbolt	Ⓐ
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ANTIOCHUS I

905	Æ Double	Zeus	Thunderbolt	Ⓐ
906	" Half	"	"	

B: ANTIOCH

SELEUCUS I

Series I

907	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ⓐ N
908	Stater	Athena	Nike	⊙ E
909	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	⊙ E
910	Æ Double	Zeus	Thunderbolt	Ⓐ Ⓐ

Royal Bronze

Group A

911	Æ Double	Apollo	Athena	Anchor
912	" "	"	"	
913	Æ Unit	"	"	
914	" Double	"	"	Ⓐ-EY

Group B

915	Æ Double	Apollo	Athena	Ⓐ-Ⓐ
916	" Unit	"	Tripod	" "
917	" Half	"	"	

Royal Bronze, Group B—Continued

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.	
		Obv.	Rev.		
918	Æ Double	Apollo	Athena	Π	Π (or Ⅱ)
919	" Unit	"	Tripod	Π	
920	" Double	"	Athena		⊙
921	" Unit	"	Tripod	⊙	
922	" Half	"	Lyre		

Series II

923	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ξ	
924	Æ Double	Medusa	Bull	Ⅱ Ξ	
925	" "	"	"	Ξ	
926	" "	"	" (to l.)		"
927	" Unit	"	" (to r.)		"
928	" Half	"	"		

Series III

929	Æ Double	Seated figure	Elephant's head	Ξ	
930	" Half	Shield	Anchor		

ANTIOCHUS I

Series I

931	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ⅱ	⋈
932	"	"	"	Trident	Π⋈
933	Æ Double	Apollo	Tripod	Ξ	Ⅱ
934	" Half	"	(BAEI ANTI)		
935	" "	"	(BA AN)		
936	" Quarter	"	Bow		

Series II

937	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	Ⅱ	Α
938	"	"	"	⊙	⊙
939	"	"	"	⊙	⋈
940	"	"	"	⊙	
941	"	"	"	⊙	

Group A



942	Æ Double	Shield	Elephant	⊙ Ⅱ	
943	" "	"	"	Ⅱ(Ⅱ), ⊙	
944	" "	"	"	Σ, ⊙	
945	" Half	"	"		

Group B

946	Æ Double	Shield	Elephant	⋈ Club	Jaw-bone
947	" Half	"	"	" "	"
948	" "	"	½ "	⋈ Club	Jaw-bone

			<i>Group C</i>			
No.	Denomination			<i>Types</i>		<i>Monograms, etc.</i>
		<i>Obv.</i>		<i>Rev.</i>		
949	Æ Double	Zeus		Thunderbolt		Club [∞] E Jaw-bone
950	" Half	"		"		" " "
951	" "	"		$\frac{1}{2}$ "		" " "
952	" "	"		Tripod		Jaw-bone Club [∞] E

<i>Group D</i>						
953	Æ Double	Apollo		Tripod	Bow	Club [∞] E
954	" Half	"		"	"	" "
955	" "	"		Omphalos	"	" "
956	" "	"		Arrow-point		

<i>Series III</i>						
957	4dr.	Antiochus I		Apollo		
958	"	"		"	κ	
959	"	"		"		⌘
960	Æ Unit	"		"		⌘
961	" "	"		"	"	⌘
962	" "	"		"	"	EY
963	" Half	"		"	P	○
964	" Quarter	"		"		

ANTIOCHUS II

<i>Series I</i>						
965	4dr.	Antiochus II		Apollo	⌘	⌘
966	"	"		"	⌘	⌘
967	Æ Unit	Apollo		"	EY	⌘
968	" "	"		"	(?)	⌘
969	" Half	"		"		

Series II

970	4dr.	Antiochus II		Apollo	⌘	⌘
971	"	"		"	"	⌘
972	"	"		"	Po	⌘
973	Dr.	"		"	"	⌘
974	Stater	"		"		ΔIN
975	4dr.	"		"		Δ(IN?)
976	"	"		"	κ	ΔI
977	"	"		"	ΔI	E
978	"	"		"	"	⌘
979	"	"		"	IA	⌘
980	"	"		"	⌘	⌘
981	"	"		"	"	⌘
982	Æ Double	Apollo		Tripod	ΔH	⌘
983	" "	"		"	⌘	"
984	" "	"		"	⌘	"
985	" "	"		"	⌘	⌘

SELEUCUS II

Series I, Group A

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
986	Stater	Seleucus II	Apollo	
987	"	"	"	¥
988	4dr.	"	"	"

Group B

989	Stater	Seleucus II	Apollo	MP
990	4dr.	"	"	MP

Series II, Group A

991	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	KA	M
992	"	"	"	"	M/K
993	"	"	"	⊗	
994	"	"	"		±
995	Stater	"	"	P	
996	4dr.	"	"	KE	
997	Stater	"	"	"	B
998	4dr.	"	"	"	"
999	Stater	"	"	7	
1000	4dr.	"	"	4	
1001	"	"	"		

Group B

1002	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	KE	MP
1003	"	"	"	MP	
1004	"	"	"	AE/⊗	
1005	"	"	"	Bo(?) / ⊗	
1006	"	"	"		⊗
1007	"	"	"	⊗/⊗	
1008	Dr.	Athena	"	AE/⊗	
1009	"	"	"	⊗/⊗	

Series III

1010	Stater	Seleucus II	Apollo	MP	PE
1011	4dr.	"	"		"
1012	Drachm	Athena	"	MP	"
1013	4dr.	Seleucus II	"	⊗	KA
1014	Drachm	Athena	"	"	"

Group A

1015	Æ Double	Athena	Nike	EY	KA
1016	" "	"	"		

<i>Group B</i>					
<i>No.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Types</i>		<i>Monograms, etc.</i>	
		<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>		
1017	Æ Double	Apollo	Tripod	EY	⌘
1018	" Unit	"	"	"	"
1019	" Double	"	"	"	⌘

Series IV

1020	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	Ξ	⌘
1021	"	"	"	"	Υ

Group A

1022	Æ Double	Athena	Nike	Ξ	
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Group B

1023	Æ Double	Apollo	Tripod	Ξ	
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SELEUCUS III

1024	4dr.	Seleucus III	Apollo	Ξ	
1025	"	"	"	"	⌘
1026	"	"	"	"	ΣΩ
1027	"	"	"	⌘	⌘
1028	"	"	"	⌘	Elephant ⌘
1029	"	"	"	Ξ	Υ
1030	"	"	"	" /Rose	"
1031	"	"	"	Υ	

Group A

1032	Æ Unit	Artemis	Apollo	⌘	
1033	" "	"	"	"	AI (or ΔI or AP)
1034	" "	"	"	"	⌘
1035	" "	"	"	"	KA
1036	" "	"	"	"	⌘
1037	" "	"	"	"	Γο
1038	" "	"	"	"	⊙E
1039	" "	"	"	"	⌘
1040	" "	"	"	"	ΔY
1041	" "	"	"	⌘	(?)

Group B

1042	Æ Unit	Seleucus III	Apollo	⌘	
1043	" "	Apollo	"	Ξ	

ANTIOCHUS III

Series I

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1044	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	☰
1045	"	" (fillet b.)	"	☰/☰
1046	"	" "	"	☰/☰
1047	"	" (dotted b.)	"	☰/☰
1048	"	" "	"	☰/☰
1049	"	" (waving dia-dem-end)	"	☰/☰
1050	"	" "	"	☰/☰
1051	"	" (fillet b.)	"	☰
1052	"	" (dotted b.)	"	"
1053	"	" "	"	"
1054	Æ Quadr.	Apollo	"	"
1055	" Unit	"	"	"
1056	" Half	"	"	"
1057	" Quadr.	"	"	" / Δ
1058	" Unit	"	"	" "
1059	" Half	"	"	" / "
1060	" Quadr.	"	"	" / 工
1061	" Half	"	"	" / "
1062	" Quadr.	"	"	" / ○
1063	" Unit	"	"	" / "
1064	" Half	"	"	" / "
1065	" Unit	"	"	" / Π
1066	" "	"	"	A/H

Series II

1067	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	☰
1068	"	"	"	Grapes
1069	"	"	"	⊙ E
1070	"	"	"	M
1071	"	"	"	I
1072	"	"	"	"
1073	"	"	"	☰/☰
1074	8dr. (A/)	"	"	☰
1075	Æ Quadr.	Apollo	Nike	☰
1076	" "	"	Apollo	☰/☰
1077	" Half	"	"	" / "
1078	" Quadr.	"	"	" / Ⅳ
1079	" Half	"	"	" / "
1080	" Quadr.	"	"	" / M
1081	" "	"	"	" / φ

Series II—Continued

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1082	Æ Half	Apollo	Apollo	Υ/Σ
1083	" "	"	"	" / Δ
1084	" "	"	"	⌘
1085	" "	"	"	Υ-⌘
1086	" Quadr.	"	"	
1087	" Half	"	"	⌘

Series III

1088	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Υ
1089	" "	" (fillet b.)	"	"
1090	Dr.	"	"	"
1091	4dr.	"	"	⌘
1092	Dr.	"	"	"
1093	Æ Half	Apollo	"	⌘
1094	4dr.	Antiochus III	"	Anchor
1095	Æ Half	Apollo	"	Anchor
1096	4dr.	Antiochus III	"	Tripod
1097	8dr. (Λ/)	"	"	Rose
1098	4dr.	"	"	⌘ ϕ
1099	Dr.	"	"	" "
1100	4dr.	"	"	Gorytus
1101	"	"	"	" ΔΣΚ (ACK)
1102	"	"	"	⌘ H
1103	Dr.	"	"	" "
1104	"	"	"	⌘ "
1105	4dr.	"	"	⌘
1106	Drachm	"	"	⌘
1107	Æ Quadr.	Apollo	Tripod and elephant	Σϕ
1108	Æ Double	"	Tripod	
1109	" Unit	"	Elephant r.	⌘
1110	" Half	"	" "	
1111	" Unit	"	" "	Anchor
1112	" "	"	" I.	
1113	" "	"	" "	Δ
1114	" Half	"	" "	Anchor
1115	" "	"	" "	ΔI

Series IV

1116	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Gorytus
1117	"	"	"	Quiver
1118	"	"	"	Cornucopiae
1119	"	"	"	Horse's head
1120	"	"	"	⌘

Series IV—Continued

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1121	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	⌘
1122	"	"	"	⌘
1123	"	"	"	Anchor
1124	"	"	"	
1125	"	"	"	Cornucopiae/K
1126	Æ Unit	Apollo	Elephant l.	ΔI or ΙΔ or M
1127	" "	"	"	⌘ or ⌘ ΔI

C: APAMEA

SELEUCUS I

1128	Æ Double	Elephant	Horse's head
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ANTIOCHUS I

First Rule in Apamea

1129	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	⌘ Caduceus ⌘
1130	Dr.	"	"	" "
1131	Æ Unit	"	Bow in case	⌘

Second Rule in Apamea

1132	Æ Double	Tripod on shield	Bow in case
1133	" Unit	" " "	" " "
1134	" Half	Anchor " "	Arrow-point

ANTIOCHUS II

Series I

1135	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo	M	?
1136	"	"	"	A	M
1137	"	"	"	⌘	⌘
1138	"	"	"	⌘	⌘
1139	"	"	"	⌘	Δ(Δ)
1140	Dr.	"	"	"	
1141	4dr.	"	"	?	?

Series II

1142	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo	ϕ
1143	"	"	"	

Interregnum

1144	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	
1145	"	"	Anchor	Caps ⌘

SELEUCUS II

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
1146	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	Α	Β
1147	Stater	"	"	"	"
1148	4dr.	"	"	"	Α
1149	"	"	"	"	Γ
1150	"	"	"	"	Ω
1151	"	"	"	"	ΑΠ
1152	"	"	"	"	ΠΠ
1153	"	"	"	"	Ω
1154	"	"	"	" / A	"
1155	Dr.	Athena	"	"	Ω

Group A

1156	Æ Double	Apollo	Bull	Α	
1157	" Unit	"	½ bull	"	
1158	" "	"	Bull	"	
1159	" Double	"	"	"	EY
1160	" Unit	"	½ bull	"	"
1161	" "	"	Bull	"	"

Group B

1162	Æ Octuple	Seleucus II	Horseman	Α	
1163	" Unit	"	Horse	"	
1164	" "	"	"	"	EY
1165	" Octuple	"	Horseman	Α	
1166	" Unit	"	Horse	"	
1167	" "	"	Pegasus	"	
1168	" "	"	"	"	EY

Group C

1169	Æ Double	Athena	Nike	Α	
1170	" "	"	"	Α/A	
1171	" "	"	"	" / EY	
1172	" "	"	"	Α	
1173	" "	"	"	"	Α
1174	" "	"	"	"	A
1175	" "	"	"	○ (?)	"
1176	" "	"	"	" (R?)	"
1177	" "	"	"	Α	
1178	" Unit	Seleucus II	Horse	Shield	

SELEUCUS III

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.	
		Obv.	Rev.		
1179	4dr.	Seleucus III	Apollo	Ω	⌘
1180	"	"	"	Ω	⌘
1181	"	"	"	ME	⌘
1182	"	"	"	⌘	⌘
1183	Dr.	"	"	"	"
Vacat					
1185	Æ Quadr. (?)	Apollo	Tripod		

ANTIOCHUS III

Series I

1186	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	⌘	
1187	Æ Quadr.	Apollo	Tripod		
1188	" Double	"	"		
1189	" Unit	"	Horse		
1190	" Quadr.	"	Tripod	M	
1191	" Double	"	"	⌘	A
1192	" "	"	"	⌘	M(?)
1193	" "	"	"	"	Δ
1194	" Half	"	Apollo	⌘	
1195	" "	"	"	"/A	
1196	" "	"	"	"/E	
1197	" "	"	"	"/N	

Series II

1198	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	⌘	⌘
1199	"	"	"		⌘
1200	"	"	"	⌘(?)	"
1201	"	"	"	⌘	"

D: LAODICEA

SELEUCUS I TO SELEUCUS III

Series I

1202	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin
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Series II

1203	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/⌘ ⌘(?)
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Series III, Group A

1204	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/⌘ ⌘
1205	"	"	"	" / " ⌘

No.	Denomination	Group B		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Types Rev.	
1206	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/𐤠 𐤠
1207	"	"	"	" / 𐤠 𐤠
1208	Dr.	"	"	" / " "
1209	4dr.	"	"	" / " 𐤠

Series IV, Group A

1210	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/𐤠 𐤠
1211	Dr.	"	"	" / " "

Group B

1212	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/𐤠 𐤠
1213	Dr.	"	"	" / " "

Group C

1214	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/𐤠 𐤠
1215	Dr.	"	"	" / " "
1216	4dr.	"	"	" / " 𐤠
1217	Dr.	"	"	" / " "
1218	4dr.	"	"	" / " 𐤠

Group D

1219	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/𐤠 𐤠
1220	"	"	"	" / " 𐤠

Group E

1221	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/𐤠 𐤠
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Group F

1222	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/𐤠 𐤠
1223	"	"	"	" / " 𐤠

Series V

1224	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Dolphin/𐤠 𐤠
1225	"	"	"	" / 𐤠 " "
1226	"	"	"	" / 𐤠 " "

ANTIOCHUS III

Series I

1227	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	𐤠/Dolphin 𐤠
1228	"	"	"	𐤠/Lyre (?) 𐤠
1229	Dr.	"	"	𐤠/ " 𐤠
1230	4dr.	"	"	𐤠 𐤠

WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS

Series I—Continued

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Types</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Monograms, etc.</i>	
1231	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		MP	A
1232	"	"	"		A	MP
1233	"	"	"		"	MP
1234	"	"	"		A	A

Series II

1235	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		A	MP
1236	"	"	"		A	W
1237	"	"	"		MP	A
1238	"	"	"		MP	MP
1239	"	"	"		"	MP (A)

COELE-SYRIA

A: MARATHUS

SELEUCUS I

Group A

1240	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Anchor, Pellet	MP
1241	"	"	"	E	Star

Group B

1242	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	MP	MP
1243	"	"	"	R/Σ	Star
1244	"	"	"	(Anchor)/MP	
1245	"	"	"	" / "	A
1246	"	"	"	ΑΣΤ/ "	"
1247	½ dr.	"	"	(Anchor)	
1248	"	"	"	Pellet/Σ	

B: UNCERTAIN MINT

SELEUCUS I

1249	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Anchor	M
1250	Dr.	"	"	" / A	"

C: TYRE

ANTIOCHUS III

Series I

1251	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	A	MP
1252	"	"	"	"	A

*Series II**Group A*

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.		
		Obv.	Rev.			
1253	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Α	Bull	☐
1254	Dr.	"	"	"		"

Group B

1255	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Α		☐
1256	Æ Unit	"	Prow			
1257	" "	"	"		✕	
1258	" "	"	"		PIE/1	
1259	" Half	"	Palm			

*Series III**Group A*

1260	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Α/Club		☐
1261	"	"	"	Νκ		HP
1262	"	"	"	" Bow-case		✕
1263	"	"	"	Α/Torch Club		Νκ
1264	"	"	"	Α		"
1265	Dr.	"	"	"		"
1266	4dr.	"	"	" Club		"
1267	"	"	"	Α/Club		"

Group B

1268	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	ΣΑ/Club		Νκ
1269	Dr.	"	"	ΣΑ		"
1270	4dr.	"	"	"		☐
1271	Dr.	"	"	?	Club	"
1272	Æ Double	"	Stern		PIC	
1273	" "	"	"		PII	
1274	" "	"	"		PIH	
1275	" "	"	"		PIΘ	
1276	" "	"	"		PK	
1277	" "	"	"		PKB	
1278	" "	"	"		PKΔ	
1279	" Half	"	Palm			
1280	" Quarter	"	Club			

D: ASCALON

ANTIOCHUS III

1281	Dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	A/Dove		Α
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E: UNCERTAIN MINT

ANTIOCHUS III

Group A

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.	
1282	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		Α	ΑΤ
1283	Dr.	"	"		"	"

Group B

1284	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		Α/Athena	ΘΙ
1285	"	"	"		" / "	ΚΦ
1286	"	"	"		Σ / "	ΣΕ
1287	"	"	"		⊙	Α

F: DAMASCUS (?)

SELEUCUS I

1288	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus		ΣΑ	⊙
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CILICIA

A: TARSUS

SELEUCUS I

Series I

1289	Stater	Athena	Nike		⊙-ΑΙ	
1290	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus		⊙	ΑΙ

Series II

1291	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus		?	ΑΙ
1292	"	"	"		⊙	
1293	"	"	"		"	⊙

ANTIOCHUS I

Series I

1294	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus		Grapes	⊙ / Α
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Series II

1295	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo		Η	Α
1296	"	"	"			Α Η
1297	"	"	"			Η Α
1298	"	"	"			Α Η
1299	Æ Double	Athena	Caps			Club/Α
1300	" "	"	"			Elephant/"
1301	" "	"	"			Α
1302	" "	"	"			Η(?)
1303	" "	"	"			Π(Σ, ⊙?)
1304	" Unit	"	Stars			

ANTIOCHUS II

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
1305	Stater	Athena	Nike		R-H
1306	"	"	"		R ?
1307	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo		R H
1308	Stater	Athena	Nike		NK-E
1309	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo		NK E
1310	"	"	"		" ΔI(AI ?)
1311	"	"	"		" WP
1312	Æ Double	Dioscuri	Athena		M
1313	" "	"	"		
1314	" Unit	"	"		

SELEUCUS II

Series I

1315	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo		N/NK
1316	Dr.	Athena	"	I	WP

Series II

1317	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	W	
1318	"	"	"		W

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1319	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo		Σ AP
1320	"	" "	"		R AP

SELEUCUS II

1321	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	AP	M
1322	"	"	"	"	⊕ (⊗ ?)
1323	Dr.	Athena	"	R	
1324	"	"	"	R	

SELEUCUS III

1325	4dr.	Seleucus III	Apollo	AP	APT
1326	"	"	"	AR	"
1327	Dr.	"	"	R	

ANTIOCHUS III

1328	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	APT/Prow	✱
1329	"	"	"	" /Nike	"

B: SELEUCIA ON THE CALYCADNUS

SELEUCUS III

1330	4dr.	Seleucus III	Apollo	Horse/A	
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WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS

ANTIOCHUS III

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1331	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Horse/Α

CAPPADOCIA AND NORTH SYRIA

Mint: A

SELEUCUS I

1332	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	ΣΥ
1333	"	"	"	ΣΥ ΔΙ
1334	2 Stater	Athena	Nike	Α
1335	Stater	"	"	Α-ΔΙ/(?)
1336	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Α Δ
1337	"	"	"	Α "
1338	"	"	"	
1339	"	"	"	Α
1340	"	"	"	Α

Mint: B

SELEUCUS I

1341	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Θ Σ
1342	"	"	"	Σ Θ (Θ)
1343	"	"	"	Θ ΑΡΑ

Mint: C

SELEUCUS I

1344	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Θ Π
1345	"	"	"	" Π
1346	"	"	"	ΣΙ

ANTIOCHUS I

1347	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	ΣΙ Η
1348	"	"	"	" Η
1349	"	"	"	

LYDIA

A: SARDES

SELEUCUS I

1350	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Ε ΑΣ
1351	"	"	"	Ε "
1352	"	"	"	Ε "
1353	Dr.	"	"	" "
1354	4dr.	"	"	" Η
1355	"	"	"	" Η

A: SARDES, SELEUCUS I—Continued

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.	
1356	4dr.	Heracles		Zeus	ΑΣ	Σ
1357	Æ Unit	Medusa		Bull		ΣΙ
1358	" Half	"		Bull's head		

ANTIOCHUS I

Series I

1359	4dr.	Seleucus I		Horse's head		Σ/⊙
1360	"	Heracles		Zeus	Σ/Ι	
1361	"	"		"	ΔΙ	Σ
1362	"	"		"	ΑΣ	"

Series II

1363	4dr.	Seleucus I		Apollo	ΔΙ ΑΣ	
1364	"	"		"	Α	"
1365	"	"		"	Δ Ι	"
1366	"	"		"	Σ	"
1367	"	"		"	"	Σ
1368	Æ Double	Athena		Nike	⊙	
1369	" Unit	"		"	"	
1370	" Double	"		"	"	⊙
1371	" Unit	"		"	"	"

Series III

1372	4dr.	Antiochus I		Apollo	Α⊙ ΑΣ	
1373	"	"		"	ΑΣ Ι Η	
1374	"	"		"	ΑΝ "	
1375	"	"		"	ΑΣ Α⊙	
1376	"	"		"	ΑΝ ΑΣ	
1377	"	"		"	" Α⊙	
1378	Æ Half	Apollo		Arrow-point	Α⊙	

ANTIOCHUS I OR II

1379	Æ Unit	Apollo		Tripod	Ε	Α
1380	" "	"		"	Α(?)	
1381	" "	"		"	Α	Δ
1382	" Half	"	(¾ fac.)	"		Α(?)
1383	" "	"	"	"		Ρ(ϕ?)
1384	" "	"	"	"		

ANTIOCHUS II

Series I

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
1385	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	ΑΞ ΑΝ
1386	"	"	"	Ξ Α
1387	"	"	"	Ν "
1388	"	"	"	Α Ν
1389	Æ Unit	Apollo	Tripod	Ξ ΜΙΑ
1390	" "	"	"	ΔΙ
1391	" "	"	"	"
1392	" Half	"	Lyre	"
1393	" Unit	"	Tripod	φ
1394	" "	"	"	δ
1395	" "	"	"	Χ
1396	" "	"	"	Χ
1397	" Half	"	Lyre	Χ
1398	" Unit	"	Tripod	Ξ
1399	" "	"	"	Α
1400	" "	"	"	Ν
1401	" Half	"	Lyre	"
1402	" Unit	"	Tripod	"
1403	" "	"	"	Κ
1404	" "	"	"	?
1405	" "	"	"	Δ

Series II

1406	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo	ΑΝ
1407	Æ Unit	Apollo	Tripod	Ξ
1408	" Half	"	Lyre	"
1409	" Unit	"	Tripod	"/Ε
1410	" "	"	"	Ν
1411	" "	"	"	"/Ε
1412	" "	"	"	Ν
1413	" "	"	"	Δ
1414	" "	"	"	Ξ(?)
1415	" "	"	"	"/φ

SELEUCUS II

1416	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	Α-Ν
1417	"	"	"	ΟΕ/Α
1418	"	"	"	Η-Ν
1419	"	"	"	ΟΕ/Α
1420	Dr.	"	"	Α
1421	"	"	"	"
1422	"	"	"	Κ(?)
1423	"	"	"	Δ

Group A				
No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.
Monograms, etc.				
1424	Æ Unit	Apollo	Tripod	Υ(?)
1425	" "	"	"	Ακ Υ(?)
Group B				
1426	Æ Unit	Heracles	Apollo	Δ(Δ' or Ακ) Π
1427	" "	"	"	Ακ Ε(Σ or Ι)
1428	" "	"	"	Π Π
ANTIOCHUS HIERAX				
1429	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo	Θ/Α
1430	"	"	"	Α
1431	"	"	"	Μ Ν
1432	"	"	"	Α "
1433	"	"	"	Λ "
1434	"	"	"	ΑΕ
1435	Æ Unit	Apollo	"	Α
1436	" "	"	"	Β
1437	" "	"	"	ΕΠ
1438	" "	"	"	ΔΙ ?
ACHAEUS				
1439	Stater	Achaeus	Athena	ΘΕ/Horse's head
1440	4dr.	"	"	Horse's Π/Υ head
1441	Æ Double	Apollo	Eagle	
1442	" Unit	"	"	
1443	" Half	"	Tripod	
1444	" Quarter	"	Horse's head	
1445	" Double	"	Eagle	ΔΙ
1446	" Unit	"	"	"
1447	" Half	"	Tripod	Δ
1448	" Double	"	Eagle	ΑΒ
1449	" "	"	"	Μ
1450	" Unit	"	"	Ι
ANTIOCHUS III				
1451	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Ξ
1452	"	"	"	Μ Lion's head
1453	"	"	"	Μ ?
1454	"	"	"	
1455	Æ Unit	Apollo	"	

WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS

B: MAGNESIA AD SIPYLUM

ANTIOCHUS I

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.	
		Obv.	Rev.		
1456	4dr.	Antiochus I	Heracles	Ε Η	Ε Η
1457	Æ Unit	Athena	Nike	Ε	
1458	" Half	"	"	"	

C: MAGNESIA AD SIPYLUM (?)

SELEUCUS II

1459	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	Α	Α
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ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Series I

1460	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo	Α	Α
1461	"	"	"	Α	Α
1462	"	"	"	"	Altar(?) Δ
1463	"	"	"	"	Α
1464	"	"	"	"	Α
1465	"	"	"	"	Mask/Α

Series II

1466	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo	Α	Mask
1467	"	"	"	Altar	"

CARIA AND IONIA

A: BARGYLIA

ANTIOCHUS III

1468	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Artemis	Α
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B: MAGNESIA ON THE MAEANDER

SELEUCUS I

1469	Æ Unit	Medusa	Bull	Maeander Pattern	
------	--------	--------	------	------------------	--

ANTIOCHUS I

1470	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	AI	K
1471	Dr.	"	"	"	"
1472	Æ Unit	Athena, facing	Nike	"	"

ANTIOCHUS II

Series I

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
1473	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo		OE (OE)
1474	"	"	"		OE
1475	Dr.	"	"		"
1476	4dr.	"	"		AEK
1477	"	"	"		A/
1478	"	"	"		No letters
1479	Dr.	"	"		⊙
1480	"	"	"		⊙
1481	"	"	"		⊙
1482	Æ Half	Apollo	Bull		X

Series II

1483	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo	No letters
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SELEUCUS II

1484	Æ Double	Artemis	Apollo	ME	ME
1485	" "	"	"	MF	"

C: EPHESUS

ANTIOCHUS II

1486	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo		R (?)
1487	"	"	"		⊙
1488	"	"	"		⊙
1489	Æ Unit	Artemis	Forepart of stag		

SELEUCUS II

1490	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	⊙	⊙
1491	Æ Double	Artemis	"	工	Anchor

D: SMYRNA

ANTIOCHUS I

1492	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	⊙/Anchor	
1493	"	"	"	Anchor/⊙-E	
1494	"	"	"	E/R	
1495	Æ Unit	Athena	Elephant's head	⊙/R	
1496	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	NK	工

ANTIOCHUS II

Series I

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
1497	Stater	Antiochus II(?)	Athena	Α(?) - φ Π/Σ
1498	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	Ξ/Α F

Series II

1499	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo	Palm branch Σ
1500	"	"	"	Wheat

E: PHOCAEA

ANTIOCHUS I

1501	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	½ Griffin ?
1502	Dr.	"	"	"
1503	4dr.	"	Heracles	Griffin head/Βκ
1504	"	"	Apollo	" Βκ

ANTIOCHUS II

Series I

1505	Dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo	Griffin head Βκ
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Series II

1506	4dr.	Antiochus I	Heracles	Griffin head/Α
1507	"	"	"	ΑΞ

Series III

1508	4dr.	Antiochus I	Heracles	Π/Π Seal Βκ φ
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ANTIOCHUS II OR HIERAX

1509	4dr.	Antiochus II (?)	Apollo	Seal
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AEOLIS AND MYSIA

A: AEGAE

ANTIOCHUS II

Series I

1510	4dr.	Antiochus I	Heracles	Cantharus Π
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Series II

1511	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo	Goat Π Π
1512	"	"	"	" Π Δ
1513	"	"	"	" Π Δ
1514	"	"	"	" Π Δ

Series III

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1515	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo	⊗/Goat/℞
1516	"	"	"	℞/Goat/⊗

B: CYME

ANTIOCHUS I

1517	4dr.	Antiochus I	Heracles	Cup/⊗/⊗⊗⊗
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ANTIOCHUS II

1518	4dr.	Antiochus I	Heracles	Cup/⊗⊗⊗⊗
1519	"	"	"	Cup/⊗⊗⊗⊗
1520	"	"	"	Cup/℞⊗⊗⊗
1521	"	"	"	Cup⊗⊗
1522	"	"	"	Cup/℞ E⊗⊗⊗⊗
1523	"	"	"	Cup/⊗/℞⊗⊗⊗
1524	"	"	"	℞⊗Cup/⊗⊗⊗⊗

C: MYRINA

ANTIOCHUS II

1525	4dr.	Antiochus I	Heracles	Amphora⊗⊗
1526	"	"	"	⊗ Arrow Amphora
1527	"	Antiochus II (?)	"	" " "

D: PERGAMUM

SELEUCUS I

1528	4dr.	Horse's head	Elephant	Bee Anchor
1529	"	" "	"	Star Anchor

PHILETAERUS

1530	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Artemis Crescent
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PHILETAERUS UNDER ANTIOCHUS I

1531	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	Athena r. Star
1532	"	"	"	" Crescent
1533	"	"	"	" 1. Two Crescents
1534	"	"	"	" r. " "
1535	"	"	"	" Oval

THE HELLESPONTINE DISTRICT

A: LAMPUSCUS

ANTIOCHUS II

Series I

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
1536	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo		ΙΣ Σ
1537	"	"	"		" ⚡
1538	"	"	"		Σ(ΙΣ?) ⚡

Series II

1539	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo		ΙΣ
1540	"	"	"		" ΣΩ Α

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Series I

1541	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo		Tripod
1542	"	Antiochus Hierax	"		"
1543	"	"	"		" ⚡
1544	"	" (with wing)	"		⚡
1545	"	"	"		Bee (field)
1546	"	"	"		" (exergue)
1547	"	"	"		"
1548	"	" (Abydus die)	"		"
1549	"	"	"		" (field)
1550	"	"	"		⚡

Series II

1551	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo		Torch 1/2 Horse ⚡
1552	"	"	"		" " ⚡
1553	"	"	"		" / " ⚡
1554	"	"	"		" / " ⚡

B: ABYDUS

ANTIOCHUS II

1555	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo		⚡/Eagle ⚡
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ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1556	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo		Torch Eagle ⚡
1557	"	"	"		" " ⚡
1558	"	"	"		" ⚡ Eagle
1559	"	"	"		Caduceus/⚡ "

C: ILIUM

ANTIOCHUS II

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1560	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo	Π/Athena

D: ALEXANDRIA TROAS

ANTIOCHUS II

Group A

1561	4dr.	Antiochus I (winged)	Apollo	Π/Head Horse l.
1562	"	"	"	Π Horse l. Ε

Group B

1563	4dr.	Antiochus II (winged)	Apollo	Π Horse r. Ε
1564	"	"	"	Ε/Π Horse r.
1565	"	"	"	Σ Π " "
1566	"	"	"	Horse l. Π Ε

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

Series I, Group A

1567	4dr.	Antiochus I (winged)	Apollo	Horse l. ΠΠ
1568	"	"	"	" " Π
1569	"	"	"	ΣΠ " "
1570	"	"	"	Π " "
1571	"	"	"	Π Π " r.
1572	"	"	"	Π/Π " "
1573	"	"	"	" /Π " "
1574	"	"	"	Π/Π " "

Group B

1575	4dr.	Antiochus I (winged)	Apollo	Π(Π) Horse l. Π
1576	"	"	"	Π " "
1577	"	"	"	ΠΠ " "
1578	"	"	"	" Π " "
1579	"	"	"	Π " r. Σ

Series II, Group A

1580	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax (winged)	Apollo	Π/Π Horse r.
1581	"	"	"	" " " l.
1582	"	"	"	ΠΠ " r.
1583	"	"	"	ΠΠ " l.
1584	"	"	"	Π " "

Group B				
No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1585	4dr.	Antiochus (winged)	Apollo	⋈ Horse l. ⚡
1586	"	" (older) "	"	" " " "
1587	"	" " "	"	⋈/⋈ " "
1588	"	" " "	"	⋈/⋈ " "
1589	"	" " "	"	⋈/⋈ " "
1590	"	" " "	"	" " ⚡
1591	"	" " "	"	" " ⚡
1592	"	" " "	"	⋈/⋈ " "

E: SCEPSIS

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1593	4dr.	Antiochus I (?)	Apollo	Rhyton/⚡
1594	"	"	"	⚡ " "

F: SIGEUM

SELEUCUS II

1595	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo	Branch
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ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1596	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo	Owl (omphalos)
1597	"	" " "	"	Owl
1598	"	" " "	"	⚡/Owl ⚡
1599	"	" " "	"	" ⚡/⚡
1600	"	" " "	"	⚡/ " ⚡
1601	"	" " (winged) "	"	Owl
1602	"	" " "	"	⚡/⚡(?) " "
1603	"	" " "	"	"
1604	"	" " "	"	Owl (field)

G: UNCERTAIN MINTS

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1605	4dr.	Antiochus I (winged)	Apollo	⚡ Shield ⚡
1606	"	" " "	"	⚡ " ⚡
1607	"	" (I or II?)	"	Female figure

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1608	"	Hierax (?)	Apollo	⚡
1609	"	"	"	⚡

H: LYSIMACHIA IN THRACE

ANTIOCHUS II

No.	Denomination	Obv.	Types	Rev.	Monograms, etc.
1610	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo		Lion's head
1611	"	"	"	"	" " *
1612	"	"	"	"	No symbol or monogram
1613	"	"	"	"	H Lion's head

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1614	4dr.	Hierax (?)	Apollo		Torch E Lion's head
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ANTIOCHUS III

1615	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo		E/Torch Lion's head
1616	"	"	"		E OE "
1617	"	"	"		M OE "
1618	"	"	"		K Lion's head OE
1619	"	"	"		A OE
1620	"	"	"		E/M
1621	"	"	"		Sceptre OE A E

UNCERTAIN MINTS

SELEUCUS I

1622	Stater	Athena	Nike		?
1623	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	E	BEA
1624	Dr.	"	"		φI
1625	"	"	"		E
1626	4dr.	Zeus	Athena in quadriga		E
1627	Æ Unit	Medusa	Bull	K	
1628	" "	"	"		K

ANTIOCHUS I

1629	4dr.	Heracles	Zeus	I-P	
1630	Dr.	"	"		Q(?)
1631	Æ Double	Artemis	Anchor		

ANTIOCHUS I OR II

1632	4dr.	Antiochus I	Apollo		ΔI
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ANTIOCHUS II

1633	4dr.	Antiochus II	Apollo		No monograms
1634	"	" (?)	"		" "
1635	"	"	"		" "

WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS

SELEUCUS II

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1636	4dr.	Seleucus II	Apollo (seated)	MP
1637	Dr.	"	" (standing)	M MP
1638	4dr.	"	" (w. tripod)	AS/ME
1639	"	"	"	" / Δ
1640	"	"	"	No letters
1641	"	"	"	H Δ
1642	"	"	"	Δ TP
1643	"	"	"	Σ/ΔI
1644	"	"	"	AB/ΔI
1645	"	"	"	NA
1646	"	"	"	
1647	"	"	"	ΔI/ME
1648	"	"	"	No monograms
1649	"	"	"	MP (?)
1650	"	"	"	TP
1651	"	"	"	K
1652	Dr.	Athena (Attic)	" standing	No monograms
1653	"	"	"	?
1654	Æ Double	"	"	No monograms
1655	" Unit	"	"	M
1656	"	"	"	"
1657	"	"	"	MP (± or M)
1658	"	"	"	M
1659	"	"	"	AE/A
1660	"	"	"	M K/M
1661	"	"	"	K/M
1662	" Half	"	Elephant's head	M K MP (?)
1663	" Quarter	"	Anchor	K/Δ
1664	" Unit	"	Apollo standing	EY N (?)
1665	" Double	"	Nike	Anchor

ANTIOCHUS II OR HIERAX

1666	4dr.	Youthful head	Apollo	AE	E
1667	"	Older head	"	M	

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX

1668	4dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo	AE	
1669	"	"	"	No monogram	
1670	"	"	"	"	
1671	"	"	"	A	Δ
1672	"	"	"	MP	+
1673	"	"	"	?/E	TP
1674	"	"	"	No monograms	

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX—Continued

No.	Denomination	Types		Monograms, etc.
		Obv.	Rev.	
1675	Dr.	Antiochus Hierax	Apollo	No Monograms
1676	4dr.	" "	"	ΓΕ
1677	"	" "	"	ΕΠ
1678	"	" "	"	ΠΕ
1679	"	" "	"	ΕΠΘ

ANTIOCHUS III

1680	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	⌘/Σ
1681	"	"	"	No monograms
1682	"	"	"	⌘
1683	"	"	"	⌘
1684	Æ Double	Apollo	Nike	
1685	" "	Antiochus III	Apollo	⌘(⌘?) ⌘
1686	4dr.	"	"	M(?)
1687	"	"	"	No letters
1688	Stater	Athena	Nike	Α/ΚΗΣ-FA
1689	"	"	"	ΠΕ - "
1690	½ Stater	"	"	" - "
1691	4dr.	Antiochus III	Apollo	Π
1692	"	"	"	A(Δ?) T
1693	"	"	" r.	No letters
1694	4dr.	"	" l.	" "
1695	"	" (barbaric)	" "	" "
1696	"	"	" "	主
1697	"	"	" "	No monogram
1698	"	"	" "	Bird's head
1699	"	" (barbaric)	" "	No symbol
1700	"	" "	" "	⌘(?)

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX OR ANTIOCHUS III

1701	4dr.	Youthful head	Apollo	No monogram
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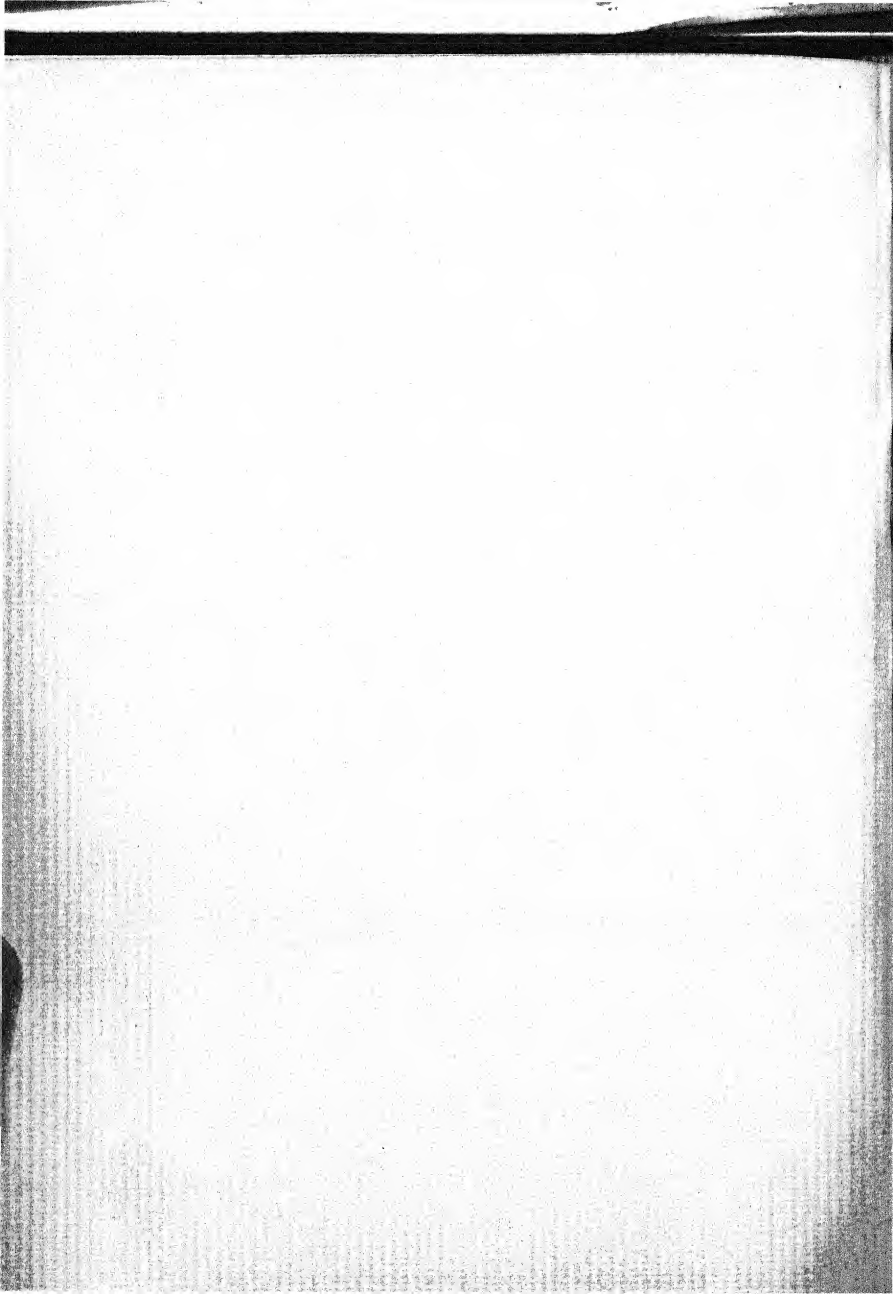
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ERRATA

In first line of caption to PLATE XLVII substitute Antiochus I for Seleucus I
On PLATE XXIV insert *N* for Nos. 7 and 8

PLATES



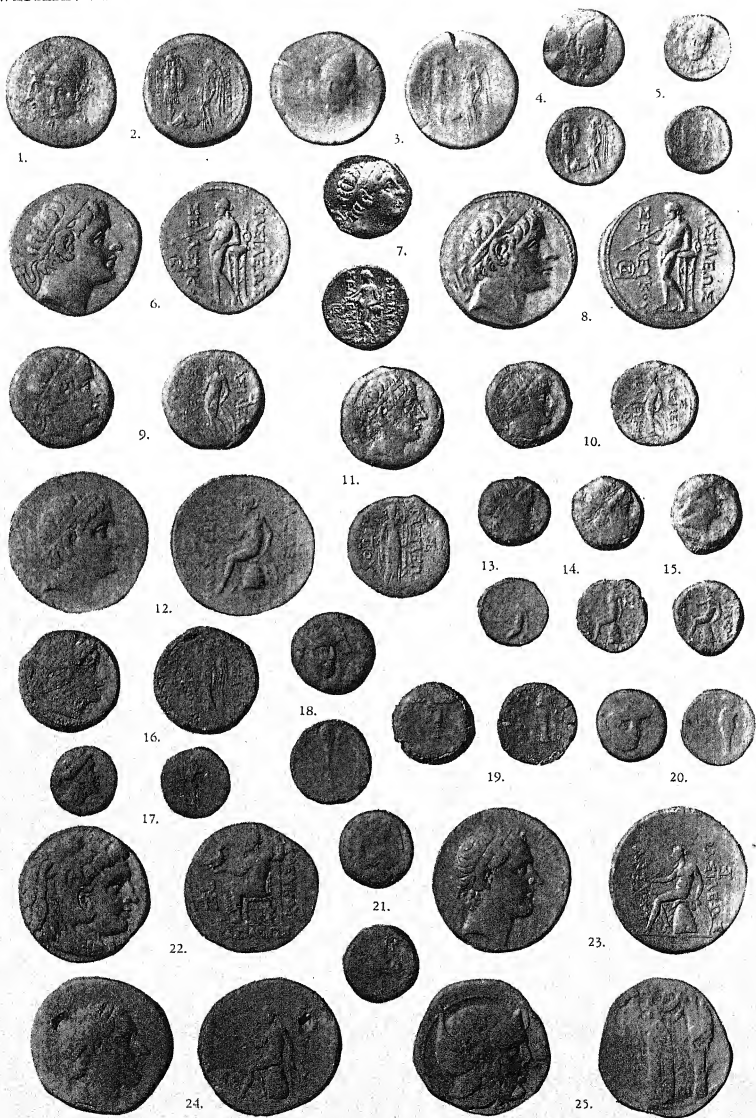
WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS.

PLATE I.



ADDENDA TO EASTERN SELEUCID MINTS. MINT: SELEUCIA.

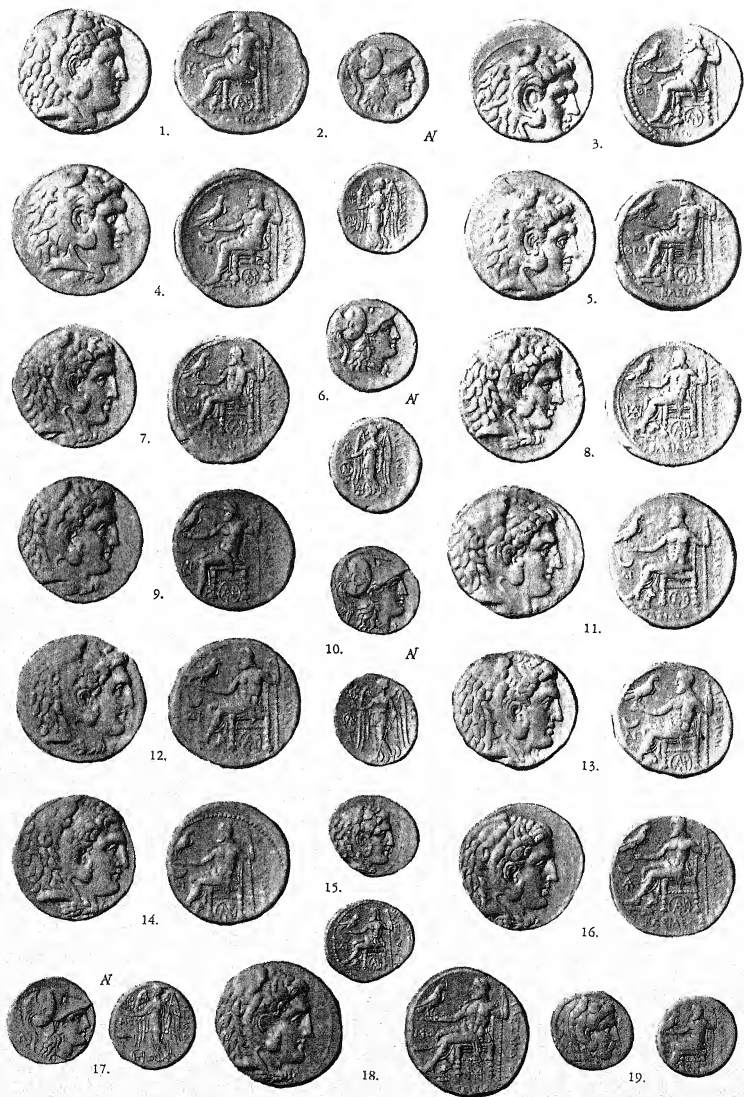
SELEUCUS I (167-129), ANTIOCHUS I (110-96), ANTIOCHUS II (95-92), SELEUCUS II (180-173)

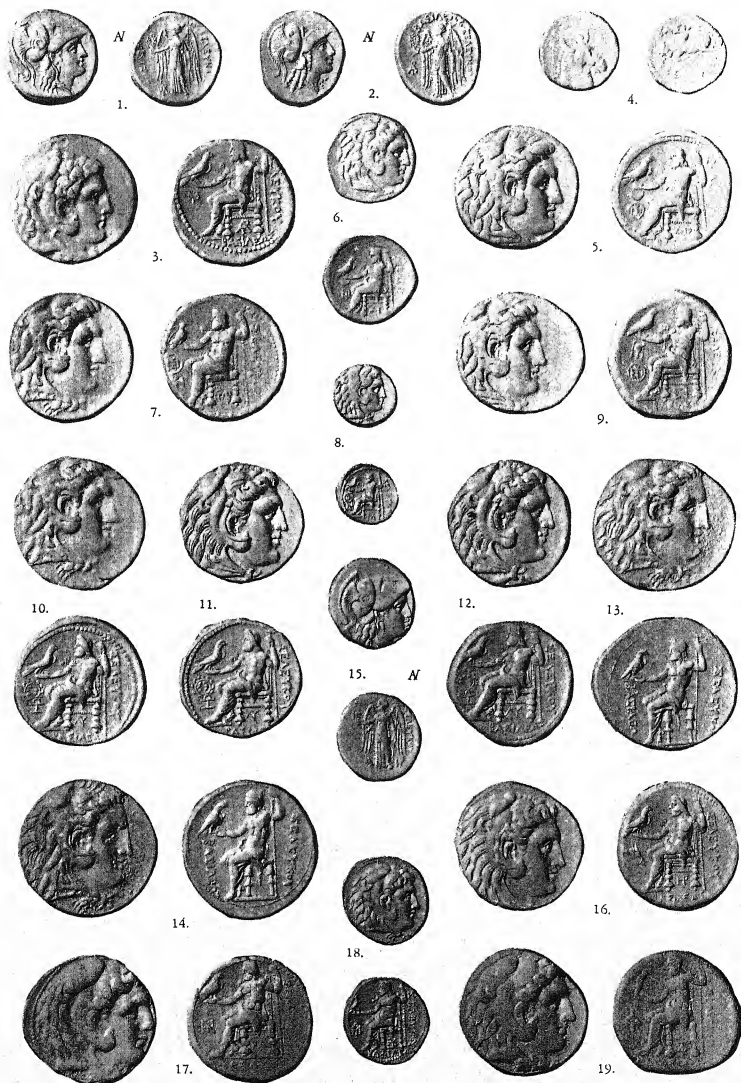


ADDENDA TO EASTERN SELEUCID MINTS. MINT: SELEUCIA.
 SELEUCUS II. (1-10); ANTIOCHUS III. (11-20). MINT: SUSA. SELEUCUS I. (21); SELEUCUS III. (22);
 ANTIOCHUS III. (23-24). MINT: PERSEPOLIS (25).



ADDENDA TO EASTERN SELEUCID MINTS. MINT: ECBATANA. SELEUCUS I. (1-2); ANTIOCHUS II. (3-4); SELEUCUS II. (5-8); ANTIOCHUS III. (9-13); MINT: BACTRA. SELEUCUS I. (14-16); ANTIOCHUS I. (17-18). MINT: HECATOMPYLUS. ANTIOCHUS I. (19-20); ANTIOCHUS II. (21-22); SELEUCUS II. (23). UNCERTAIN. (24).





MINT: CARRHÆ. SELEUCUS I.
SERIES I, (1-14); SERIES II, (15-19).

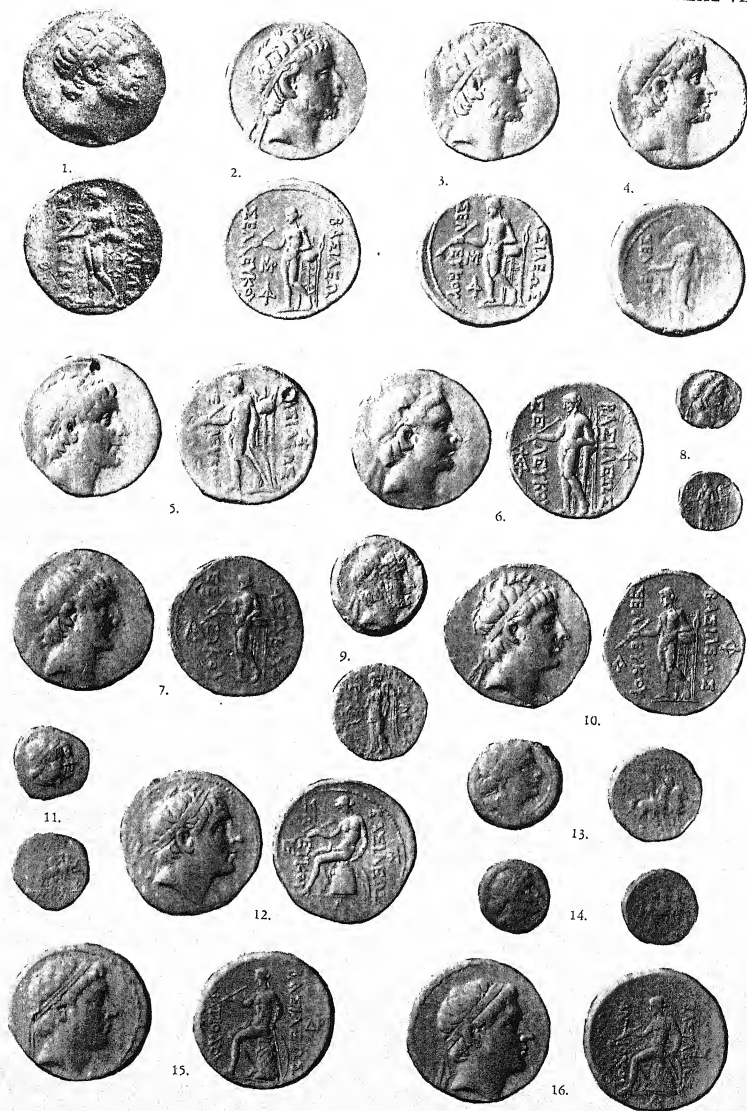


MINT: CARRHAE. ANTIOCHUS I. SERIES I, (1); SERIES II, Groups A (2-15), B (16).

MINT: EDESSA. ANTIOCHUS I. (17-25).



MINT: NISIBIS. SELEUCUS I. (1-3); ANTIOCHUS I. (4-5); ANTIOCHUS II. (6-7); SELEUCUS II. SERIES I, Groups A (8-11), B (12-13); SERIES II, Group A (14-22).



MINT: NISIBIS. SELEUCUS II. SERIES II, Group B (1-9); SERIES III, (10-11).
SELEUCUS III. (12-14). ANTIOCHUS III. SERIES I, (15-16).



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MINT: NISIBIS. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES I, (1-4); SERIES II, (5-8); SERIES III, (9-12).



MINT: NISIBIS. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES III, (1-14).



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MINT: NISIBIS. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES III, (1-12).



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MINT: NISIBIS. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES III, (1-10); SERIES IV, Groups A (11), B (12-14).



MINT: DURA-EUROPUS. ANTIOCHUS I.

SERIES I, (1-5); SERIES II, (6-8); SERIES III, (9-10).

UNCERTAIN.

SELEUCUS I. (11-12); ANTIOCHUS I. (13-17); ANTIOCHUS II. (18).



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MINT: ANTIGONEA ON THE ORONTES. ANTIGONUS (1-9).

MINT: SELEUCIA PIERIA. SELEUCUS I.

SERIES I, (10-13).



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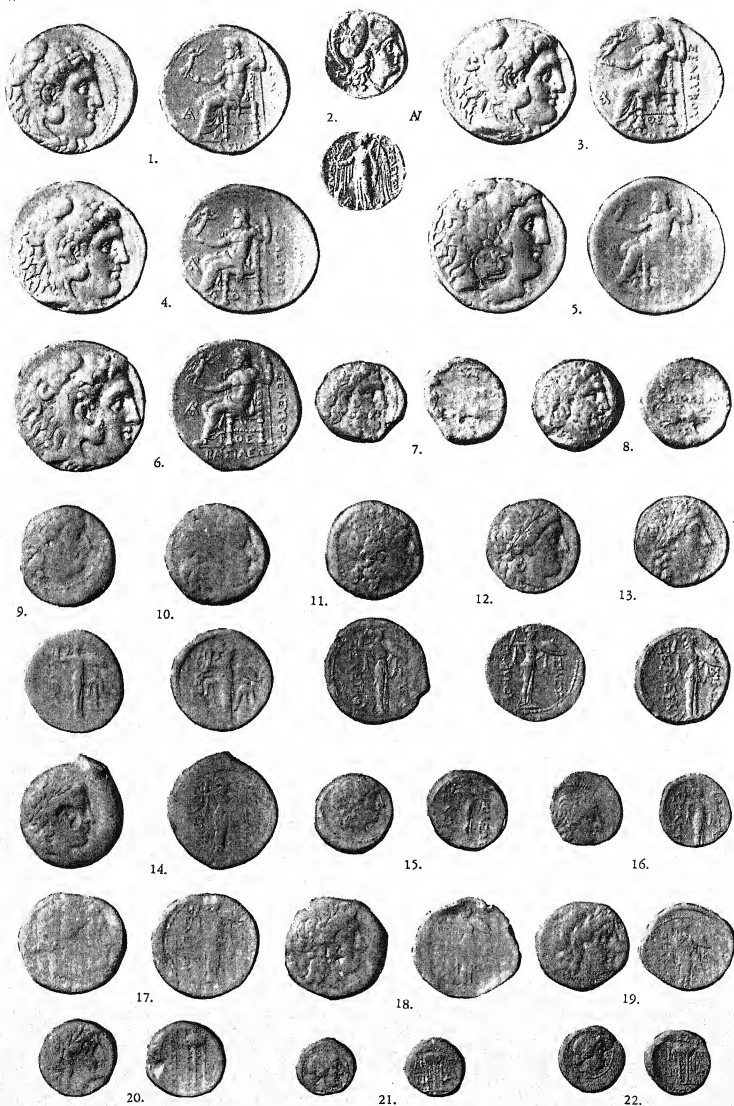
18.



MINT: SELEUCIA PIERIA. SELEUCUS I.

SERIES I, (1-2); SERIES II, Groups A (3-7), B (8-10); SERIES III, Groups A (11-13), B (14), C (15).

ANTIOCHUS I. (16-18).

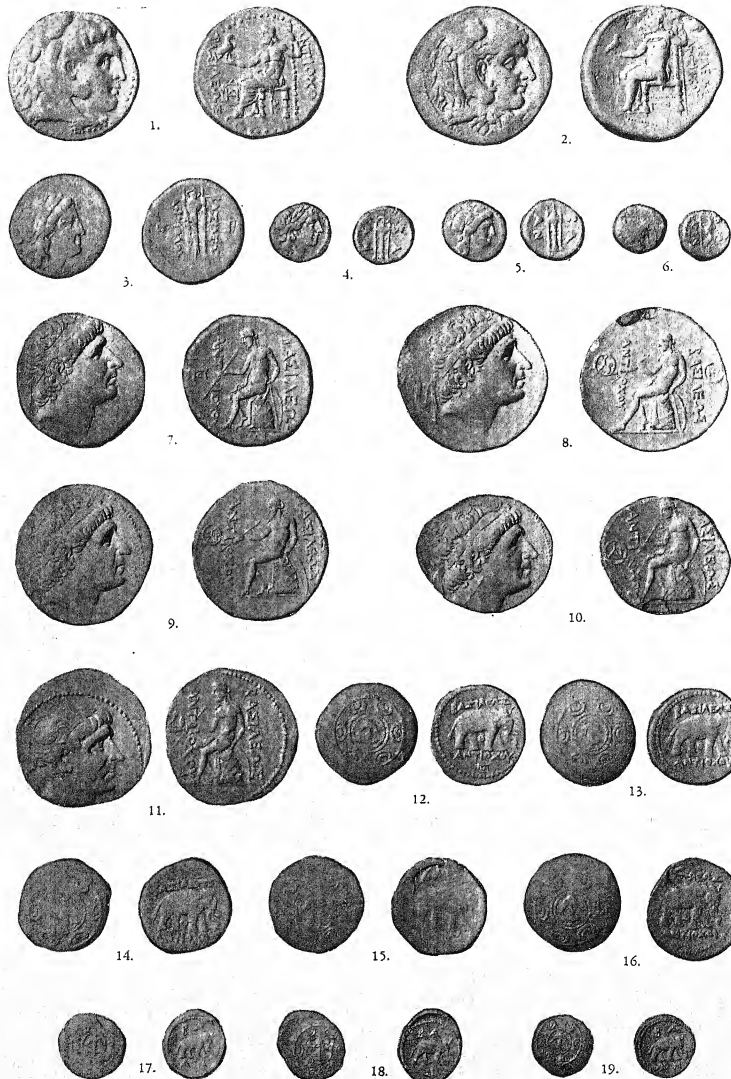


MINT: ANTIOCH. SELEUCUS I.

SERIES I, (1-6). MUNICIPAL BRONZE (7-8). ROYAL BRONZE, Groups A (9-18), B (19-22).

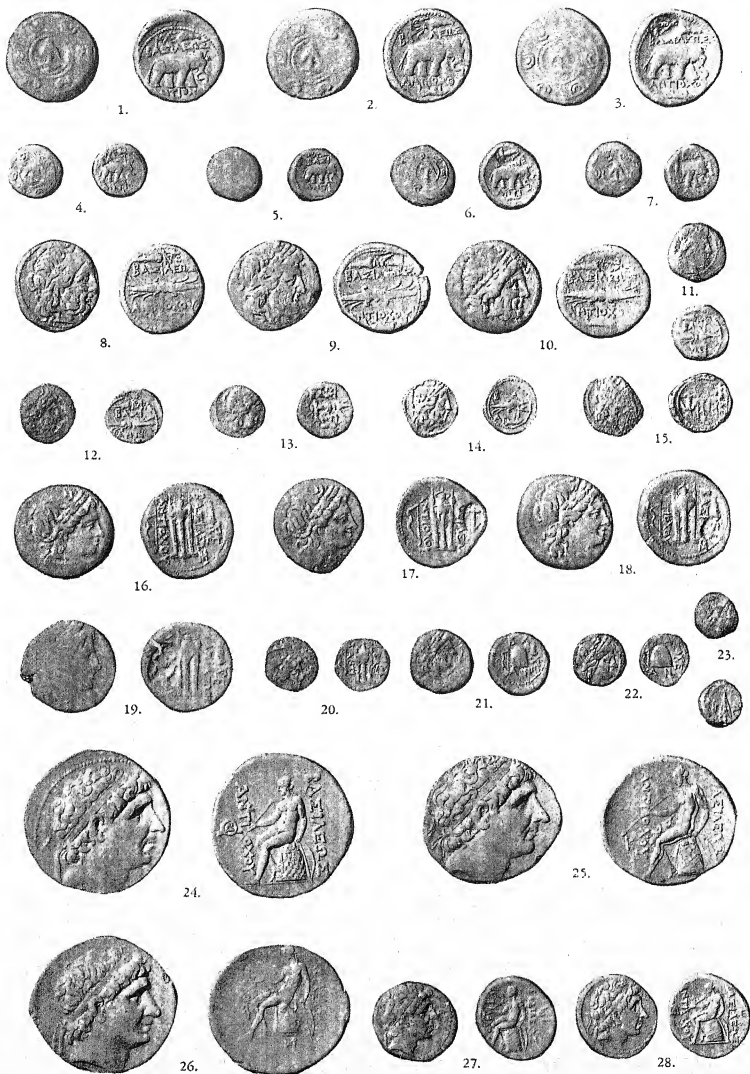


MINT: ANTIOCH. SELEUCUS I.
 SERIES I, Group B (1-6); SERIES II, (7-22); SERIES III, (23-27).

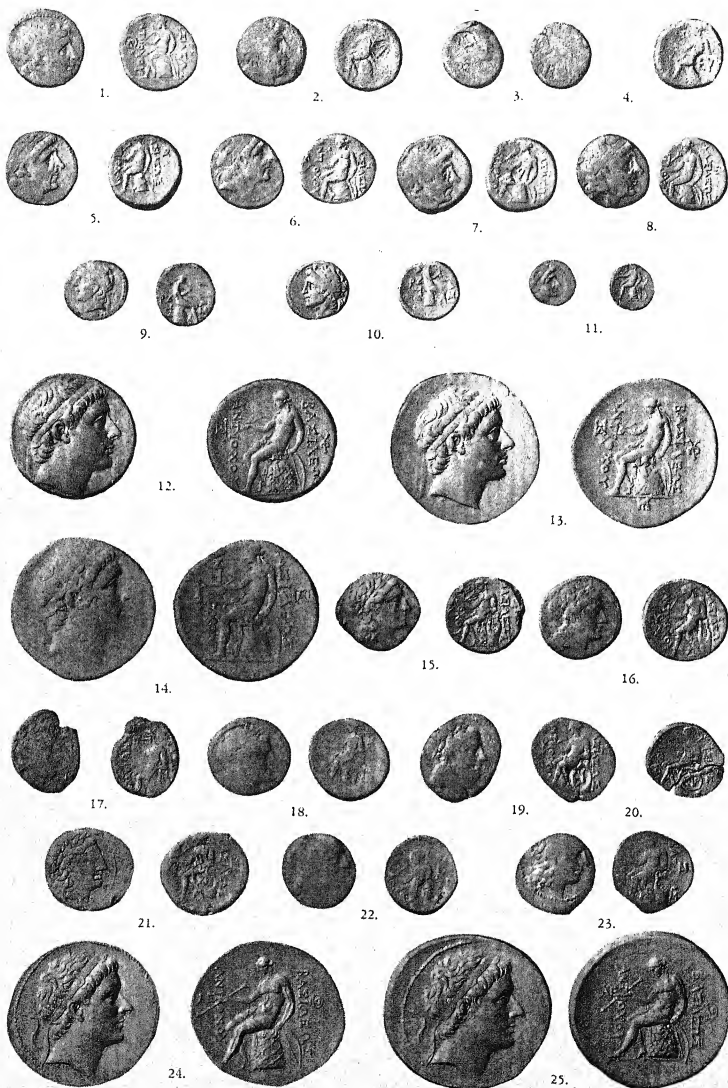


MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS I.

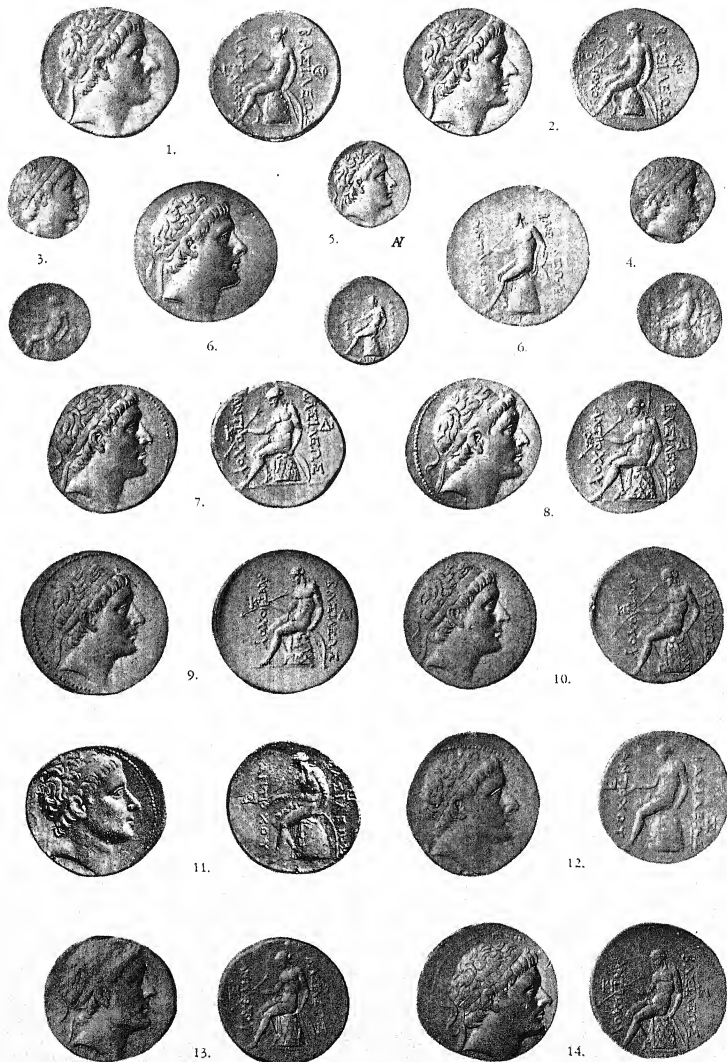
SERIES I, (1-6); SERIES II, (Silver, 7-11; Bronze, Group A, 12-19).



MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS I.
 SERIES II, Bronze, Groups B (1-7), C (8-15), D (16-23); SERIES III, (24-28).



MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS I. SERIES III, (1-11).
ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I, (12-23); SERIES II, (24-25).



MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS II.
SERIES II, (1-14).



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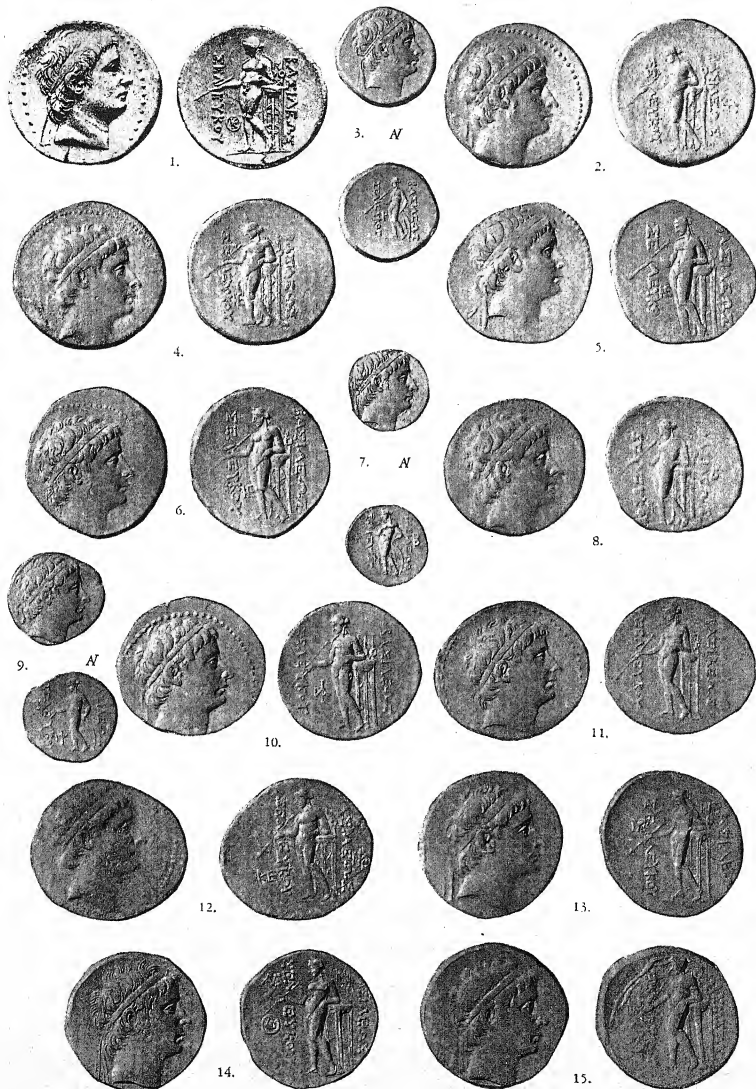
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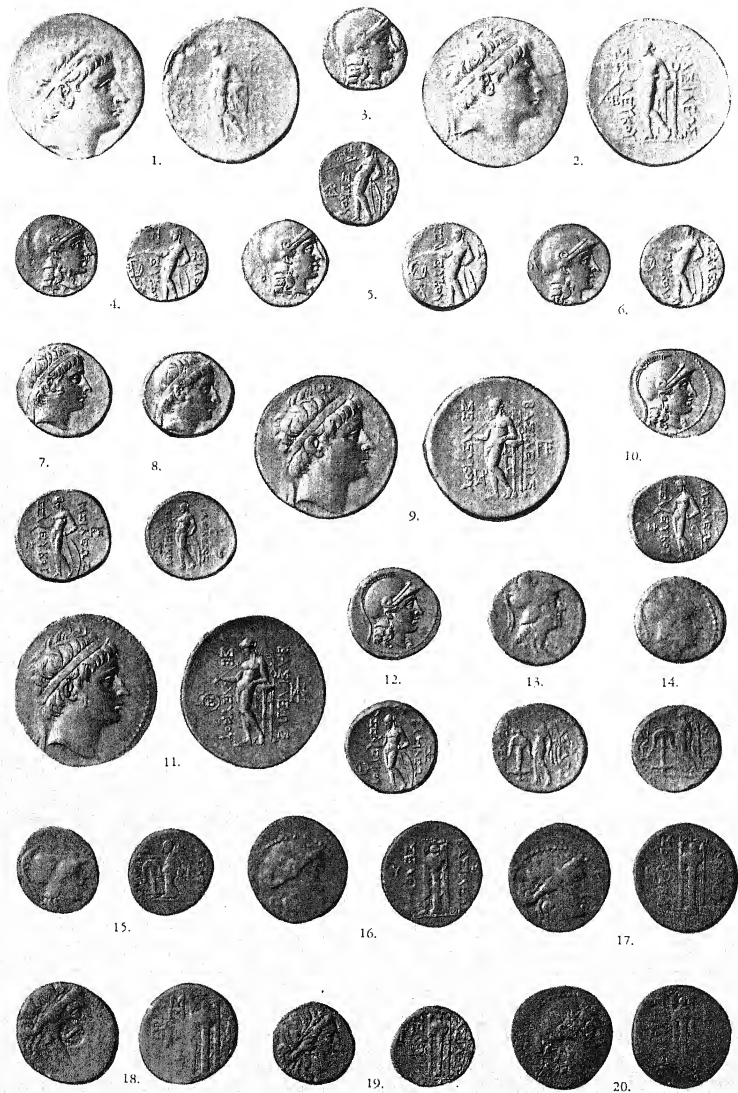
17.



MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES II, (1-7).
SELEUCUS II. SERIES I, Groups A (8-11); B (12-13); SERIES II, Group A (14-17).



MINT: ANTIOCH. SELEUCUS II.
SERIES II, Groups A (1-11); B (12-15).



MINT: ANTIOCH. SELEUCUS II.
SERIES II, Group B (1-6); SERIES III, (7-20).



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MINT: ANTIOCH. SELEUCUS II. SERIES IV, (1-4).
SELEUCUS III. (5-13).



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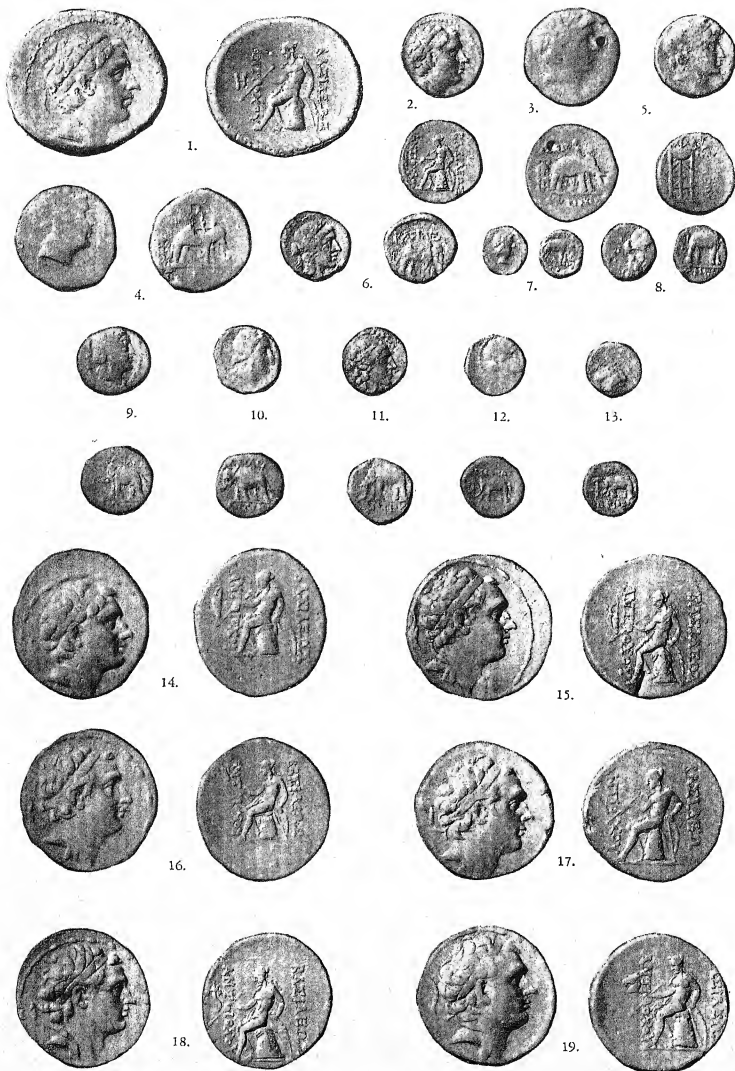




MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES II, (1-7); SERIES III, (8-21).



MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES III, (1-16).



MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES III, (1-13); SERIES IV, (14-19).



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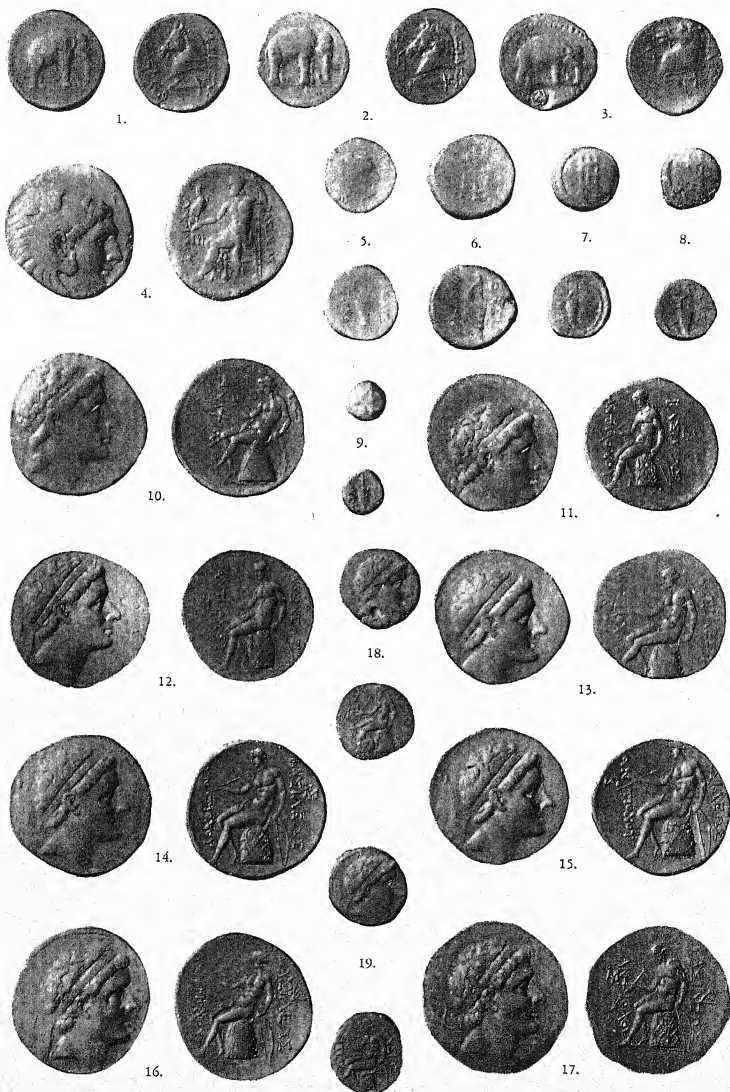
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MINT: ANTIOCH. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES IV, (1-12). Antioch ? (13).



MINT: APAMEA. SELEUCUS I. (1-3).
ANTIOCHUS I. Groups A (4-5); B (6-9). ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I, (10-19).



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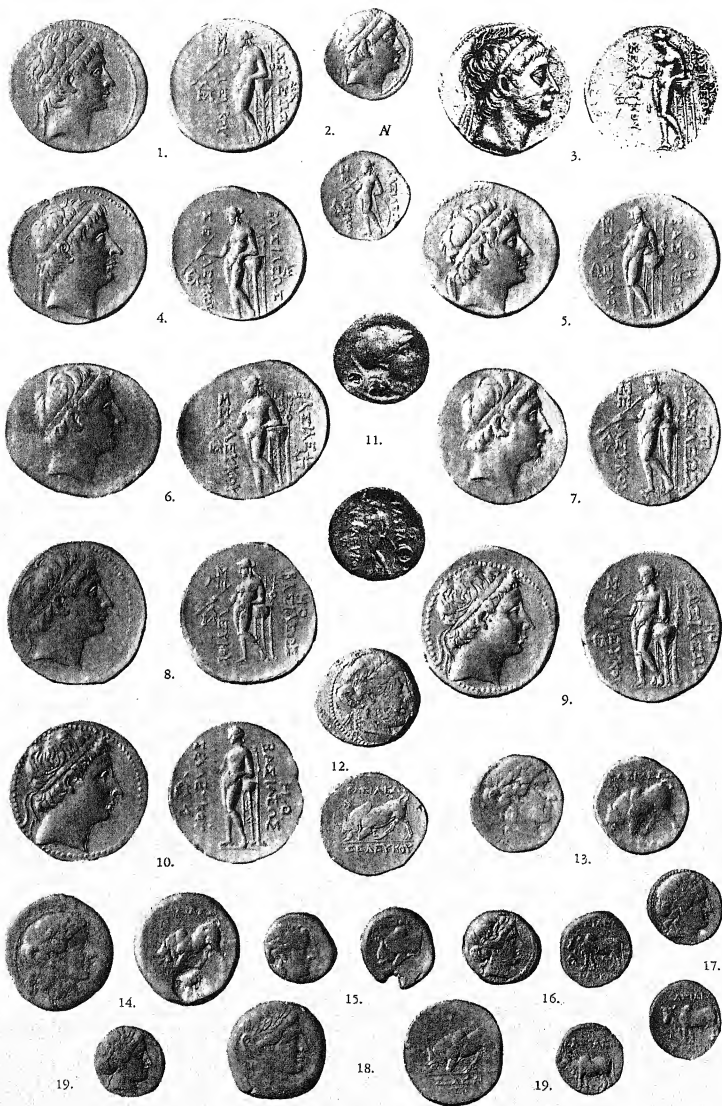
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MINT: APAMEA.

ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I, (1); SERIES II, (2-7).

INTERREGNUM. (8-13).





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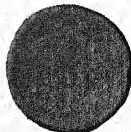
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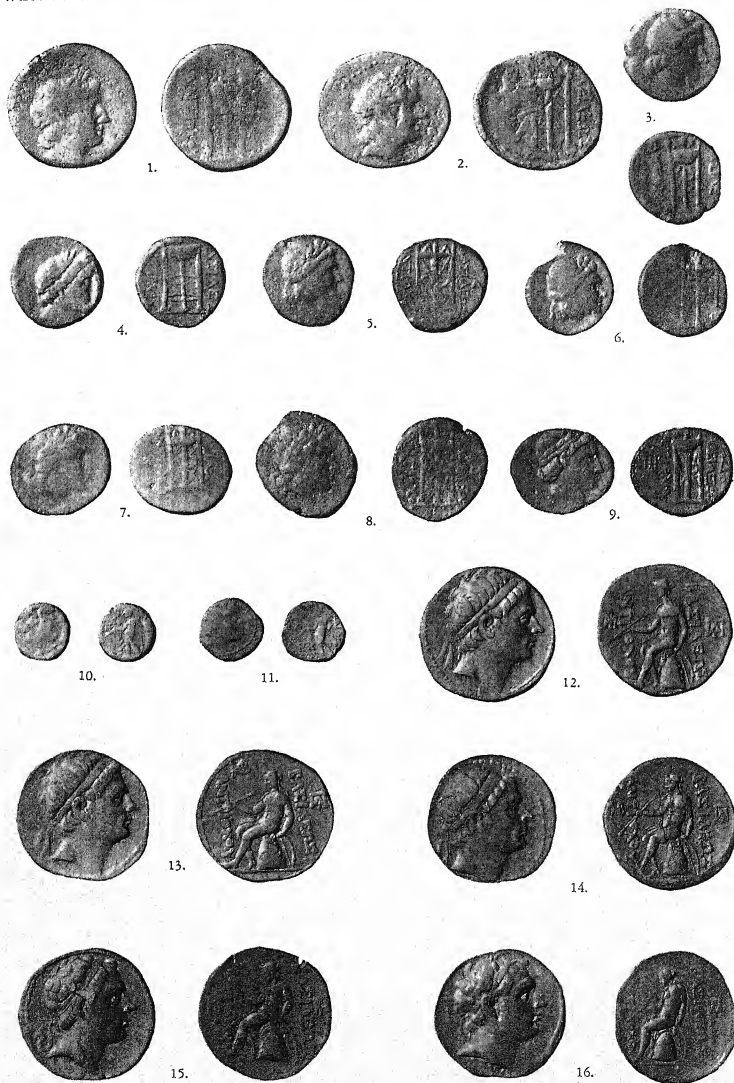


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MINT: APAMEA. ANTIOCHUS III.
SERIES I, (1-11); SERIES II, (12-16).



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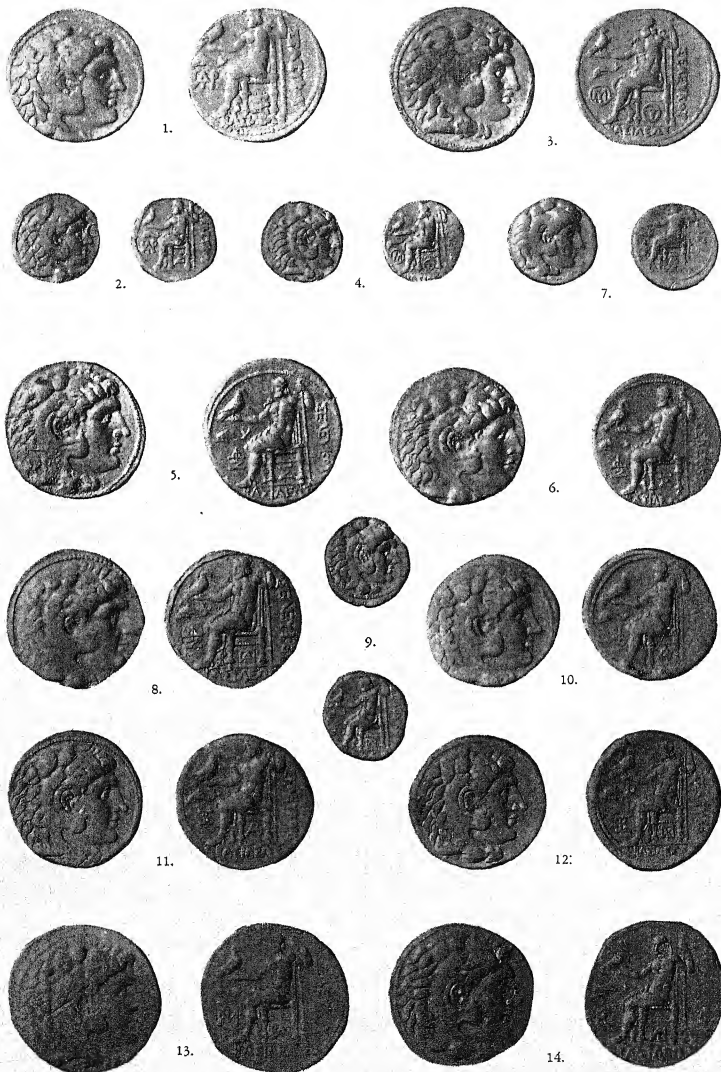
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MINT: LAODICEA. SELEUCUS I - III.

SERIES I, (1-2); SERIES II, (3); SERIES III, Groups A (4-7), B (8-9), C (10-13).



MINT: LAODICEA. SELEUCUS I - III.
 SERIES IV, Groups A (1-2), B (3-4), C (5-10), D (11-12), E (13), F (14).



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MINT: LAODICEA. SELEUCUS I - III.
SERIES IV, Group F (1); SERIES V, (2-7).
ANTIOCHUS III. SERIES I, (8-11).



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NON-SELEUCID ISSUES OF ARADUS (A-E) AND MARATHUS (F-I).

MINT: MARATHUS. SELEUCUS I. Group A (1-3).



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MINT: TYRE. ANTIOCHUS III.

SERIES I, (1-2); SERIES II, Groups A (3-4), B (5-10); SERIES III, Group A (11-18).



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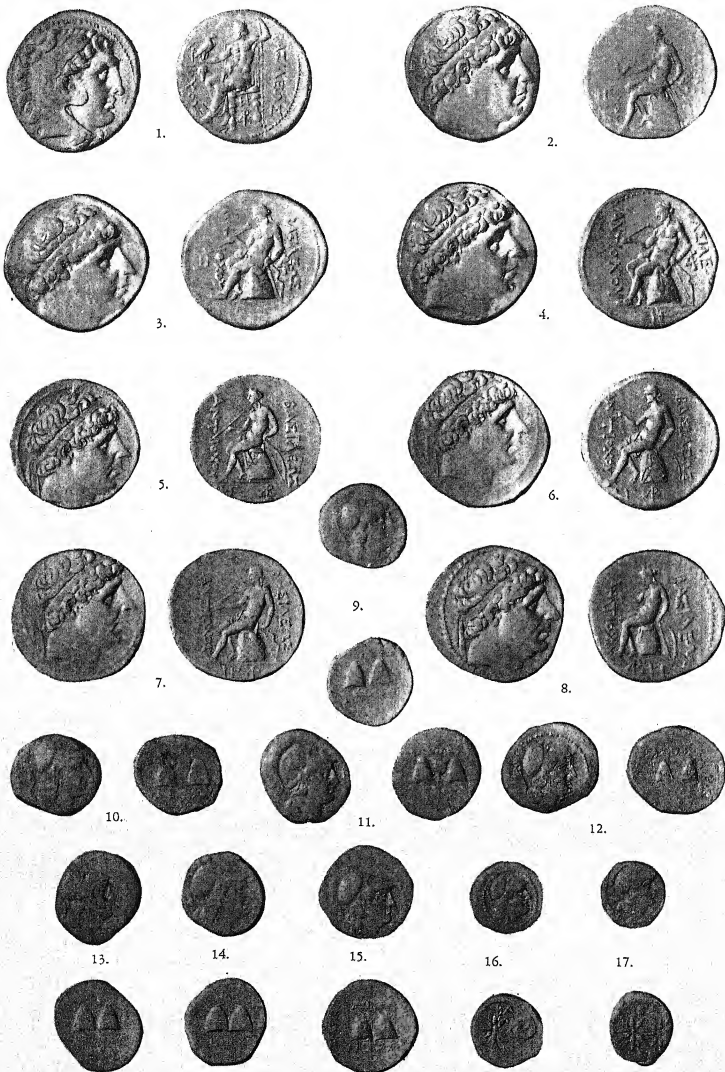
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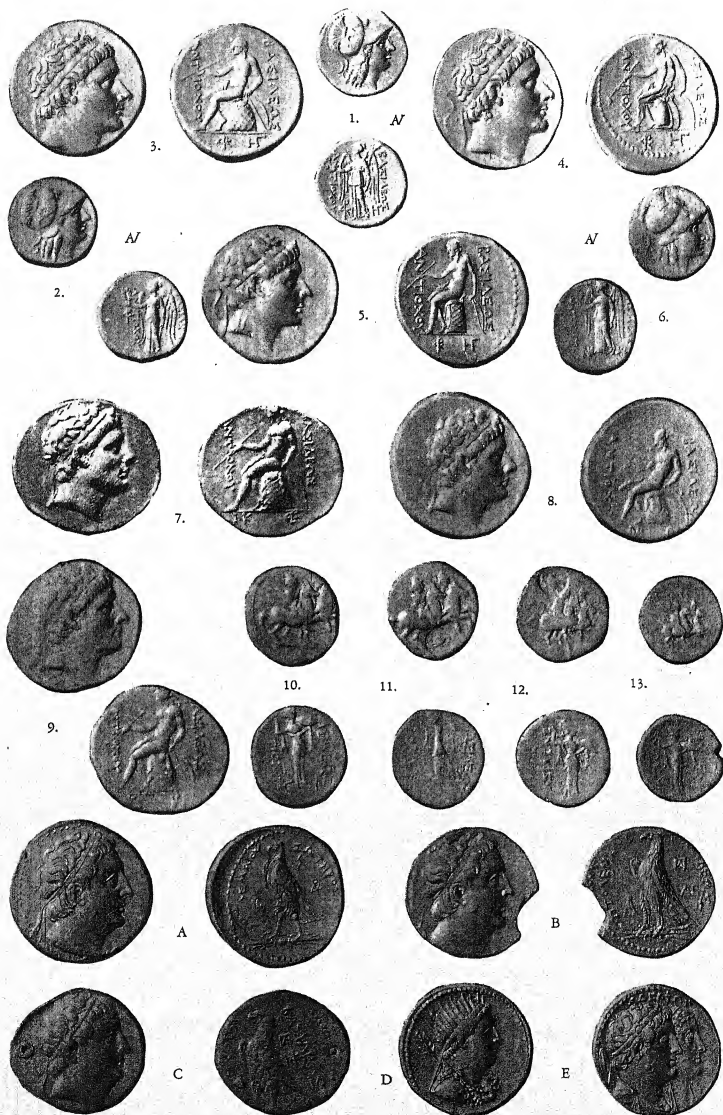
MINT: TYRE. ANTIOCHUS III. SERIES III, Groups A (1-2), B (3-14).
MINT: ASCALON. ANTIOCHUS III. (15).



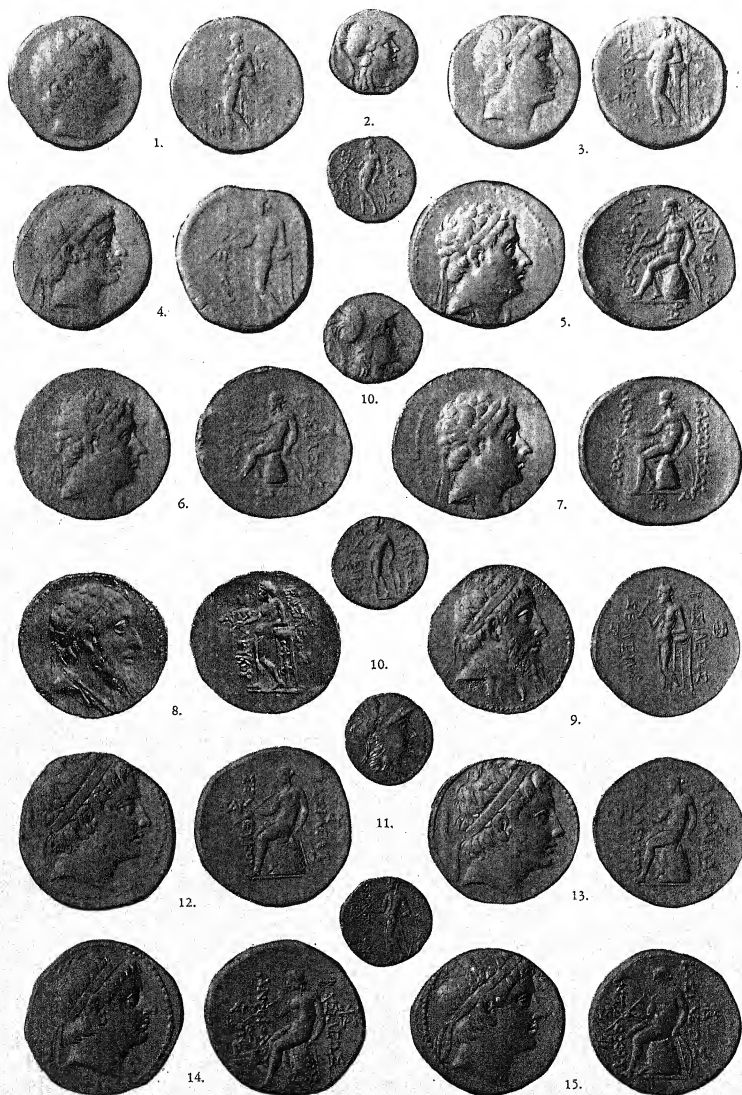
UNCERTAIN. ANTIOCHUS III. (1-6). SELEUCUS I. (7).
MINT: TARSUS. SELEUCUS I. SERIES I, (8-9); SERIES II, (10-12).



MINT: TARSUS. ANTIOCHUS I.
SERIES I, (1); SERIES II, (2-17).



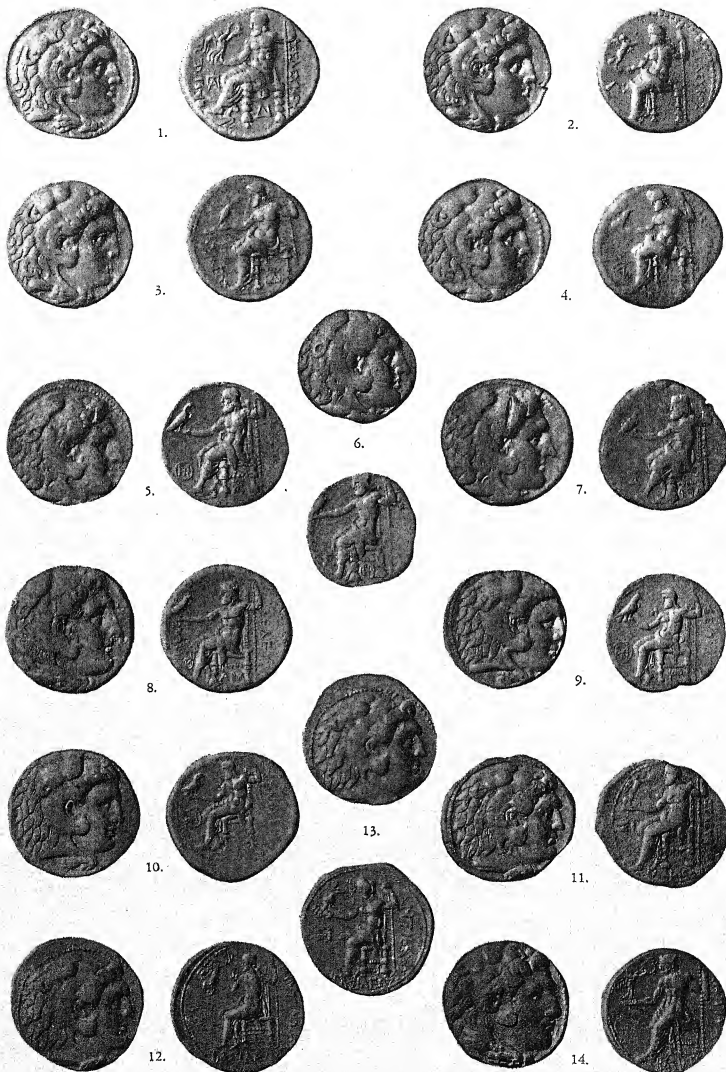
MINT: TARSUS. ANTIOCHUS II. (1-13).
PTOLEMY III. (A-C).



MINT: TARSUS. SELEUCUS II. SERIES I, (1-2); SERIES II, (3-4).
 ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. (5-7). SELEUCUS II. SERIES III, (8-11). SELEUCUS III. (12-13).
 ANTIOCHUS III. (14-15).



MINT: SELEUCIA ON THE CALYCADNUS.
 SELEUCUS III. (1). ANTIOCHUS III. (2-4).
 UNCERTAIN MINTS. A. SELEUCUS I. (5-11).



UNCERTAIN MINTS. A. SELEUCUS I. (1-4).

B. SELEUCUS I. (5-8). C. SELEUCUS I. (9-11). ANTIOCHUS I. (12-14).



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MINT: SARDES. ANTIOCHUS I. SERIES III, (1-9).
ANTIOCHUS I OR II. (10-14). ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I, (15-16).



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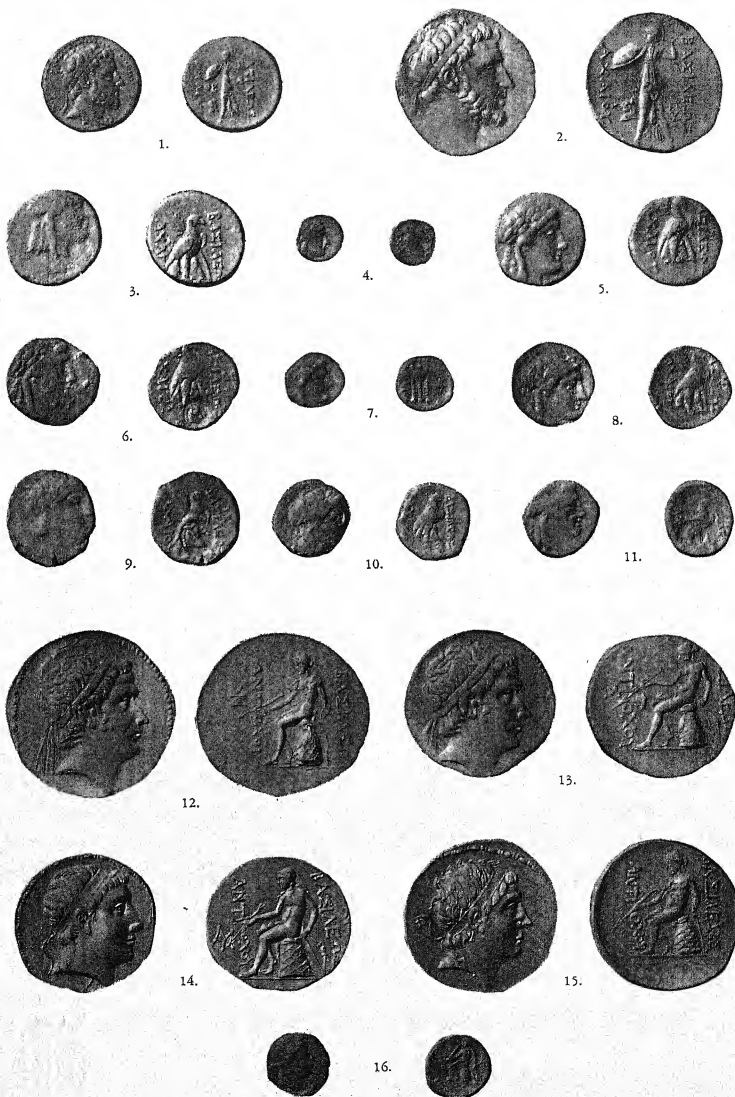


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MINT: MAGNESIA AD SIPYLUM. ANTIOCHUS I. (1-6).
SELEUCUS II. (7.) ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. SERIES I, (8-14).



MINT: MAGNESIA AD SIPYLUM.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. SERIES II. (1-3).

MINT: BARGYLIA.

ANTIOCHUS III. (4-5).

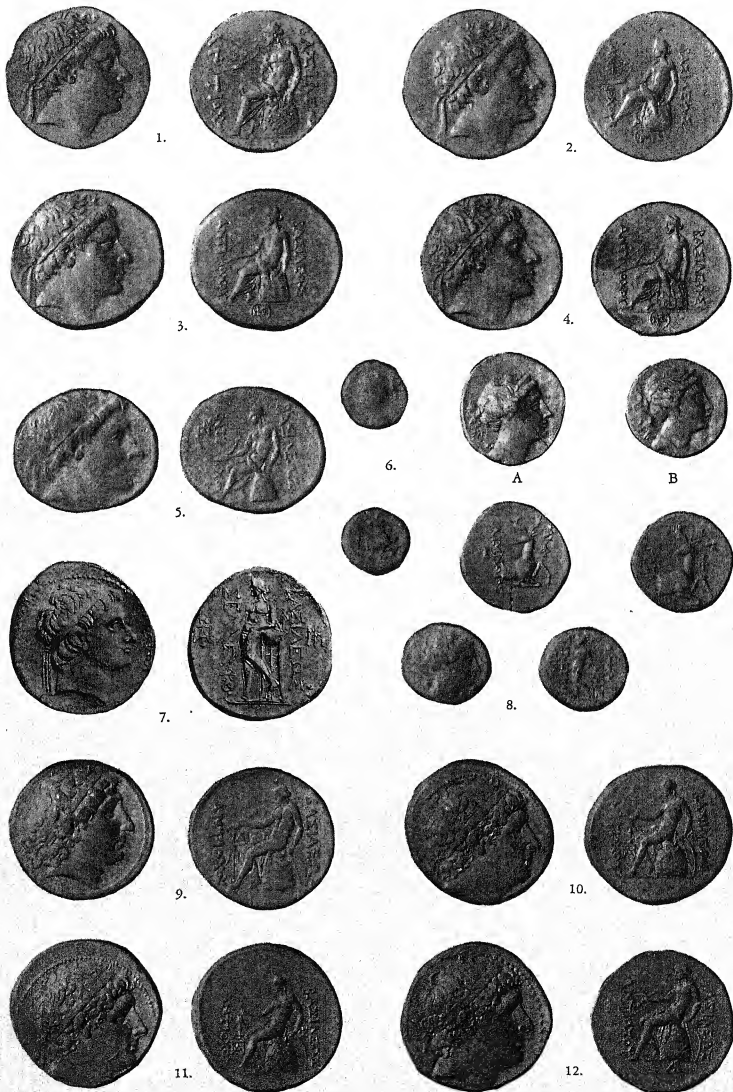
MINT: MAGNESIA ON THE MAEANDER.

SELEUCUS I. (6). ANTIOCHUS I. (7-11).

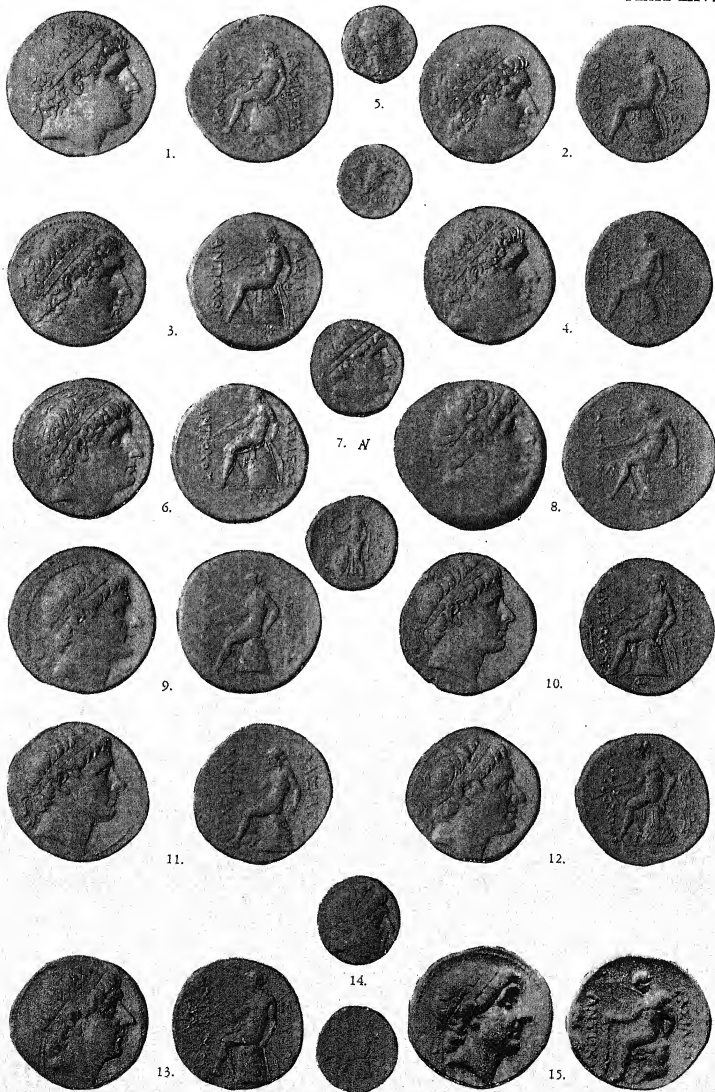
ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I. (12-13).



MINT: MAGNESIA ON THE MAEANDER.
ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I, (1-14); SERIES II, (15). SELEUCUS II. (16-18).



MINT: EPHEBUS. ANTIOCHUS II. (1-6). SELEUCUS II. (7-8).
MINT: SMYRNA. ANTIOCHUS I. (9-12).



MINT: SMYRNA. ANTIOCHUS I. (1-6). ANTIOCHUS II.
 SERIES I, (7-8); SERIES II, (9-12).
 MINT: PHOCAEA. ANTIOCHUS I. (13-15).



MINT: PHOCAEA. ANTIOCHUS I. (1). ANTIOCHUS II. (2-6).

ANTIOCHUS II, OR HIERAX. (7).

MINT: AEGAE. ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I. (8); SERIES II. (9-12); SERIES III. (13-14).



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MINT: MYRINA. ANTIOCHUS II. (1-8).
MINT: PERGAMUM. SELEUCUS I. (9-10).
PHILETAERUS UNDER ANTIOCHUS I. (11-12).



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MINT: PERGAMUM. PHILETAERUS UNDER ANTIOCHUS I. (1-8).
MINT: LAMPSACUS. ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES I. (9-12).



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MINT: LAMPSACUS. ANTIOCHUS II. SERIES II, (1-2).
ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. SERIES I, (3-12).



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MINT: LAMPACUS.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. SERIES I, (1-2); SERIES II, (3-8).

MINT: ABYDUS.

ANTIOCHUS II. (9). ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. (10-12).



MINT: ABYDUS. ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. (1-4).

MINT: ILIUM. ANTIOCHUS II. (5).

MINT: ALEXANDRIA TROAS. ANTIOCHUS II. (6-11).

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. SERIES I. Group A (12).



MINT: ALEXANDRIA TROAS. ANTIOCHUS HIERAX.
SERIES I, Group A (1-12).



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MINT: ALEXANDRIA TROAS. ANTIOCHUS HIERAX.

SERIES II, Groups A (1), B (2-10).



MINT: SCEPSIS. ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. (1-2).
MINT: SIGEUM (?). SELEUCUS II. (3-4). ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. (5-12).



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MINT: SIGEUM (?). ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. (1-2).
 UNCERTAIN MINTS. ANTIOCHUS II OR HIERAX. (3-5). ANTIOCHUS HIERAX (6-7).
 MINT: LYSIMACHIA. ANTIOCHUS II, (8-11).



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MINT: LYSIMACHIA. ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. (1).
ANTIOCHUS III. (2-12).



UNCERTAIN MINTS. SELEUCUS I. (1-7). ANTIOCHUS I. (8-9).
ANTIOCHUS I OR II. (10-11). ANTIOCHUS II. (12-14).
SELEUCUS II. (15-16).



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UNCERTAIN MINTS. ANTIOCHUS III. (1-6).
ADDENDA. SUSA. (7-8). NISIBIS. (9). SELEUCUS IV. (10).